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M E M O I R S

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MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

D U K E O F S U L L Y,

PRIME MINISTER TO

H E N R Y T H E G R E A T.

C O N T A I N I N G

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH,

And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH.

To which is added,

The Tryal of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of

H E N R Y t h e G R E A T.

T H E T H I R D E D I T I O N.

V O L. III.

L O N D O N,

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand; R. and J. DODSLEY, in
Pall-Mall; and W. SHROPSHIRE, in New-Bond-Street.

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B O O K S c o n t a i n e d i n t h e T H I R D V O L U M E .

S U M M A R Y O F T H E T W E N T Y - F O U R T H B O O K .

MEMOIRS of the year 1607. Occupations and letters of Henry IV. Death of the chancellor Bellievre. Birth of the second son of France. Henry's friendship for Sully, and his great confidence in him. A quarrel between them, in which Henry first seeks a reconciliation. Sully does the king great service in the assembly of the protestants at Rochelle, in the dispute between father Séguiran and the Rochellers. New grants made by Henry to the jesuits. Plots carried on by Spain, in the court and the council, against Henry and Sully: a conversation between them on this subject; and Sully's advice to the king: he does the king other services in the quarrels which happen at court. A farther account of the war between Spain and the United Provinces. Sully's sentiments concerning the offers made by the Flemmings to the king: a council is held on that occasion. The Flemmings gain a naval victory over the Spaniards. Conferences for a suspension of arms, and for a truce. A farther account of the disputes of Spain, the Grisons, and La-Valteline. Affairs of Germany, England, and other foreign states. The quarrel between the pope and the Venetians terminated by the mediation of Henry. Brief of Paul V. to Sully. Sully's labours in the finances, the police, and other parts of government. Artifices of the courtiers to ruin him: he forms the scheme of a new council, which is not carried into execution. Other affairs of the finances, government, &c. Henry's expences

pences in gaming, in manufactures, &c. his private life and domestic uneasiness. He restores Sedan to the duke of Bouillon.

SUMMARY OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS of the year 1603. Interludes and balls at the arsenal. A pleasant adventure between the duke of Sully and Pimentel. Great offers made by Henry to Sully, which the latter refuses. The amours and mistresses of Henry IV. an interesting conversation between him and Sully, on the uneasiness he suffered from the queen, the marchioness of Verneuil, and their creatures: he employs Sully to pacify them. Birth of the third son of France. Sully is made viceroy between the king and the marchioness de Verneuil. Quarrels, in which the prince of Joinville, the count of Sommerive, and the duke of Eguillon, are concerned; with other court intrigues. Difficulty in concluding the marriage of the duke of Vendôme and mademoiselle de Mercœur. A sedition among the heads of the protestants; and the affairs of that party. Services which Sully does the king in the assembly of protestants at Gergeau. Private life of Henry. He gives the bishopric of Metz to the duke of Verneuil. The clergy obtain some grants of the king, but are denied others. Henry carries on public works at his own expence: money which he loses at play. A great rising of the Loire. Affairs of the finances; of the police; and other parts of the government. Sully's memorial upon the taille. Reflections upon the changes which have been made in the government of this kingdom. The duke of Mantua comes to Paris. A farther account of the affairs of the United Provinces. The truce is concluded: the part Henry has in it. The weak condition of Spain. The revolt of the Moors, and their expulsion from Spain. Affairs in Germany.

SUMMARY OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS of the year 1609. Papers relating to the finances: a debate on this subject between the duke of Sully and the chancellor de Sillery. Sully entertains the king at the arsenal. Father Cotton indiscreetly reveals a secret, for which Henry blames Sully: an important conversation between them, upon the plots carried on by the court and by Spain, against the life of Henry, upon his passion for the princess of Condé, &c. Sully's advice to the king. Scheme of a cabinet of state, to be useful for every part of the government. Different methods of raising money, when necessary. Regulations
against

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against luxury, and abuses in the law; and other pieces of this cabinet. Henry's description of his three ministers. Other particulars of the finances, and of the government. Edict against fraudulent bankrupts. Another edict against duels. Plots of the courtiers against Sully. Flight of the prince of Condé; and other particulars of that affair. Henry receives false informations against the protestants. A discovery of a conspiracy formed at La-Flèche against Henry's life.

SUMMARY OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH BOOK.

CONTINUATION of the memoirs of 1609—1610. Foreign affairs. Treaty for a truce between Spain and the United Provinces, and of the mediation of the kings of France and England. Article in favour of the prince of Epinoy. Henry obliges the grand duke of Tuscany to make him reparation for the affront offered to his ambassador. Other affairs of Germany, Italy, and Switzerland. Death of the duke of Cleves. An historical and political memorial upon the disputes for this succession. The German princes put themselves under the protection of Henry IV. A conversation between Henry and the duke of Sully upon this subject; and upon the execution of the great design. Henry entertains suspicions of Sully. Success of the negotiations in the several courts of Europe. Henry's indiscretion in disclosing his designs: conversations between the king and his minister upon this expedition. A council of regency established; and other preparations within and without the kingdom. Prefages of the approaching death of Henry IV. conversations between him and Sully upon this subject. Information of a conspiracy; and the affair of mademoiselle de Coman. Ceremony of the queen's coronation. Parricide committed on the person of Henry the Great: Sully's behaviour on receiving the news of it: particulars of this assassination, and upon some of the later days of Henry's life. An account of the affairs of the state and the court after Henry's death. Judgment of the different opinions concerning the causes and authors of the king's assassination.

SUMMARY OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH BOOK.

CONTINUATION of the memoirs of the year 1610. Remarks upon the assassination of Henry IV. a description of his person: particulars relating to his life; his character; his good and bad qualities. The situation in which his death left the duke of Sully: his reasons for suspecting the new council: he shuts himself up in the Bastille; but

but afterwards goes to the Louvre: the gracious reception given him by the queen: he assists at the ceremony of the bed of justice. Mary de Medicis settles a public and private council, in which the policy and maxims of government are entirely changed: Sully's complaints of these proceedings: he is not regarded. The count of Soissons returns to court: quarrels between him and Sully. Councils held concerning the armament set on foot by Henry, concerning the duke of Savoy, &c. in which Sully makes fruitless representations against their proceeding: he resolves to resign his employments, and to retire from court; his family oppose this design: he sends Arnaud to Conchini, who receives with haughtiness his advances: he unites with the prince of Condé: the wise advice he gives him; notwithstanding which, this prince joins his enemies. Other plots of the court; and Sully's disputes with the ministers and courtiers. A farther account of the affair of Cleves, and its conclusion.

SUMMARY OF THE TWENTY-NINTH BOOK.

CONTINUATION of the memoirs of 1610, 1611. The reasons why the princes, grantees, and ministers, hated Sully: he opposes the unjust proceedings of the council: refuses to sign a compact at the queen's request. Quarrels in full council with the duke of Bouillon. Disputes in the court and council. Coronation of Lewis XIII. Sully goes to Montrond, and is taken ill there: reasons for the queen regent and the ministers recalling him: the reception given him by this princeess, who afterwards takes part with Conchini and the ministers against him. His resolution in opposing the unjust demands of the grantees, and the dissipation of the royal treasures; the uneasiness he suffers on this occasion. He quarrels with Villeroi and D'Alincourt in full council. The princes, lords, and ministers, enter into a confederacy against him. He takes a resolution to retire for ever from court: different opinions concerning his retreat. Sully resigns the superintendance of the finances, the government of the Bastile, &c. The prudent advice which he gives his secretaries: their obligations to him. He prevents the artifices of his enemies to ruin him: his letters to the queen regent for this purpose, in which he justifies his conduct, and his administration: the queen's answers. The king increases his pension. He gives a general account of his public and private conduct; of his wealth; and of his domestic affairs: his faithful performances of the promises he made to Henry IV.

SUMMARY OF THE THIRTIETH BOOK.

DISCUSSION of the political scheme, commonly called The Great design of Henry IV. Preliminary considerations upon the Roman empire, upon the establishment of the French monarchy, upon the different governments of the three races of our kings, &c. The possibility of the great design proved: Henry with difficulty makes Sully approve of it: in what manner Elizabeth and this prince formed it. Favourable and unfavourable events. The advantage of this scheme to all Europe. That part of the political scheme which regards religion, consisting in peaceably maintaining the religions received in Europe, and in driving the infidels from thence. The political part, which consists in establishing fifteen equal monarchies; in reducing the power of the house of Austria; and dividing what it was deprived of among the princes and republics of Europe. Means of indemnifying himself, and of proving the equity of his proceedings. The moderation and disinterestedness of France in this division. Establishment of a general council of the christian republics. Negotiations and other means employed to induce the princes and states of Europe to engage in the great design. Account of the forces, and the expences necessary for the execution of it. The march and disposition of the armies of the confederate princes: the probable result of it.

SUPPLEMENT to the LIFE of the DUKE of SULLY,
After his RETREAT.

CONDUCT of the duke of Sully in the assembly of the protestants at Châtelleraut; and of this assembly with regard to the personal affairs of Sully: the part he has in the duke of Rohan's disputes with the queen regent on account of St. John d'Angely. The queen regent's reliance upon him; and the letters which she writes to him during the rebellion of the princes and the protestants. Councils which he gives her; and the services he performs on this occasion. He is made marshal of France. His discontent with his son and grandson. State of his family; and the disposition which he makes of his estates among his children. His death. Honours paid him by the dukes of Sully. His tomb and epitaph. An account of his domestic conduct, and of his private life. Occupations of the dukes his wife. The duke of Sully's sentiments upon religion. His public and private buildings.

M E M O I R S

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S U L L Y.

B O O K XXIV.

ALl the affairs of the kingdom were this year so free from disturbance, that they afford us scarce any event remarkable, or particular; but to compensate for this they present us with a scene which, notwithstanding its uniformity, is more striking than uncommon catastrophes, in which the writer or the reader is only entertained with repeated acts of inhumanity or corruption, such acts as can excite no other motion than those of horror and disgust. This striking scene is the plenty and the quiet with which all France was overspread: never were there known so many pleasures and diversions as appeared this winter in Paris and at court; and the same tokens of a happy reign were discovered likewise over all the kingdom. This happiness, which derived its source from the benevolent disposition of Henry, reflected in its turn upon him, and gave him back part of the benefits he bestowed. Disengaged from the hurry and tumult of war, till the time prescribed by himself, to complete the glory of his reign should arrive, he had little else to do but to resign himself to the calm pleasures of a private life, amongst his faithful servants, and in his different palaces, which he visited successively one after the other: he was at Saint Germain's on the first of January, whither I could not go to pay my accustomed compliments to their majesties: the wound I had formerly received in my mouth opened by an imposthume, which confined me to my

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house. His majesty had the goodness to write to me, to let me know how greatly he was concerned for my indisposition, and sent two of his ministers, whom he chiefly employed, to confer with me upon the affairs of government, the plan of which he always formed in the beginning of the year. These two ministers were Villeroi and the keeper of the seals; for Sillery, whom I have already distinguished by this title, had been associated by his majesty with Bellievre in the office of chancellor, till by the death of that minister, which, it was foreseen, was not far off, he should fill the employment alone. Bellievre, once remarkable for the strength of his understanding, had been for some time so greatly altered, that it was necessary to give him a successor, while he was still alive: he bore this association so impatiently, although Sillery behaved with the utmost politeness to him, as afforded a new proof of his incapacity to act alone*. His weakness increased daily; and returning again to a state of infancy, he paid at length the last tribute to nature, after having paid almost all the others.

THE king came to Paris on the 2d of January, with a design to carry the queen to Vigny; but I dissuaded him from this journey, and he contented himself with making a tour to Fontainebleau, from whence he returned to Paris towards the end of February, in order to go to Chantilly, which was his ordinary residence during the month of March, it being very pleasant there in that season. In a letter he wrote to me from that place, dated March the 8th, he tells me, that the weather there was very fine: that he was every day on horseback, and passed his time very agreeably. He fixed no where, till, after return-

* "You see, said he, to M. Bassompierre, a man going to seek his grave in Paris. I have served as long as I was able, and now, when I am found no longer fit for service, I am sent to my repose, and to take care of the salvation of my soul, which the doing other people's business did not give me time to think of before: a chancellor without seals is like an apothecary without drugs. Journal de Bassompierre.

When Henry IV. required the seals of M. de Bellievre, in order to bestow them on Sillery, he took the opportunity his journey to the Limosin afforded him for it, the great age and weakness of Bellievre not permitting him to follow the king in it: the chancellor said, "If his majesty would

"not make the seals ride post, he would take care to deliver them in time wherever his majesty should be.---You seem, sir, added he, to be afraid there is not ground enough in Guienne to bury me: I am in good health, and have no desire to live longer than I can be of service to you; but I should think life a burden to me, should you think fit to discharge me." P. Matt. tom. ii. liv. iii. p. 688.

This great chancellor, whose probity and steadiness were universally acknowledged, had served under five kings. He was the author of many useful regulations in the chancery. He died the 5th of September, in the following year, aged 78 years. He was born at Lyons.

ing to Paris on the 20th of March, he set out immediately for Fontainebleau, where he stayed the spring. He had fine weather during his journey from Paris to Fleury, whither he went to visit his children who were in that palace; but from thence to Fontainebleau the rain accompanied him all the way. In the letter, in which his majesty gave me a detail of this journey, he likewise informed me that the dauphin had come a league to meet him; that he found him very handsome, as likewise his other children; that the queen, who was then with child, was very well in health; and that they expected to be very soon at Fontainebleau. "Send me the news of the city;" said this prince, in a letter dated the 1st of April. "My wife and I are in good health, as are likewise my son and the rest of my children, who are the prettiest creatures in the world, and give me infinite pleasure*.

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THE queen was delivered on the 16th of April, at 11 o'clock at night, of her second son, who was afterwards called the duke of † Orleans. Montmartin brought me the news of it immediately, in a billet from his majesty; and almost in the same moment I received a second letter from him, in which he commanded me to cause the cannon to be fired. The birth of this prince redoubled the joy of the royal family; the king, who had intended to return to Paris at the beginning of May, thought no longer of quitting Fontainebleau, from whence he only took a journey to visit madam de Moret.

HUNTING was, as usual, his favourite diversion: although this exercise is not in my taste, yet I shall not venture to pronounce that it is not a very agreeable amusement, since so great a number of persons find an invincible attraction in it. The account that Praslin gave me from Fontainebleau, of the parties his majesty had engaged in, was not very likely to alter my opinion of it. In one of his letters he gave me a relation of the manner in which his majesty had spent one day: all the morning he had pass'd in fowling, hunted the wolf in the afternoon, and concluded the day with the chase of a stag, which had lasted till night, and in the midst of a shower of rain that held three or four hours; they were then six leagues from any place where they could

* Peresix says, "he loved all his children, legitimate and natural, with equal affection, but with different consideration: he would not suffer them to call him Monsieur; a title which seems to estrange children from their father, and

"to denote servitude and subjection, but ordered them to call him Papa, a name of love and tenderness."

† He had no christian name, dying in his fifth year, before he was baptized.

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lodge, and were obliged to ride from thence wet through with rain, except the king only, who changed all his cloaths before he came to Fontainebleau, where he arrived a little fatigued indeed, but in high spirits, and perfectly satisfied, because he had that day taken all that he had attacked. This is what princes call diversion; but we must not dispute their tastes or pleasures. The preceding day's fatigue did not prevent Henry from employing himself all the next morning in visiting his workmen, and running from one work-room to another. "It is certain, added Praslin, that at his return from the park he felt some slight touches of a fever; but this was nothing to him." Henry, when he wrote to me on this subject, shewed himself a true sportsman, for he always slightly passed over his fatigues, and dwelt upon what he called his successes; for example, he wrote to me, on the 20th of May, that he had hunted the day before with infinite pleasure, and had not been incommoded with the heat; that he had taken his stag very early, dined at Pontierry at ten o'clock, and at half an hour after two returned to Fontainebleau, where he found the queen, who had come to meet him. Another time he says, in one of his letters, "I have just taken a stag, amidst great heat, and with great satisfaction." Predominant passions are always thought cheaply gratified, be the purchase ever so dear.

THIS prince, however, was not so much engrossed by his pleasures, as to neglect any of his affairs; but as at that time they gave him but very little trouble, all he had to do was to write to me, or send for me to Fontainebleau, when he had any important affair to communicate to me: he sent for me and the president Jeannin on Easter Wednesday, and ordered his council to attend him there on the Monday after Easter. He never forgot to reward any additional trouble, by new instances of his bounty: "I will not, wrote he to me, wait for requests from those by whom I am served with diligence and fidelity; you assist me so well in my affairs, that it is fit I should assist you likewise in yours; I therefore assign you twenty thousand crowns out of the money arising from the extraordinary branches of my revenue: cause the necessary dispatches for it to be made out." In another letter he says, "I hear you are building at La Chapelle, and making a park there; as a friend to builders, and as your good master, I make you a present of six thousand crowns, to help you to do something handsome there."

THERE is another sort of letters which I received from Henry, that are far higher in my estimation, since the confidence of so great a prince ought by a faithful or affectionate minister to be preferred to presents; such are those in which he opened his heart to me, and confided to me his dearest interests. In one of these letters he thus expresses himself: "A thought has occurred to me this morning, which makes it necessary for me to see you, and consult you, as the most faithful and affectionate of all my servants." It was the same with every thing that happened to disturb his quiet. My son happened to hurt himself in endeavouring to break a horse; his majesty sent a courier expressly to know the state of his health, writing to me, that as a father and a master he took all imaginable interest in it. My son was still more dangerously ill in November; and the king, not satisfied with sending Du Laurens his first physician to him, and recommending him in the most earnest manner to his care, wrote to me, that I was so dear to him, that if he imagined his presence was in the least necessary, he would come himself, to give me this proof of his affection; and with great goodness allowed me not only to defer my journey to Fontainebleau for two days, but for all the time that I could be useful to my son.

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IN the unhappy affair that happened at Amiens, where Rambures murdered my nephew D'Epinoi, the king being informed of the excessive affliction into which this cruel accident had plunged the brother of the deceased*, sent a person to visit him in his name, and three several times afterwards sent him compliments of condolance. Some incendiaries had endeavoured to animate the whole family of Epinoi against the count of St. Paul †, whom they accused of having had a hand in the assassination of my nephew. Saint Paul, justly offended at these reports, came to his majesty, and, with all that generous confidence which innocence inspires, cleared himself of the imputed crime, by proving that he was in Calais when it was committed:

* Of several sons sprung from the marriage of Peter de Melun, prince of Epinoi, marquis of Richebourg, and Hyppolita of Montmoency, of whom (as has been before mentioned) M. de Sully had taken the guardianship, only two then remained alive; William de Melun, prince of Epinoi, viscount of Gand, constable of Flan-

ders, grand baillif of Hainault, knight of the order of the golden fleece, &c. it was he who had the great law-suit with the princefs of Ligne, which will be mentioned hereafter: and Henry de Melun, marquis of Richebourg, his younger brother, who was killed by Rambures.

† Francis d'Orleans, count of St. Paul.

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he spoke of the unhappy victim of this cruelty and artifice with praises, and with a grief so sincere, that I myself regretted he was not at Amiens, where he said he might have prevented this accident: he protested that he would willingly have shed part of his own blood to have preserved the unfortunate D'Epinoi. He afterwards complained that his enemies, besides the other injurious reports they had propagated, gave out that his majesty had resolved to have him examined in a court of justice, and had promised to treat him with great severity; that I had determined to behave to him with contempt, and get him prohibited from coming to Paris, while I was there. Saint Paul staid three whole days in Paris, to remove the suspicions that had been conceived of him. I thought he behaved like a brave and gallant man upon this occasion; and I believe he was very well satisfied with the manner in which I treated him. Henry was as much interested in this affair as if it had concerned him personally; he cleared up the whole conduct of Saint Paul to me, and in a letter he wrote to me at that time, desired me not to give credit to any reports that should come from the Bastille, where my enemies had no other view but to join a second misfortune to the first. He exhorted me to take advantage of the confidence Saint Paul seemed to have in me, to prevent the affair from having any bad consequence.

I WAS still confined to my house by this unfortunate accident, when the king came to me one day to confer with me about some affairs of gallantry, which I have forgot; all I remember is, that I expressed myself in very severe terms against Madame d'Angoulesme* and another person, who were principally concerned in it; and that I was bold enough to represent to Henry that amours, which so little suited with his age and dignity, were so many baneful wounds to his glory, and probably would end in something still more fatal. My freedom, often graciously received, produced nothing this time but an extreme rage in Henry, and drew upon myself the most lively reproaches from him. He left my chamber in such wrath, that he was heard to say aloud, and with great emotion, "It is impossible to bear with this man any longer; he is eternally contradicting me, and approves of nothing I propose: but, by heaven, I will make him obey me; he shall not appear in my presence these fifteen days." My disgrace appeared to all that were present as a thing absolutely re-

* Charlotte de Montmorency, wife of Charles de Valois, duke of Angoulesme.

solved on. My servants were all afflicted; but many others, I believe, inwardly rejoiced at it.

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AT seven o'clock the next morning, the king came to the arsenal, with five or six persons whom he brought with him in his coach. He would not allow my people to give me notice of his arrival; but walked up to my apartment, and tapped at my closet-door himself. Upon my asking, "Who is there?" he replied, "It is the king." I knew his voice, and was not a little surprised at this visit. "Well, what are you doing here?" said he, entering with Roquelaure, De-Vic, Zamet, La-Varenne, and Erard the engineer; for he had occasion to speak to me about the fortifications of Calais. I replied, that I was writing letters, and preparing work for my secretaries. And, indeed, my table was all overspread with letters and states of affairs, which I was to lay before the council that day. "And how long have you been thus employed?" said his majesty. "Ever since three o'clock," I replied. "Well, Roquelaure," said the prince, turning to him, "for how much money would you lead this life?" "Faith, sire, not for all your treasures," replied Roquelaure. Henry made no answer; but commanding every one to retire, he began to confer with me upon matters in which it was impossible for me to be of his opinion; and this he easily perceived when I told him coldly, that I had no advice to give: that his majesty having, doubtless, taken his resolution after mature deliberation, all that remained to be done was to obey him, since he was displeas'd when my sentiments happened not to agree with his. "Oh, oh," said Henry, smiling and giving me a little tap on the cheek, "you are upon the reserve with me, and are angry at what happened yesterday: however, I am so no longer with you; come, come, embrace me and live with me with the same freedom as usual: for I love you not the less for it: on the contrary, from the moment that you cease to contend with me on occasions where I am convinced you cannot approve my conduct, I shall believe you no longer love me."

IT is circumstances like these that serve to discover the bottom of Henry's character; and, indeed, to relate them is to shew him in his fairest light. It is common enough to see the ministers and favourites of princes fall into disgrace; it is likewise common to see them deserve such usage by a criminal conduct. On these occasions, can it be said that the punishment is the consequence of a fault? this is seldom the case. That which ought to be done, merely upon principles of justice, is often the effect of caprice, levity, and ill humour; for reason seems

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to be equally incapable of making herself heard, when she opposes the passions, or when she joins with them.

THE king afterwards conversed with me upon affairs which it is not permitted me to relate here; then embracing me, he bid me farewell. As he went out of my closet, he told De-Vic that he had provided for the fortifications of Calais; and raising his voice, "There are people, said he, foolish enough to fancy, that when I shew any resentment against M. de Sully, I am really in earnest, and that it will hold a long time; but they are greatly deceived: for when I reflect that he never makes me any remonstrances, or contradicts me but for my honour, my grandeur, and the advantage of my affairs, and with no view to his own interest, I love him the more for his freedom, and am impatient till I tell him that I do." A prince who understands his own interests, should thus from time to time give striking marks of his esteem for the minister he has made choice of; provided that choice be really good, it will likewise secure to him that of the public, which is a very essential point.

I NOW return to those affairs on which Villeroi and Sillery were, by the king's order, to confer with me. One of the most important related to the protestants. The king having in the preceding year granted them permission to hold a convocation in this, they were summoned to meet at Rochelle; and the deputies of which it was to be composed, were appointed in the provincial assemblies. It was from some of these very deputies his majesty received notice that the article of the convocation at Gap concerning the Pope, of which so much has been already said, was expressed in their papers. However ill-affected a part of those who bore the greatest sway in this assembly might be, they judged it necessary to send three deputies to his majesty, as well upon this affair, as some others which they knew would not be agreeable to him. The matter was this: they had determined to bring again under examination the question which had been already discussed with so much warmth at the assembly of Chatelleraut, concerning the nomination and number of the protestant deputies-general, and the duration of their office, as the time for which the present two were to be employed was near expired.

THE king, by sending the private deputies to me from Fontainebleau, where he then was, followed his usual custom on such occasions, which was to make me acquaint the assembly with his intentions as from myself;

self; and from a principle of affection for my brethren, resolving, if he could not succeed by these means, to make use of his authority. On the 27th of April, my brother was sent by his majesty to confer with me; but as I was still in expectation of seeing the king himself at Paris, I kept the deputies two or three days without giving them an answer, which I should have been glad to have concerted first with his majesty. On the 5th of May, I had a letter from him, in which he told me that he had altered his design of coming to Paris, and seemed impatient to know what I had done with the deputies. “ I know already, said he, all they could say to you in answer to those representations, which, in the letter I sent you by your brother, I directed you to make them. M. de La-Nouë, to whom I spoke yesterday in the presence of M. de Villeroi, repeated to me the greatest part of what passed. He tells me, he never saw so many fools in one set of men, and named Rivet among others. It cannot be doubted but that the deputies, before they saw you, consulted first with M. du Pleffis, who instructed them what to say.”

I WROTE such a letter to the assembly as his majesty required of me: I exhorted them not to arrogate to themselves any power, with regard to the article concerning the general deputies, which belonged to the police, or the government: I represented to them that the offices of the general deputies ought to last three years, less time not being sufficient to give them a thorough knowledge of affairs; and that they ought not to content themselves with naming two deputies only; because, as the choice was not confirmed by the general assemblies till private ones had been first consulted (a formality that took up a great deal of time) if any accident happened to one of these deputies, the party would want an agent with the king; therefore if, instead of two, they always proposed six to his majesty, the vacancy would be supplied immediately by his naming one of the six pointed to him in the list. With regard to the Pope, I remonstrated to them, that by again urging a question which had been already pronounced useless and disrespectful to the Pope, who by his gentle and pacific character merited a quite different treatment, they ran the danger of losing, through their own faults, and for a trifle of no consideration, that calm and happy situation which had so long been the end of their wishes. I referred them to the sentiments they had formerly acknowledged, and concluded my letter by representing to them, in the most forcible manner I could, that disobedience of any kind to their master was dangerous;

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I LIKEWISE got some other persons, whose influence with the party I was sensible was greater than mine, to write to them in the same terms, and entreat them to hear, and consider with attention, the arguments Montmartin had to add to theirs. I fixed upon him to be the bearer of this letter; and his majesty on this occasion thought him qualified to be the interpreter of his will to the assembly. I likewise made use of another motive to influence their resolutions, which his majesty expected would have some weight; and this was, that as the Rochellers had lately solicited the grant of two thousand livres for their college, I gave them to understand that his majesty would judge by the respect and deference which they induced their brethren to pay to his orders, whether they merited this favour from him. Some days afterwards I received a letter from the king, in which he informed me, that Montmartin and the deputies sent by him had been indeed tolerably well received by the assembly; but that they had not shewn all the respect they ought to have done, either to the speeches of the first, or to my letters, and those that were added to them, the authors of which had been styled in derision, "The four prophets of the church." The accounts Montmartin sent from time to time of the disposition of the assembly were not more to Henry's satisfaction. "If this holds," says he in a letter to me, "they will be kings, and we the assemblies." However, that party which was for the king carried it at last. The zeal Montmartin exerted in this assembly was rewarded by the king with a pension, although it could not be said that his success was complete with regard to the obstacles he had surmounted: yet he thought he had done all that was possible to be done, since he was able to declare to his majesty that his will had been obeyed. "Montmartin," says Henry in a letter to me, "has taken great pains in this affair, tho' to little purpose, which he will not believe; he has brought the shadow, but the substance remains; the article of Gap having no more than two voices."

THE church of Pons gave an instance of great boldness, when by ridiculously applying to herself the manner of governing in religious affairs by deputies-general, she took the liberty to name three persons to the king, Verac, Longchamp, and Bertauville, to be invested in quality of particular deputies with the government of that city. Henry answered only by his edicts: but he was not less offended with this insolence, than at the informations he received of the private conferences

rences Lefdiguieres and Muarat held together; as likewife of the difrefpect fhewn by the minifter Chamier to the conftable, in paffing through Montelimar. I afterwards made this minifter clear himfelf to Henry of the faults that had been charged upon him.

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TOWARDS the clofe of this year, the Rochellers gave the king another caufe of difguft with them, by writing in a body, without his majefty's knowledge or mine, to the king of England, to demand the liberty of a Scotch minifter, named Melvin, who had been imprifoned in the Tower of London for having publifhed fome injurious writings againft the king and his council. The Rochellers had nothing to fay in their own defence, againft a fact which the minifter Primrofe himfelf, who had carried their difpatches to England, confeffed to his majefty, and was, in confideration of this confeffion, permitted by the king to exercife the minifterial functions at Bourdeaux: but what rendered the Rochellers ftill more criminal, was, that they attempted to give this prifoner a retreat in their city, and to allow him to preach in their churches; which carried in it fuch an affectation of independence as was wholly inexcufable. The king of England did not require much intreaty to grant to a city he had an affection for, fo fmall a favour as the enlargement of a ft ranger he was glad to have out of his kingdom; nor am I certain but that the council of London found a fecret fatisfaction in making the king of France fuch a prefent: but Henry, befides the confideration of his authority, which was wounded by fuch a procedure, had the fame reafon for not receiving him into his dominions, as king James had for driving him out of his. He fent Bullion to confer with me upon this affair, which was alfo the fubject of many letters I received from him, or from Villeroi by his orders. I was likewife commiffioned by the king to demand from the Rochellers an explanation of this conduct, to reproach them with their temerity, and to prevail upon them to implore a pardon for it of his majefty, who appeared perfectly fatisfied with every ftep I took in this affair.

AMONG many real faults charged upon that city, it was found that there were fome groundlefs and unproved imputations. The jefuits being defirous of fending one of their fociety to preach in Rochelle, La Varenne, father Cotton, and fome others, chofe father Seguiran* for that purpofe; and, that they might not hazard a refusal from his ma-

* Gaspar Seguiran, afterwards confeffor to Lewis XIII.

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jeſty, they applied to Beaulieu and Frefne, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, who, by their own authority, and without mentioning it to his majeſty, delivered to this father letters by which he was entitled to preach in Rochelle. The jeſuit accordingly preſented himſelf at the city gates, and being aſked who he was, replied boldly, “ I am Seguiran, of the “ company of Jeſus, who, by virtue of the king’s letters, am come “ to preach in this city.” “ Go back again,” ſaid the centinel very diſreſpectfully, “ we know very well that Jeſus had no companions, “ and that you have no letters from the king.” The Rochellers, without hearing more, obliged the father to go back. Seguiran in a rage threatened to complain to the king, and did not fail to keep his word. He was ſo well ſecoded by his partizans at court, who, concealing all or part of the truth from his majeſty, exaggerated the diſreſpect that had been ſhewn to his orders, in ſuch a manner, that Henry in a billet, which expreſſed great rage and impatience, deſired I would immediately attend him at Fontainebleau.

I FOUND the court in an uproar, and the king ſurrounded by perſons who uſed their utmoſt endeavours to keep up his reſentment. “ So,” ſaid he as ſoon as he ſaw me, “ your people at Rochelle have acted in a “ ſtrange manner: ſee the reſpect they ſhew me, and the gratitude they “ expreſs for the friendſhip I have diſcovered for them, and the favours “ they have received from me.” He then related the fact to me, with an air that ſhewed he was determined to chaſtiſe them for the fault; but afterwards taking me aſide, “ I have been obliged to appear angry, “ ſaid he, to ſilence thoſe who are ſolicitous to find ſomething to blame “ in my conduct. But the Rochellers have not been entirely in the “ wrong; for I neither gave orders for thoſe letters, nor was informed “ of their intention to procure them; if I had, I ſhould have taken “ care to prevent their being granted. However, you muſt think of “ ſome means to ſettle this matter, without diſcovering what the ſe- “ cretaries of ſtate have done; for that will produce bad conſequences “ for all their other diſpatches.”

AFTER ſettling with his majeſty what was fitteſt to be done, I wrote to the Rochellers that it was abſolutely neceſſary they ſhould make ſome ſubmiſſion to the king, and aſſure him of their ſorrow for having offended him. I inſinuated to them, that by a little obedience this affair would end advantageouſly for them: I aſſured them, that the letters had been granted without his majeſty’s knowledge, but that they ſhould have no farther trouble of that kind, and that the king would put

put an end to this without encroaching upon their privileges: and, lastly, that I would take all imaginable care to manage their interests, together with two or three of their best and wisest citizens, whom I desired them to send to me. The method I took was, to procure father Seguiran other letters signed by his majesty himself, by virtue of which he preached at Rochelle a few days, at the end of which he was recalled; a medium with which the jesuits themselves did not appear dissatisfied.

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BUT it was extremely difficult to find one that would content the city of Poitiers. From the time that this city had been constrained to admit the jesuits, I was fatigued with repeated complaints of these fathers from the bishop, the lieutenant-general, and the principal inhabitants, either separately or in a body. These complaints, which were not made by the protestants only, but even by the catholics themselves, turned chiefly upon the great number of partizans the jesuits had gained at Poitiers, who on their arrival had given them possession of a college, and expended great sums of money upon houses and furniture for them, and had even endowed them with the richest benefices in that district: yet that these fathers, who had been settled amongst them upwards of two years, and during that time had the most part of the youth of the city committed to their care, had been of no advantage to them; a misfortune of which they were more sensible, having had before, as they alledged, good colleges, and excellent masters. To these they added complaints of more consequence, accusing the jesuits of sowing dissensions in the city, and in the whole province; and earnestly intreated that they might be recalled, and a royal college founded. It was not possible for me to do them much service with Henry, who lately had carried his complaisance for the Order they complained of so far, as to grant, at their solicitation, that his heart should be deposited in their college of La Fleche, instead of the church of Notre Dame, where it was the custom to deposit the hearts of our deceased kings. It was upon this occasion that a canon of that church, meeting a jesuit about the time that this distinction was granted to his society, asked him which he would rather choose, to put the king's heart into La Fleche, or la fleche into the king's heart.*

* I should have thought it more for M. de Sully's honour not to have repeated a pun so silly and full of malignity as this. *La fleche* is French for *an arrow*.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the favours his majesty was every day showering upon the jesuits, this society doubtless thought themselves still more obliged to the king of Spain, since he continued to support all their designs; designs which they carried on in the kingdom, and even in the midst of the court itself. The Spanish ambassador freely disclosed to the great number of friends this crown had amongst us, that his catholic majesty was resolved to prevent, by every method in his power, a king so ambitious, so prudent, so able a general as Henry was, whose reputation was so high, and who was so closely connected with the protestants, from executing those great schemes, which the money, the arms, and ammunition of all kinds he was amassing, gave but too much reason to believe he had projected; that it was necessary, therefore, to prevent his taking wing, since nothing could resist him in his flight, and find him sufficient employment within his own kingdom, by making use, for the same purposes as they had done during the league, of the enmity there was between the two religions established in France; that this was the business of all the catholics in Europe, whose fears were so much the more reasonable, as Henry had shewn by the protection he had granted to the United-Provinces, that he knew how to weaken the only power capable of making any great effort in their favour; and that it was, therefore, necessary to act in the same manner towards him, by endeavouring to consume his forces before they undertook openly to procure satisfaction.

IN these discourses I was still less spared than any other person. It was said, that I had prevailed upon his majesty to undertake greater things than any other king of France had attempted for these five hundred years, and that my chief aim was the destruction of the catholic religion. This last charge is the only one I deny; and it is, indeed absolutely false: but they thought themselves sufficiently authorized to load me with it, as it was the most likely to make some impression. I alledge nothing against the ambassador without foundation. Some of the ecclesiastics, whom he had confided these secrets to, had still love enough for their country to be offended with such discourse; they thought they satisfied sufficiently their conscience, and their honour, by obliging cardinal Du-Perron and his brother, to whom they repeated what had been said, to swear by their faith, and the holy evangelists, that they would not name them. It cannot be imagined, that the two Du-Perrons would forge an imposture: all was too circumstantial. They repeated but the words of the ambassador, who had likewise said, that
the

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the affair was already so far advanced, that it was no longer to be called a mere project only; for that many good ecclesiastics, and friends of his catholic majesty, had, and did still labour so effectually for its success, that a happy revolution was soon to be expected: besides, it was not only in his court that these informations were given to the king. He received them from all foreign courts, where the Spanish ambassadors publicly declared, that the balance began to lean too much on the side of France to make it possible for a peace to continue long between the two crowns. It was likewise added, that the Spaniards supported these discourses by the most strenuous endeavours, and the practice of every kind of artifice, to deprive France of her friends and allies.

HENRY, alarmed as he had good reason to be, with these informations, which multiplied on every side, had from the latter end of the last year talked of them to me; and sent La-Varenne for me one morning so very early that I found him in bed. As soon as he was drest, he took my hand, saying, "My friend, I want to confer with you on some matters of importance. We will go into my library, that we may not be soon interrupted; for although I have some touches of the gout, I shall continue to walk as usual, if possible." After relating to me the advices he had received, "Well, confess freely, said he, that you are not grieved to find by what I have told you, your opinion confirmed, that it is necessary great kings should resolve to be either hammers or anvils, when they have powerful rivals, and never depend too securely upon a perfect tranquility. I do not deny but that I have often contested this point with you; but since it is now clear that you were in the right, let us, at least, endeavour to reduce these rivals to such a condition, that when I am dead they may not carry their designs into execution, which probably they will then find it easier to do than during my life, who am well acquainted with all their arts. I am not so stupid, continued Henry, to take vengeance at my own expence upon your huguenots for the tricks they sometimes play me; they deceive themselves greatly if they imagine I know not the difference between my strength and theirs, and that it is easy for me to destroy them whenever I please: but I shall not for a trifling offence, or to satisfy others, weaken my state so much by ruining them, as to become a prey to my enemies. I would rather give them two blows, than receive one from them. Therefore," pursued he, rising in his temper as he spoke, "since the malice of these rascals is so great, we must endeavour to prevent it;

"and,

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“ and, by heaven I swear, for they have kindled my rage, if they pursue their plots against my person and my state, for I was informed yesterday that there are designs laid against both, if they once oblige me to take up arms, I will do it in such a manner that they shall curse the hour when they disturbed my quiet. Therefore make all the necessary preparations, and provide arms, ammunition, artillery, and money in abundance; and consider of some motto for this approaching year 1607, that may express the resolutions we have just taken; that if they make war on us like foxes, we will make it on them like lions.” I was charmed to hear the king talk in this manner, and obeyed his orders with joy. Upon the gold medals, which I presented him with on the beginning of the year, was represented the temple of Janus, a lily seemed to keep the door shut, which was still further explained by this motto: “*Clausi, cavete recludam.*” Henry was pleased with the invention, and thought I had succeeded very well in expressing his resolution not to suffer himself to be prevented by his enemies.

IT was with great difficulty that he could help regarding as such six or seven persons of his court, against whom, among many others, he was continually receiving informations. The whole house of Lorraine was comprehended in these informations, which was the cause that Henry, in a letter he wrote to me one day, made use of this expression: “All the crosses of Lorraine are false, and I am afraid the flowers-de-luce are not free from the contagion.” To these complaints his majesty often added reproaches on me, for appearing publicly to have stronger connexions with those princes than was consistent between persons whose principles were so different. Tho’ I looked upon the injurious reports that were made of Messieurs de Lorraine to be absolutely false, yet I thought I owed so much complaisance to my prince, as to mention them to one of the family, who might give him the most cause for uneasiness. I did so, and in return received assurances of obedience and attachment so apparently sincere, that I thought myself under an obligation to undeceive his majesty in this respect. I entreated him to do me the justice to believe that I would, without hesitating a moment, break off any connexion which appeared to me in the smallest degree prejudicial to his authority; and since he permitted me to offer him my advice upon this head, I represented to him, that even his own interest required I should not abandon the person of whom he complained: for although it should be supposed, that he concealed from me some part of his sentiments, yet, while I continued to preserve

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preserve some influence over him, I was very certain he would never carry his discontent so far, as to be guilty of any breach of his duty towards him; and that it appeared absolutely necessary to me, in order to prevent giving any apprehensions to persons who would be so much the more affected with an imputation of disloyalty, as they deserved it less, to be silent, and wait for a full discovery with patience.

WITH regard to those other persons who were comprehended in this accusation, the king told me nothing of which I had not been informed before him; but whenever I endeavoured to search into the bottom of these reports, I was always convinced there had been but little foundation for them. I was likewise so well acquainted with the motive that had induced these liars to propagate their slanders, that at length I took a resolution to give credit to none of them; and heard them without reply name several persons whom they found a malignant joy in abusing: not but it was certain, that the Spanish party at court was very considerable; I have been the first to acknowledge this truth, and none knew better than myself those who professed themselves friends to it: but what probability was there, that in this association, which they would endeavour to keep secret, they should introduce persons who were known to have a long and invincible aversion to it?

To this Henry answered, that it was still very dangerous that there never should be any conspiracy in the state, which they did not entertain hopes of engaging the noblest and greatest part of the court to join; and again repeated his importunities, that I would discover and prevent those supposed plots. Although I agreed with him in his maxim, yet I opposed it by another which seemed no less incontestable, that he ought not to think of punishing those crimes, as yet barely formed in the imagination, and carried no farther than wishes; but only to be strictly attentive to prevent their maturity, by separating, as if without design, those seeds that gave rise to them. And this ought always to be the business of the minister rather than the master. But at most, what could these people, represented in such dreadful colours, be able to perform? It was by this reflection that I endeavoured to calm the mind of the king: Was not his single person more formidable than a thousand of theirs? and were not his servants, whom he knew to be faithful, a secure defence against his enemies? Henry had no enemies among them whom he could not, by a single word, make

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tremble; and during his life, there was no reason to apprehend that the peace of the government would be disturbed by any revolution.

THIS is almost all that passed on the occasion, between his majesty and I, either by messages or letters, which he often sent me by the duke of Rohan. Henry at length followed the advice I gave him, which was to trace this business through bye-paths, and act with policy rather than force. I did not behold this employment in the same light with others that the king had charged me with in his court: I took several journeys thither on this account, and neglected nothing which I thought capable of dissipating these malignant vapours. I even offered his majesty to devote to it all the time he permitted me to spend at my houses in the country, and to pursue my enquiries, without ceasing, near him: I agreed with him that the letters I sent him on this subject should be written in a cypher which it was not possible for any other to understand, or counterfeit: I sent Descartes to Bar-rault to give him instructions concerning every thing it was necessary he should do and say at Madrid, both upon this subject and several others, among which was the affair relating to a memorial that was presented by the Spanish secretary, on the fifth of April, to the king at Fontainebleau.

IN this memorial, his majesty was requested to give orders for restoring to the Spaniards a certain capture made by Grammont, and of which he had refused to make restitution, without a command from his majesty. To settle this affair, all that was necessary was a perfect knowledge of the law relating to shipwrecks; for the capture was of that nature. The Spanish minister maintained that this law had nothing to do with vessels and pieces of ordnance, which belonged immediately to kings and sovereign princes, and of which they were actually making use. Neither the law which was quoted, nor the matter in dispute, seemed so clear to the council, as Spain would have had it. Villeroi replied, that when the famous fleet sent by the deceased king of Spain against England was dispersed in the Channel, they had, indeed, procured the wrecks that came to Calais to be restored; but that this restitution was looked upon as a matter of favour rather than right. The king referred it to me to decide this question, by the authority and examples of the archives of the monarchy.

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THE proceedings this year in Flanders, between Spain and the United-Provinces, will appear to have consequences very different for us. From the beginning of the campaign, some hopes were conceived, that a peace would be still delayed for a considerable time longer. Du-Terrail attempted to surprize the town of Sluys for the Spaniards: he opened himself a passage by petarding, and advanced so far at the head of the soldiers, which had been given him by the archduke for this enterprize, that he would, doubtless, have taken the place if he had been better supported; but his soldiers being seized by a sudden panic, fled: and thus abandoned he was obliged to retire, without drawing any advantage from his assault. The prince of Orange attacked Antwerp, and succeeded no better. So much pusillanimity served only to shew that both parties had forgot how to make war; and gave more weight to proposals for a peace, which were then publicly made. An aversion so deeply rooted as that of the Dutch for Spain, inspired them with a desire to make a last attempt (by the same method they had used the preceding year) to prevail upon us to make their cause our own. And this was the offer of a certain number of their best towns in hostage.

I BELIEVE I have not related what passed in the council upon this occasion. It was there alledged, that it was unreasonable to expect the king should every year expend two millions for the service of the States, without drawing any advantage from it: that the example set by queen Elizabeth afforded us a very useful lesson; and that the Dutch had reason to think themselves happy, if we assisted them upon the same conditions. There was nothing surprising in this opinion of the council, except its being supported, as it was observed, only by the zealous catholics; those very catholics who would have sacrificed every thing for the success of their project to unite France and Spain. Probably it will not be easy to guess what end these counsellors pursued by measures in appearance so contradictory to each other. But I shall explain it: they were far from believing the offers of the Dutch as sincere as they really were; and, in their opinion, there needed no more to create discord between the king and the States, than to accept their proposition. It was, therefore, resolved to accept it, while I discovered no otherways my dislike of this measure than by refusing my voice.

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HOWEVER, it fell out quite contrary to their expectations. The council of the United-Provinces* received this overture gladly, and consented to give the king six towns in hostage, which he should chuse himself, provided he furnished them with two millions, and a certain quantity of powder, and favoured as formerly their levies of soldiers in France. Buzenval, as has been already observed, being returned the preceding winter, signified this resolution to our counsellors, who in the perplexity they were cast into by it, knew no longer either what to say, or what determination to take. And I am of opinion, that instead of mortifying I did them a real service, by shewing them, as I did in full council, with what precipitation they had formed their first resolves: I convinced them, that the different supplies granted voluntarily each year by his majesty to the States, did not amount to near so large as that they now demanded of him: that the towns they offered were not upon examination a sufficient security for our money. In a word, I taxed, with still more satisfaction on their part than my own, all the arguments they had urged with ignorance and absurdity. This was an extraordinary council, composed of the king, the count of Soissons, the chancellor Bellievre, Sillery, Chateau-neuf, Villeroi, Chateau-vieux, as captain of the guards, and myself. No one having any thing to reply, it was no longer debated whether the offered towns should be accepted; and we confined ourselves to the former terms of friends and allies of the United-Provinces, either offensive or defensive; the pretext of which, as expressed in the treaty, for the States would have it one, was to make peace between them and the king of Spain.

THE States, to whom this artful management gave a fair colour for throwing the blame upon us, would not admit the change; but absolutely declared, that since they were refused the money they had occasion for, after having been promised it, they were reduced to the necessity of making peace with their enemy, and that we should see it concluded immediately. This was not what his majesty expected,

* There can be no doubt but the United-Provinces, at that time, really designed, not only to put themselves under the protection of France, but even to submit to its sovereignty. See their deliberation on this affair in Vittorio Siri (Mem. Recond. vol. I. page 418): but since it was

necessity alone which compelled them to it, this disposition could not be very sincere: nor would they have continued in it long. I apprehend the best measures which could be followed, were those the duke of Sully prevailed on the council to take.

who had promised himself he should be able to keep things as they were a considerable time longer, by giving the Dutch the same supplies and assistances as usual; and had for that purpose advanced them the sum of six hundred thousand livres at the beginning of the year: but they took his money without altering their design of a cessation of arms. And it was apparently to prevent the reproaches they had reason to expect from us, that we were again importuned with the same proposals of towns given in hostage, and of submission to the French domination, which they knew we had no inclination to accept. They likewise endeavoured to get a more considerable sum of money from us. Aërsens, on his return to Paris the beginning of April, had the assurance to demand a farther sum of two hundred thousand livres. Henry had his revenge; but, although he refused Aërsens, he neglected no other means to prevail upon the States to suspend their resolution of an accommodation, notwithstanding, he said, that from that moment it was but too clear to him that the point was already fixed on amongst them.

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PREAUX and Ruffly had already been commissioned by the king to make some representation to the States upon this subject. His majesty, who looked upon it as a piece of necessary policy to have some person, on his part, to assist at the general assembly of the States, which had been summoned to meet on the 6th of May, and in which they were to appoint deputies to acquaint him with their motives for agreeing to a cessation of arms, thought proper to order me to send Buzenval thither again with the utmost speed, and associated Jeannin with him in the commission. Their instructions differed but little from those which had been given to La-Boderie on the subject of the suspension of arms. I delivered to Buzenval his appointments, as formerly, for six months, comprehending only the expences which Franchemen, his secretary, might have been at in his master's absence.

Antony Le-
Fevre de La-
Boderie.

AFFAIRS were in this situation when we heard the news of a great naval victory gained, on the * 25th of April, by the fleet of the United-Provinces, over that of the Spaniards; and almost immediately after, Buzenval sent us a relation of it, which was as follows: Alvarès Avila, the Spanish admiral, was ordered to cruise near the Streights of Gi-

D. John Al-
varès d'Avi-
la.

* Other historians say, Monday 30th of April: there are also some other differences in the accounts of the action, but of little moment. See De Thou, book cxxxviii. Le Merc. Franç. anno 1607, and other historians.

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Jacob
Heemskerck.

braltar, to hinder the Dutch from entering the Mediterranean, and to deprive them of the trade of the Adriatic. The Dutch, to whom this was a most sensible mortification, gave the command of ten or twelve vessels to one of their ablest seamen, named Heemskerck, with the title of vice-admiral, and ordered him to go and reconnoître this fleet, and attack it. Avila, tho' already near twice as strong as his enemy, yet provided a reinforcement of twenty-six great ships, some of which were of a thousand ton burden, and augmented the number of his troops to three thousand five hundred men. With this accession of strength, he thought himself so secure of victory, that he brought a hundred and fifty gentlemen along with him only to be witnesses of it. However, instead of standing out to sea, as he ought to have done, with such certainty of success, he posted himself under the town and castle of Gibraltar, that he might not be obliged to fight but when he thought proper.

HEEMSKERK, who had taken none of these precautions, no sooner perceived that his enemy seemed to fear him, than he advanced to attack him, and immediately began the most furious battle that ever was fought in the memory of man. It lasted eight whole hours. The Dutch vice-admiral, at the beginning, attacked the vessel in which the Spanish admiral was, grappled it, and was ready to board her. A cannon-ball, which wounded him in the thigh soon after the fight began, left him only an hour's life, during which, and till within a moment of his death, he continued to give orders as if he felt no pain. When he found himself ready to expire, he delivered his sword to his lieutenant, obliging him, and all that were with him, to bind themselves by an oath, either to conquer or die. The lieutenant caused the same oath to be taken by the people in all the other vessels, where nothing was heard but a general cry of "Victory or death." At length, the Dutch were victorious; they had lost only two vessels, and about two hundred and fifty men: the Spaniards lost sixteen ships; three were consumed by fire, and the others, among which was the admiral's ship, run aground. Avila, with thirty-five captains, fifty of his volunteers, and two thousand eight hundred soldiers, lost their lives in the fight; a memorable action, which was not only the source of tears and affliction to many widows and private persons, but filled all Spain with horror.

THIS, indeed, was finishing the war by a glorious stroke; for the negotiations were not laid aside, but were probably pushed on with the greater vigour for it. At first, they would have had them considered

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dered as measures proposed only by the marquis Spinola, or, at most, by the archduke, without any mention made of the king of Spain: and some persons were weak enough to believe, that the whole affair was conducted without the participation of his catholic majesty. But a very little reflection would have convinced them, that it was not at all probable, that either Spinola or the archduke would have ventured to negotiate with the mortal enemies of Spain, either for a peace or a truce of any length, for both were talked of, without, at least, the secret consent of the king of Spain, or of those that governed him. This prince had already resolved upon it, as afterwards appeared; and if any perplexity was observed, it proceeded either from the nature of the business itself, or from the dilatoriness of the council of Madrid; or, perhaps, from those to whom, for form's sake, he thought himself obliged to communicate his resolution, which was not without some danger for Spain, and consequently only taken up through an urgent necessity.

THAT this peace would, and would not, be agreed to, was obstinately debated in France till the very moment that it was concluded. The king wrote me his opinion of the dispatches he received from the Low-Countries, and sent them regularly to Villeroy, Sillery, and me, to be examined in a kind of council. The most important of these dispatches was that which he received the latter end of May, importing, that in Flanders they waited for nothing to conclude the articles, but a promise from the king of Spain to satisfy whatever should be determined by the archduke, or by Spinola and the Dutch agents: that the marquis's secretary, who had passed through Paris some days before, was gone to require this engagement, with the revocation of Don Diego D'Ibarra, which it was said he had actually procured. To the account of which Henry gave me of those proceedings, in a letter he wrote to me from Monceaux, the 24th of May, I answered, that he might look upon the ratification of Spain as a thing absolutely certain, and consequently the peace or a long truce: that apparently it would be under this last title, as most proper to conceal the shame of the Spaniards, that the agreement would be made. To which I added, agreeable to what I had said before, that Spain yielded to necessity, taking it for granted, that she did not, under this step, conceal a snare by which she hoped one day to regain all that she now sacrificed to the exigence of her affairs.

SPINOLA's secretary had no commission for the scheme of ratification, as had been reported; for otherways it would certainly have arrived

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rived at Flanders, and even at Paris, before the end of July, as Henry had expected: either new obstacles were raised, or Spain, for other reasons, thought proper to delay it for some time longer, since it appeared not to be dated till the 18th of September. I was among the first that knew it, from the archduke's ambassador, who afterwards caused the report to be spread at Paris, with circumstances very favourable for the Spaniards, which Henry would not believe. The Spaniards, said he, if it had been true, would not have been so long without saying it. I wrote him, at Fontainebleau, an account of what the ambassador had said to me upon this subject; and my answer to him, the plainness of which highly pleased his majesty. The first dispatch that was expected from Holland, and which came, at length, on the 14th of October, shewed us exactly what we ought to think of this paper, which was wished for with so much impatience.

By this his catholic majesty not only approved of the treaty for the suspension of arms, which had been made by the archduke, but likewise engaged his royal word to ratify all that should be concluded by this prince, or his agents, with the council of the United-Provinces, either for a peace, or a long truce, leaving the choice to them, as if it had been settled and concluded by himself. He promised to use his whole authority in enforcing the strict observation of it throughout all his dominions, under a great penalty; providing only, that if nothing should be concluded upon by the negotiators, the present treaty should be deemed null, and neither of the parties be capable of demanding any other right from it, than that which they had before; and that every thing should remain in the same state they were at the time of the present ratification. It was written and signed in Spanish, "Yo el Rey," and in a placart, with which the States were offended: but they were well enough satisfied with the form, except only that they still objected to these words: "Without prejudicing the rights of the parties," which were expressed upon the supposition that nothing would be concluded. They raised still more difficulty about its being stipulated, that the present regulation should take place, as well with regard to religion, as to policy and government; believing that this clause was inserted to dispute with them the rights of real sovereigns of the ecclesiastic police: but the paper was, by the deputies from France and England, whose advice they asked concerning it, judged fit to be received. Jeannin, who sought to make the name of his master as considerable as he could, told him, that the king would never be brought to approve

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prove of their breaking off the treaty for a trifle, after having acceded to all, when, if the matter was well considered, it would be found that they engaged for nothing more than what they had themselves a desire to do. Therefore, it was his advice to them, that all the favours they granted to the catholics in their republic, should appear rather to proceed from themselves, or through the interposition of his most christian majesty, than by virtue of a contract made with the archdukes and with Spain.

THIS was the ratification that had made so much noise*. Henry, when he sent me a copy of it by young Lomenie, wrote to me in these words: "Time will unfold to us what advantages either party will draw from it. Prince Maurice already talks as if he would not receive it; and that it would likewise be rejected in Zealand." The truce, in which this negotiation ended at last, was neither completed nor published till the beginning of the year 1609, many different obstacles having kept it suspended during the whole course of the year 1608. But, not to anticipate matters, let us content ourselves with saying that in this it produced a total cessation of hostilities, during which they seriously negotiated a peace. The king still kept Jeannin and Prieux † at Holland. The king of England had also a deputy residing there. His conduct, with those people, sufficiently made known his character, such as I have already painted it. There was nothing to hinder him from humbling a power which was odious to him; France, although she could subsist without her neighbours better than any other crown, pointed out the way to him, and offered to shew the example: but what can be expected from persons who neither know how to seize opportunities as they offer, to execute any thing boldly, or even to desire any thing with steadiness?

UPON notice given by De-Vic, that in contempt of treaties, and notwithstanding repeated declarations from the archdukes, our neighbours continued building the fort of Rebuy, which would be soon in

* See De-Thou, *Le Merc. Franc.* and other historians, anno 1607; and also the 998th vol. of the king's MSS. which contains many curious pieces on the affairs of the United Netherlands.

† Mons. de Buzenval died at Leyden, the 23d of September; a man of great reputation, as well in France as in other

nations. "To do honour to his worth and merit, say the *Memoirs de l'Histoire de France*, the states-general defrayed the expences of his funeral, which was performed with the same pomp and ceremony as the prince of Orange's had been."

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a condition of defence; the king sent orders to that vice-admiral to send some troops thither, who surpris'd the workmen, and threw down all that they had built, without killing or wounding any person whatever. "Our neighbours," said Villeroi, in a letter to me, "have reason to be offended: but it is better, that they should be petitioners, and complain, than that we should."

The Grisons, at length, determin'd to show the Spaniards somewhat less respect, after having too long submitted to foorth and court them. The efforts which were made by the mutineers amongst them, to banish the protestants, and to reduce the whole country to the Spanish yoke, ended in a real sedition, in which the senate discovered, that the count of Fuentes had made the bishop of Coire and his adherents play the chief parts, by means of two pensioners of Spain, who bore all the punishment: they were seized and delivered up to the secular power, which performed a speedy and exemplary piece of justice upon them. The leagues, at the same time, caus'd the articles of Milan to be cancelled, the sole tie that bound them to Spain, and solemnly confirm'd their alliances with France, and the Venetians: after this bold stroke, the Grisons became more than ever sensible how necessary the advice and assistance of his most christian majesty was to them. The courier, who came to make these two requests, brought this good news in six days after he quitted the Valteline.

ALTHOUGH the count of Fuentes, in public, talk'd of nothing but revenging his master, and affect'd to make great preparations in Germany and Switzerland: yet France was not alarm'd, being persuad'd, that if, by these vain threats, he could drive off any decision concerning the affair of the Valteline, he would not insist very obstinately on that of the two pensioners, and of the cancelled articles. The emperor Rodolph had sufficient employment upon his hands in his own dominions: having attempted to deprive the protestants of Transilvania of liberty of conscience, a Transilvanian, named Bostkay, had put himself at their head, and handled the imperial troops so roughly, that the emperor, being apprehensive that the male-contents would be join'd by the Turks, found himself oblig'd to leave those people in quiet, and to grant to Bostkay the lordship of the country.

WITH regard to the Swiss cantons, Spain had reason to believe, that the leagues would not have acted in the manner they had done, without

without the concurrence of those cantons which were in alliance with the duchy of Milan.

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THE king gave the Grisons to understand, that he would not abandon them; he made the same promise to the little republic of Geneva, which he thought might be of some use to him in his great designs; he sent her money to maintain her forces, and to make a plentiful provision of ammunition. His majesty did still more; for he sent letters to Geneva, filled with expressions of his regard for that city, by Boissé, colonel of the regiment of Navarre, and governor of the city and castle of Bourg, and offered them this officer to assist them in the conduct of their enterprizes; and did not scruple to communicate to them his design of making Geneva a magazine of cannon, and all kinds of warlike stores; as well to serve their occasions, as those which his majesty might have for them in those cantons. On the 21st of April, the republic returned the king an answer full of acknowledgments for the testimonies he gave them of his goodness, and promises of giving him the most exact informations of whatever their common enemies might practise against them. Notwithstanding these mutual good offices between the king and the republic of Geneva, Henry did not break with the duke of Savoy; but, on the contrary, the count of Garmare, envoy from this prince, having taken leave of the king at Fontainebleau, the latter end of October, with an intention to repass the Alps, with the marquis De-Beuillaque, envoy from the grand duke of Tuscany, without taking their rout through Paris (at least as the king thought, his majesty wrote to me, desiring that I would send him two crochets of precious stones, each valued at a thousand crowns, to present them with.

ENGLAND was not without her troubles this year. His Britannic majesty, after putting to death the two jesuits, Garnet and Oldicorne, the chief actors in the plot laid against his person, which has been already mentioned in the preceding year, thought it necessary to have the oath of fidelity again administered to all his subjects, which was done with some circumstances derogatory to the honour and power of the pope, on whom this prince laid the blame of the plot. This so highly offended his holiness, that he sent a brief into England, by which all the catholics there were prohibited from taking this oath.

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THE holy father was just then happily delivered from the perplexity into which his quarrel with the Venetians had thrown him: the king terminated this affair to the satisfaction of both parties, by the cardinal Joyeuse, who, in the month of April, sent his equerry to his majesty, with the news and the conditions. The republic *, making the first advances, as became them, resigned, through the interposition of the French ambassador, the two ecclesiastics who were prisoners, into the hands of a person appointed by the pope to receive them, without any protestation that could be displeasing to his holiness. They, likewise, revoked all they had done against the interdict, upon his majesty's assuring them, that the pope would afterwards recal this interdict in the most gracious form. All this was done by cardinal Joyeuse, without any farther interposition of the Spanish ambassadors, than what he thought fit to allow them, which greatly enhanced the glory his majesty acquired by this reconciliation †. Henry, being desirous of giving some gratuity to cardinal Aldobrandin, left the manner of it to me: as I had some reason to believe that his eminence would be better pleased with money than rings and jewels, I decided for a pension rather than a present.

CARDINAL Barberini, returning to Rome from his nunciature, thought himself so much obliged to me for the services I had rendered

* According to other historians, the doge and senate would not give the pope any satisfaction; nor receive absolution, much less sue for it. And Paul V. was extremely mortified at the indifference wherewith what he would have had esteemed as a favour, was received at Venice. Fresne-Canaye said, on his returning from his embassy, that the pope was treated with no more respect at Venice than at Geneva. It is certain, at least, that all his endeavours to restore the jesuits were useless. "This affair, says Monf. de Pé-
"réfixe, retarded the accommodation for
"some months, and was near breaking it
"off entirely: for the pope, considering
"they had been driven out on his account,
"absolutely insisted, that the senate should
"restore them their houses and effects:
"the senate, on the contrary, were ob-
"stinately resolved to risk every thing

"rather than consent to it. At last, the
"pope, persuaded by the eloquence of
"the cardinal du Perron, conceived it
"would be more adviseable to make some
"concessions in this point, than to run
"the hazard of embroiling all Christen-
"dom; so that they remained banished
"from the Venetian territories. Pope
"Alexander VII. by his intercession, has
"re-established them there." Péréfixe,
Journal de L'Etoile, Memoires pour l'Histoire de France, Mercure François, Matthieu, &c. anno 1607.

† "It was I, said Henry IV. who
"made the peace of Italy." The Mer-
"cure François observes, that Francis de
"Castro, and Don Inigo de Cardenas, mi-
"nisters from Spain at Rome, in vain en-
"deavoured to prevail on the pope to appoint
"cardinal Zepula associate to cardinal de
"Joyeuse, anno 1607.

him,

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him, that he talked of them publicly in terms of the highest acknowledgment, which, in the month of November, procured me a most obliging brief from Paul V. His holiness, at least, made this a pretence for writing to me, and recommending the person who was to succeed Barberini to my favour, who was the elu of the church of Mont-Politian. I shall not relate here either the acknowledgements made me by his holiness, or the praises, kind offers, and other civilities with which his letter was filled, since this would be only to repeat what I have already said, on occasion of the brief sent me formerly by Clement VIII. both which contained the most earnest entreaties, and most pathetic exhortations, to embrace the Roman catholic religion. I answered Paul V. in the same manner as I had done his predecessor, in terms the most polite, respectful, and satisfactory, I could imagine; except only, that I observed a profound silence upon the article of my change of religion.

BUT let us now return from this detail of foreign affairs to those of the government, and begin with the finances, after having premised, in the first place, that the finances of Navarre * were this year reunited to those of France; so that we shall no longer treat of them separately. And, secondly, that the long stay his majesty made in his palaces without Paris, and at a distance from his council, was the cause that almost all business was transacted by letters. His majesty chose rather to take this trouble upon him, than to oblige his secretaries and other people in office to do business near his person. He, likewise, granted the same indulgence to those whose employments, tho' of another kind, required their attendance on him. His majesty's service was never less troublesome or expensive to the inferior officers of the crown.

THE king, at a visit he made me in the arsenal, speaking of the regulations to be made in the finances for the present year, desired I would give him a summary account of all the money I had paid since I had governed the finances, to the persons named in the following calculation, which I presented to him, eight days afterwards, in this

* The author here undoubtedly means to speak of the edict, tho' it was not past till 1609, whereby the demesnes, and all the estates which belonged to Henry IV. as king of Navarre, and which, till that time, had always been kept separate from the crown of France, because that prince had granted the income thereof to his sister

Catherine, were united to it in an unalienated perpetuity, &c. These estates comprehend the duchies of Vendôme and Albret; the earldom of Foix, Armagnac, Bigorre, Gaure, Merle, Beaumont, La Ferre, the vicounty of Limoge, and other rights and revenues. See the above-mentioned historians.

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form: To the Swiss cantons, and leagues of the Grisons, seventeen millions three hundred and fifty thousand livres; debt to England in money given to the United Provinces, six millions nine hundred and fifty thousand livres; to several princes of Germany, four millions eight hundred and ninety seven thousand livres; to the grand duke of Tuscany, and other Italian princes, eighteen thousand livres; to Gondy, Zamet, Cenamy, and other contractors, for debts due upon salt and the large farms, four millions eight hundred thousand livres; for debts contracted during the league, thirteen millions seven hundred and seventy thousand livres; for debts due to the province of Dauphiné, Lyonnais, Languedoc, &c. paid out of the money arising from the Gabelle, four millions seven hundred twenty-eight thousand livres; debts to several persons, paid from the money arising from any branch of the royal revenue, four millions eight hundred thirty six thousand six hundred livres; to others, comprehended in a different account, four millions thirty-eight thousand three hundred livres; in presents made by his majesty, six millions forty-two thousand three hundred livres; for purchasing arms, ammunition, and furniture of ordnance deposited in the magazines, twelve millions; for churches, and other buildings, six millions one hundred and fifty thousand livres; repairs and fortifications of towns, five millions seven hundred and eighty-five thousand livres; for pavements, bridges, causeways, &c. four millions eight hundred and fifty-five thousand livres; jewels and furniture purchased by his majesty, one million eight hundred thousand livres; total, eighty-seven millions, nine hundred and two thousand two hundred livres.

QUEEN Margaret had inherited, from the queen her mother, very considerable estates*, of which she made a cession to M. the Dauphin. The annual rent of these estates, at the time she resigned them, amounted to twenty-four thousand three hundred and seventy livres: in letting out leases, I increased them to thirty thousand three hundred and sixty livres. I also recovered a capital of one hundred and seventy thousand three hundred livres, which produced yearly the sum of thirteen thousand and three hundred livres, that had been alienated, either by the deceased queen, or by Margaret herself. I could have wished to have recovered another part of those estates, worth ninety-four thousand livres, bringing in annually the sum of eight thousand three hundred and ninety-five livres; but it had been absolutely sold, or given away, by these two princesses.

* The particulars of these estates have been enumerated before, in speaking of the suit between queen Margaret and the duke of Angouleme.

I UNDERTOOK to reunite to the crown-lands, all the registers and clerks-offices at the courts of Languedoc, which had been alienated. This design was no sooner known, than La-Fosse, and several other contractors, came to make me offers. The part I took was, to allow those farmers to redeem them, on condition that, at the expiration of a certain number of years, during which it was agreed they should enjoy them, they should restore them quite cleared to his majesty; a praise-worthy, and in some degree necessary œconomy, and authorised by all the laws of public and private justice. The contracts made with the purchasers imparted expressly a power of perpetual redemption for their own court; an observation I make here, because the parliament of Toulouse, in registering the letters-patent expediated for this treaty, thought proper to except their offices and those of the city. I wrote to the first president, Verdun, that the king was justly incensed at this contempt of the laws, which was still more extraordinary in persons appointed to maintain justice and order; and that he would have cited the whole body, if some friends of that parliament had not suspended the effects of his anger, by promising him an entire obedience: for, indeed, what right had the parliament of Languedoc to desire their offices should be excepted from a general rule for the whole province? and, if it was the kind of treaty that displeased them, why, since the proprietors of these offices were allowed to sell, alienate, infeof, and transfer them to others, in the same manner as if they had been part of their own property, would they attempt to deprive his majesty of this right, who was become proprietor of those estates? To this no reply could be made; and the parliament of Toulouse remained convicted of partiality from the fact itself.

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THE parliament of Dijon consented to purchase, for the sum of sixty thousand crowns, a grant for the jurisdiction of Bresse. However, they gave themselves no trouble about raising this sum, which determined his majesty to augment the gabelle in this province, which would, at least, procure him a part of it. The parliament presumed to suppress this augmentation by an arret, which was, indeed, cancelled by the council; but at the hazard of raising a sedition among the people, who had not before murmured at this impost. The baron de Lux was commissioned by the king, to declare to the parliament of Burgundy how highly he was offended at this procedure. I advised his majesty to prescribe to that parliament a certain time for the payment of the sum that had been promised by them; and, if they did not satisfy

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tisfy him, to declare, without any other form, the jurisdiction of Bresse transferred to the parliament of Dauphiné. The word parliament carries with it an idea of equity, and even wisdom; yet, in these bodies, we meet with such instances of irregularity, that one cannot help concluding, that, if infallibility may be hoped for among men, it will be found rather in one than a multitude.

I HAVE been always scandalized at the chambers of accounts, which though established merely that the proceedings between the principal directors of the revenue, the different persons accountable, and the other receivers, might be carried on with method, integrity, and truth, have been of no other effect than to teach all the parties concerned to cheat and steal, by allowing, in the accounts which they passed, a thousand articles which were equally known to be false on one side and on the other. My scheme was to declare all the accounts which had been given in from the year 1598, exclusive, subject to review. I writ a circular letter to the chambers of accounts, the 1st of April, in which I told them, that, in conformity to the pleasure of his majesty, who desired to be satisfied concerning the conduct of all the persons entrusted with his money, I had made an exact search for the accounts audited in the council from the year 1598, and not having found such and such receipt for such and such years, which I particularised to each of the chambers, in the search that I had made into their several accounts, one of those things must have been, either that the persons, who were to pay in the public money, had neglected to give in their accounts, or that the council had omitted to keep the extracts or copies. To know which of these was true, I enjoined these chambers to have the duplicates of these accounts laid before them, to compare them with the papers of the king's council, and to draw up an extract of all that which they found contrary to the form which the king prescribed them, and which was expressly sent them every year, that no difficulty might embarrass them. I did not forget to explain to them how that extract ought to be made, with exact inclusion of all residues, salaries, costs, charges of accounts, wages, exemptions, taxations, receipts, and other things of the like nature; I ordered them to make extracts of the accounts, not only of general but of particular receivers; because his majesty had been told, that the accounts of particular receivers, not being used to be audited by the council, were those which gave room for most of the illegal prosecutions on the part of the chambers. I concluded the letter with telling them, that, in order to set this inquiry on foot, I neither sent them an edict,

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edict, nor particular commissions, because they were able to do it b, virtue of their office: but, if they thought farther powers necessary they need but ask them; and that they ought to think themselves obliged to his majesty, that, instead of the rigorous proceedings of a chamber of justice, or an appointment of commissioners, he employed only his ordinary officers to correct abuses; and that it was their business to requite this goodness, by giving the highest proofs of exactness and honesty.

THIS was an affair likely to cause a dispute between the chamber of accounts, and the treasurers, receivers, and other persons employed in the payment of the revenue, who endeavoured to turn aside the stroke by two means: first, by drawing the whole office upon the chamber of accounts; secondly, by declaring that the king had made them purchase a security, both for themselves and their under-agents, against any retrospective enquiry, by a tax of six hundred thousand livres, which had in effect been paid. There remained yet another refuge in the chamber of accounts, where we were opposed by difficulties of another kind. Those bodies pretended, as they always do, that the sovereign authority, with which they were entrusted in all affairs of the revenue, entitled them to give the last audit to all accounts, without being subject to any examination, even of the king himself. I considered this objection as no further valid than as between the chambers and myself; and I shewed his majesty, that I was willing to undertake these sovereign courts, provided that he, on his part, would give to me, to them, and the council, the necessary orders. It was not my fault that the affair stopt here.

NOTWITHSTANDING the regulation which had been made the foregoing year, for the direction of the commissioners sent into the provinces, I still received frequent complaints against them. Hanapier presented his against the commissioners of the salt-office at Buzançois. I had some of them cited before the council, where a very severe reprimand was given to Tardieu. I could never make these fellows understand, that by harrassing the people for the tax, for instance upon salt, under a false appearance of zeal for the king's profit, he lost more than he gained upon the whole, by the insolvency to which debtors were reduced; and, to tell the truth, they took this pains only for the farmers of the revenue. There was a necessity of reviving, with yet stronger injunctions, the regulation of the gabelle, that which re-

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gards the distribution of salt among the provinces ; that which regards the tax, and that about the sale of uncustomed salt : for there was no reason why the condition of collectors of the taillie should be made worse, since it was an office in which no body entered but by force, and which almost no body quitted but with ruin. I, likewise, forbid the commissioners to use any extraordinary measures against the registers, notaries, sergeants, gagers, and other public persons ; or to oblige any public officer to pay the tax of his collection, without first sending to the commissioners-general at Paris the complete state of those taxes, to be examined and authorised. I forbid them, likewise, to decide any controverted case without applying to the council. When these dispositions were formed upon such views, it was not my interest that they should be kept secret, as they commonly are, between the ministers and the persons interested. By the same act which obliged Du-Monceau the commissioner of Berry to observe them, I made them known likewise to marechal de La Châtre, and to the treasurers of France, with whom I ordered him to act in concert.

THIS province appeared to me to want some regulation with regard to the marshalleys ; part of the revenues appointed for their maintenance being embezzled, or returned to the office of the receiver-general, the remainder was scarce sufficient to support a small number of archers : places where they were sent to reside were chosen with so little judgment, that in some, where they were most necessary, none were settled, as in Vatan, Issoudun, Argenton, Châteauroux, La-Châtre, and Saint Amand, where the royal authority was not well respected, and at the same time the middle of the province, where they were almost useless, was quite over-run with them. After consulting the treasurers of the province about a new method of distributing these guards, I sent them my regulation on this head. The court of election of Saint Amand being partly for Bourbonnois, they granted to the vice seneschal of this province a right of placing there a lieutenant and a brigade, as being of little importance for the public good, on whom this privilege was conferred.

I OBLIGED those who had been security for the receivers of the deposits of the parliaments of Paris and Bordeaux, to bring in, within four months, the declarations of these receivers to the office of Messieurs de Maiffes, Pont-carré, Caumarten, and Maupeou, appointed for that purpose ;

pose; and I declared, with their consent, these offices reunited to the domaine sixteen years after that date.

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CUSSE and Marigné, appointed for the reimbursement of the six hundred thousand livres lent to the king, in the year 1598, by the province of Brittany, sent me their final account of receipt and expence; or rather an abstract, and an inaccurate abridgement, by which I found, that, for reimbursing six hundred thousand franks, they acknowledged to have received and given out near one million three hundred and forty thousand livres. I was already informed, by the complaints that were sent me from that province, of the nature of that estimate, and severely reprov'd those by whom it was given in. I also prosecuted several persons for thefts which Vitry discovered to me in Guienne †.

WHEN it was known that the king designed to redeem several parts of his domaine, many contractors came and offered themselves for that purpose; one of them sent to enquire, whether the council would admit him to treat for a share of a hundred and fifty thousand livres: but he would neither discover his name, nor declare what part of the domaine, nor even the conditions that he would treat upon, only that those conditions were very advantageous for his majesty; because he neither desired a lease for a long time, nor any new regulations, but to take every thing upon the footing it was at present. He made it an express condition, that, after he had declared himself, no one should be allowed to outbid him, without paying him two hundred thousand livres. The singularity of this proposal did not hinder the council from accepting it; but the king insisted upon this person's giv-

† One of the principal acts of justice against the financiers, during the duke of Sully's ministry, was the imprisonment and punishment of the famous contractor L'Argentier. The Memoirs of the history of France, after having related (vol. II. p. 271.) his misdemeanours and embezzlements, adds the following story: "The last time the king was going to Fontainebleau, L'Argentier coming to take his leave of his majesty, told him, he would soon follow him thither to kiss his hand, and receive his commands; and added, that journey would cost him ten thousand crowns. *Ventre saint*

gris, answered his majesty, (his usual oath) that is too much for a journey from Paris to Fontainebleau. Yes, sir, replied L'Argentier; but I have, with your majesty's leave, something else to do there: for I propose to take a model of the front of your house, in order to have one of mine in Champagne built on the same plan; at which the king laughing, took no further notice of it at that time: but when news was brought him of L'Argentier's imprisonment in the Châtelet, How, says he, is he going to take a model of the front of the Châtelet?"

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ing in his name, and explaining himself, at least to the time and nature of the redemption, to him, the chancellor, and me. His majesty was apprehensive, that this unknown contractor might condition for a part of the domaine which was in the hands of some persons from whom it might not be convenient to take it. A man, named Longuet, presented likewise, on this subject, a long memorial, which the king sent me, as well as the proposals that were lately made him by the farmers of the aids at Fontainbleau, saying that he suspected, that those who came in this manner to make him proposals, in my absence, designed to impose upon him.

THE duke of Nevers presented a petition to the council, for suppressing the salt-office established in Rethelois, at the solicitation of the duchess his mother, to whom the king had given the profits of this office, for a certain sum agreed on between them. I was obliged to apply to the treasurers of Champagne to come at a certain knowledge of this affair, which had not been transacted in my time; and I found, without much difficulty, the original grant to the duchess of Nevers. The king, when he saw it, was of opinion, that this family could have no farther demand upon him. However he sent it to me with orders to make an exact calculation, and if any money remained due to the duke of Nevers, to pay it; and proposed, instead of suppressing this part of the revenue, to improve it as I had done the others. His majesty had two law-suits with this house for the inheritances of those of Foix and d'Albret, each party having a claim of millions upon the other. This affair was thought to be very perplexed: but, when I got the writings into my hands, I drew up a memorial so succinct and clear, that the king was soon convinced I had not been mistaken when I offered it as my opinion, that each party would be obliged to come greatly down in his demands.

THE people of Lyons had likewise a process in the council against Feydeau. They represented to his majesty, that the council's refusing to deliver them an arret, which they had already obtained, was a mortal injury to their trade. The king referred them to me, and I soon did their business. The good or ill done to such a city as Lyons is of importance to the whole kingdom. For this piece of service, the city of Lyons sent me her thanks by the mayor and sheriffs.

UPON a report sent me by the treasurers of Beziers, of the manner in which the tax of the marc d'or was levied, I caused an arret of council

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council for suspending this levy to be granted. I know not what the king was made to believe concerning it: but his majesty wrote to me not to let this arret be signed; or if it was, not to give notice of it without an order from him; not that he intended to authorise the abuses that were committed in levying this tax, but he was willing, at least, to know what they were. However, those abuses so strongly affected the money arising from it, that I was persuaded if the king blamed us for any thing, it would be for having so long delayed to provide some remedy against them.

BUT I was afterwards charged with a fault still more grievous in relation to the council: my enemies endeavoured to persuade the king that I introduced none into it but persons who, as they said, neither merited nor had any regard to the duties of their employment; and that this procedure occasioned great confusion in the council. If what they had alledged had been true, I confess I should have deserved something more than those reproaches his majesty made me, as I should have basely abused that confidence with which he had entrusted the whole management of the finances to my care. As I examined into the occasion of such a report, I judged that it could only be the scheme I had formed of joining to that great number of masters of requests, and other men of the robe, of whom the council was generally composed, some men of the sword, chosen from among those who had commissions to be present at them upon extraordinary occasions. And it is certain, that I never had an opportunity of talking on this subject to the princes, dukes, peers, and other officers of the crown, in whom I observed a strength of judgment and capacity, and that I did not endeavour to inspire them with an inclination for this employment, which, through a blind prejudice, they thought unworthy of their birth. He only is a truly great man who knows how to be useful to his country at all times, and on all occasions: and what is baseness but tarnishing by a soft and effeminate life, such as persons of quality in France lead during the peace, all the glory which they had been able to acquire in war?

FAR from supposing that I had done wrong by endeavouring to undeceive all those useless voluptuaries of the court, I avowed to the king, that it had been my intention, and thought it my duty, to settle this matter with his majesty, although by letters; and, consequently with no great conveniency. I drew out a plan of a new council, and sent it to the king, in which four men of the sword were to supply the places of as
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many counsellors out of the eight of which it was composed. To introduce this change in the most effectual manner, it was necessary to have a list of those persons in the kingdom best qualified for such an office, who had exceeded thirty years of age, out of which twenty should be chosen, which, allowing five for each quarter, would always keep the council complete. These were to attend constantly three mornings in a week where the council was held; and if they failed, were to be blotted out of the list, and their places given to others. What immense difference between a body thus composed, and an assembly where every member conducts himself by arts which have been the whole study of his life!

I SHALL not enter here into a particular detail of all that I designed to do. I only observed to the king, that if this project gave him as much pleasure as it did me, he would be still more satisfied with that general rule, which I believed I could so well regulate, as to make it possible for all the secrets of the state to be safely deposited with so many persons of different tempers, understandings, and stations. The king was going to hunt when he received my letter. He read it, however, twice over, and sent me word he would consider of my proposal: but all my endeavours to bring him over to my opinion proved ineffectual. The authorising great abuses is not the worst consequence of a bad custom; for those may be at all times opposed with success: but it is the giving credit to certain abuses less palpable, and concealing them under a masque of wisdom and an appearance of public utility, so as to draw the approbation of princes of the best understanding. These cannot be destroyed but after a long chain of reflections*, and applying remedies to them slowly, and one after the other: but the life of man is too short to afford him leisure for rooting up all of them. This was not the only occasion on which his majesty was not of the same opinion with me. He had been persuaded to erect a new chamber of justice against the financiers, a work that long experience had pronounced useless and liable to abuses; but still highly agreeable to this prince, who not chusing to apply any part of his ordinary revenues to his expences in play, buildings, mistresses, and other

* Certainly nothing can be truer than what the author says here; nor can any thing be more happily imagined than this project, to destroy those prejudices which still subsist amongst the nobility of France, even in this enlightened age. Why should

the finances, trade, or other functions becoming a good patriot, be deemed more degrading, than an acquaintance with the belles lettres, which the nobility are not ashamed to cultivate? We may hope time will remove these prejudices.

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things of that nature, which, as I have already said, were very considerable, was glad to find them supplied by a sum of money ready provided to his hand, and which the interested courtiers always represented much greater than he found it to be. I was so grieved to see Henry still the dupe of these people, that I shewed my resentment of it in full court: my plainness threw the king into such an extreme rage with me, that my enemies conceived great hopes of my disgrace. The adventure of the arsenal, which I have already related, added to this, raised them still higher. But, notwithstanding all this, I could not hinder myself from openly reproving the commissioners of this chamber, when I saw them pretend ignorance of the chief criminals, and punish with no less ostentation than severity such as were guilty of slight misdemeanors.

MANGOT, one of the commissioners, acting as king's counsel, having delivered an opinion contrary to particular orders he had received from the king, upon an affair which I have now forgot, I made him sensible that in me he had an overseer who was determined to let nothing pass. He complained of me to his majesty, and prevailed upon his brethren to join with him, at least so it was reported to me; and with circumstances so positive, that I could have no reason to doubt the truth of what I was told. The king did not, indeed, mention the affair to me; but this was far from being a proof that he had not been informed of it. I therefore, thought it necessary to give his majesty a full relation of all I had said to Mangot, that I might not suffer his resentment to go so far as I had sometimes experienced. I had told Mangot, that I would not submit to those pretended orders from the king unless they were shewn to me. It was not difficult to give a bad turn to these words. When I wrote to his majesty, I thanked him for not giving credit to the reports my enemies had made to him of me: I assured him, that the heat I discovered on that occasion proceeded only from my grief at seeing his orders disobeyed by people who expected that he should de spoil himself of his whole authority in favour of them, and his interests sacrificed to every consideration. I concluded with earnest entreaties that he would pardon me, if, contrary to my intention, I had done any thing to displease him.

HOWEVER, I had been deceived in supposing he had heard of this affair: he told me in his answer that he was greatly surpris'd to hear the first news of this quarrel from me; that if those men had spoken to him, he would have replied, as a master who loves his servant; that
all

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all this was only an artifice to inflame me and force me to complain, and by that means create some misunderstanding between us. "I swear to you, added Henry, that I have never heard this affair mentioned: your temper is a little precipitate, and I perceive by your letter that you believe all that has been said to you. However report is an absolute liar: moderate your resentment, and be not so easily prevailed upon to believe all the stories that are brought to you. By indifference, you will revenge yourself on those who envy and hate you, for the affection I bear you. This is the first time that I have taken a pen into my hand since this last fit of the gout. My resentment against these slanderers has surmounted my pain."

CAUMARTIN had managed with such prudence and œconomy the money he was entrusted with to distribute among the Swiss cantons, that he found means to reserve thirty thousand crowns each year, with which he cleared other debts, by making a composition with the creditors. Such an example of justice and probity ought not to be passed over in silence; and is so much the more laudable, as that if he had sought a plausible pretence for turning part of this sum to his own profit, nothing was more easy than to make the Swiss murmur at his parsimony. I did not fail to mention this conduct with all the praises it deserved to Du-Refuge, who succeeded Caumartin.

THE king had lately raised a company of gendarmes, to be commanded by the duke of Orleans, which he thought so fine, and so well mounted, when he went to review them, that he advanced them, together with that of the queen, a year's pay. He left it to my choice to take the two hundred thousand livres, which this muster cost him, out of the six hundred thousand which were every year brought into the treasury from the profits of the taille; or that the treasury, deducting that sum from the money appropriated to the ordinary expences of war, should pay it back again at the usual time of paying those companies.

WITH regard to the duties of my other employments, the most considerable, relating to the ordnance, was providing the necessary furniture for an armament of galleys; a work with which the king was highly pleased. However, I was willing to spare him part of the expence. In searching amongst the old papers of my predecessors in the post of grand master of the ordnance, I found, that in the former reigns, many pieces of artillery had been given to the captains of the galleys, which

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which they had obliged themselves to restore when required; but had not done it. The council, to whom I communicated this discovery, agreed with me that we might commence a law-suit against the heirs of those captains, and force them to make restitution of the pieces of ordnance lent to their predecessors: but, as several persons of quality were interessed in this prosecution, I sent the duke of Rohan to his majesty to ask his permission for it; sending him, at the same time, a paper I had drawn up concerning this affair. The king consented that the suit should be begun, but not carried on with all the rigour it might have been; which rendered all my trouble fruitless. It was always my opinion, that it would have been more proper for Henry to have seemed ignorant of the fact, than to have made attempts to have recovered those pieces of ordnance, and afterwards to desist from them.

I ORDERED plans to be taken of all the fortresses and coasts of Britany, which I sent to his majesty, that he might see what was necessary to be done there. I lost this year two excellent engineers, Bonnefort and the younger Erard, who was already not inferior to his father: their deaths grieved me extremely. I entreated the king not to dispose of their places, for which solicitations were immediately made, till we had both well examined the capacity of those who were candidates for them.

THE forcible carrying away the *Sieur de Fontange's* daughter, with which I begin the article of the police, relates also to my employment as grand master, since I received orders from his majesty to send some cannon before the castle of *Pierrefort*, which *Fontange*, assisted by his friends, besieged in his pursuit of the ravisher. The expences of a siege soon reduced him to great distress, and obliged him to have recourse to the king. Henry, moved with the justice of his cause, which, besides, as the common father of his subjects, he could not avoid interesting himself in, referred the petition and the bearer to *Sillery* and me, writing to me that he had just given orders to *Du-Bourg* and *Nerestan* * to hold their companies in readiness to march thither; and commanded *Noailles* to advance with his, in order to execute what I should judge fit to be done in favour of *Fontange*: but that if I was of opinion he should be at all the expence of the siege of *Pierrefort*, he

* *Philibert de Nerestan*, captain of the king's guards, and appointed by his majesty, the following year, grand master of the order of our lady of Mount Carmel and St. Lazarus.

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recommended it to me to follow the most prudent methods I could in this affair, that it might be as little burthensome as possible to the people. Henry also referred Baumevielle to us, who had proposed an expedient to him, which, he said, had more vanity than solidity in it; and having employed Vanterol to seize a man who was suspected of having entertained some traitorous designs, he sent him to me to be paid the expences of his journey.

THE good order of the police appeared to me likewise to be wounded by the judge of Saumur taking upon him, of his own private authority, to prohibit the exportation of grain out of the kingdom, and of selling it within the extent of his jurisdiction of Saumur. I got the council to cancel this sentence, even before his majesty was informed of it; and the officers of justice, by whom it was published, were summoned to appear and answer for their conduct.

THE parliament of Rouen granted two arrets, which by some persons were pronounced to be very good, and by others extremely unjust: one was upon the shrine of St. Romain, which is maintained in the privilege of giving a pardon for any assassination, however atrocious it might be*: the other upon the marriage of a man named Drouet,

* In favour of William de la Mothe-de Pehu, an accomplice in the murder of Francis de Montmorency, lord of Halloy, the king's lieutenant-general in Normandy, committed sixteen years before, in a very atrocious manner, by Christopher marquis of Allegré. Henry IV. calling this affair before his council, changed the pardon granted to La-Mothe, into a sentence of banishment for nine years; and to pay several fines, &c. The punishment, in all probability, would have been more severe, if the youth of the criminal had not in some degree alleviated his crime. The king, ever since the year 1597, had greatly abridged the privilege of which the chapter of Rouen is possessed. This process, which at that time made a great noise, occasioned a more strict enquiry into the nature of this question. M. De-Thou, vol. IV. p. 160. Nicholas Rigault, the continuator of De-Thou, and all other men of learning, so far as one can judge from what

is said on this subject in the *Mercure François*, anno 1607. p. 179, made no difficulty to esteem as fabulous the pretended miracle whereby St. Romain, archbishop of Rouen, delivered that city from the ravages of a monster or serpent, commonly called the Gargouille; being assisted in the enterprize by a criminal imprisoned for murder: from whence this privilege had its origin. The evidence by which it was endeavoured to prove that this privilege was really granted by several kings of France, could not stand the test of a strict scrutiny; but was found full of errors, suppositions, and falsities, in the times and dates. It is conjectured, that this pious fable had its origin from a true miracle performed by this archbishop; but that it was, by stopping an inundation; which poetical licence, according to custom, transformed into a monster, besides adorning the story with many others of its usual figures. The word Hydra, which was

auditor of the chamber of accounts, whose history does not merit a place in these memoirs. 1607.

THE first president of this parliament being seized with a dangerous distemper, of which however he did not die, his majesty ordered me to tell Jambeville, who solicited for this dignity, that he always designed it for him, but that he was not pleased with the eagerness he shewed to enjoy it. The office of advocate to the king in the parliament of Bourdeaux becoming vacant by the death of the Sieur de Sault, queen Margaret and D'Ornano requested it for the son of Du-Bernet, counsellor in that court; but the king refused them, not being willing to give this place, the importance of which the late troubles had sufficiently shewn, to any one whose character he was not thoroughly acquainted with: but the picture I drew of Du-Bernet procured him the favour of Henry, and a grant of the place. His majesty greatly regretted the loss of Dinteville and Bretauville; as likewise that of two officers of his household, Sainte Marie, and Canisy. As he had created their posts only in their favour, they were suppressed at their decease.

THAT exactness which I have prescribed myself, obliges me to give an account here of several sums of money, which, by my papers, I find to be paid this year, by the orders, and for the private expences of his majesty. Thirty-six thousand livres to Don John de Medicis: the king made me take them upon the hundred thousand livres placed in the state of finances of the present year, to the account of his uncle the grand duke of Tuscany. Three thousand to cardinal Givry, and the same sum to cardinal Seraphin, which remained of the revenues of the abbey of Clérac, due before the contract made with those of St. John de Latran. Three thousand two hundred and twenty-five livres to Santeny, who had lent that sum to the king. Eighteen thousand and

easily altered into Serpent, has so near a resemblance to the word which in Greek signifies an inundation, that this alone might easily occasion the mistake. To recite all the reasons contained in the pleadings, and writings of that time, or in the different dissertations wrote since then on this subject, for and against the privilege of the canons of the cathedral church of Rouen, would take up too much room here. It is no wonder there should have been so great an out-cry against an act of

devotion so singular as this, whereby an action the most unjust, and tending to authorize what is highly criminal, is made the most essential part of the commemoration of a saint. The ceremonies observed on this occasion (for they still subsist, and are performed every year at Rouen on the feast of the ascension, being called The Elevation of the Shrine) are described in the *Mercure François*, and in many other places.

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fixty livres to the bishop of Carcaffonne, which had been long and im-
 portunately folicted by him, as being due to him by his majesty,
 to whom he propos'd expedients without number for the payment.
 The king ordered me to require a sword enriched with precious stones
 and some papers from this bishop, which he had given him as security
 for this sum. Many considerable sums were lost by Henry at play;
 but I shall not set them all down here. He sent Beringhen to
 me for nine thousand livres, which he had lost at the fair of St. Ger-
 main, in little jewels and trinkets; writing to me, that the merchants
 were very pressing for their money. Beringhen came again some days
 afterwards for five thousand two hundred and sixty-five livres; three
 days after that, I gave him three thousand more; and another time,
 three thousand six hundred livres.

I do not with these sums confound those that were given by the king
 to the prince of Condé, to enable him to make the tour of Italy: Henry
 could not be at too much expence to inspire this prince with proper
 sentiments; those which it cost him to repair the bastions of the gate of
 St. Antony and La Place-Royale: those which were paid to redeem the
 queen's rings from Rucelay, to whom they were pledged; nor those
 which he expended in buildings for his manufactures, which were very
 considerable, and, in my opinion, very useles. The undertakers would
 have thrown down, for that purpose, all the houses on one side of La
 Place-Royale; but Henry, according to the plan of the comptroller
 Donon, ordered them to be satisfied with erecting before those houses
 a kind of gallery, which preserved on that side of the square a uni-
 formity with the others.

It was a difficult matter to agree upon a price with these celebrated
 Flemish tapestry-workers, which we had brought into France at so
 great an expence. At length it was resolved, in the presence of Sillery
 and me, that a hundred thousand Franks should be given them for their
 establishment. Henry was very sollicitous about the payment of this
 sum, "Having, said he, a great desire to keep them, and not to lose
 "the advances we have made." He would have been better pleased
 if these people could have been paid out of some other funds than those
 which he had reserved for himself: however, there was a necessity
 for satisfying them at any price whatever. His majesty made use of his
 authority to oblige De Vienne to sign an acquittal to the undertakers for
 linen-cloth in imitation of Dutch holland. This prince ordered a
 complete set of furniture to be made for him, which he sent to me to
 examine

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examine separately, to know if they had not imposed upon him. These things were not at all in my taste, and I was but a very indifferent judge of them: the price seemed to me to be excessive, as well as the quantity. Henry was of another opinion: after examining the work, and reading my paper, he wrote to me that there was not too much, and that they had not exceeded his orders; that he had never seen so beautiful a piece of work before, and that the workman must be paid his demands immediately.

HENRY did not leave Fontainebleau * till the end of July, when he went to Monceaux, where he staid three weeks. Towards the close of August, he went to St. Maur, where he was detained some days by a slight indisposition, during which time the queen drank the waters of Vanvres. The king staid at Paris all the month of September: he went thither again in December, having returned to Fontainebleau about the middle of October, and passed the autumn there. M. le Connetable went thither likewise, and was very graciously received by his majesty when they met at Bouron.

It was one of this prince's highest enjoyments to be with his children, all of whom he loved with the most tender affection †. Hearing in the month of August that the effects of the contagious air began to be perceived at St. Germain, he wrote instantly to Madam de Montglat to take the children to Noisy; and sent Frontenac post to me, to tell me that he depended upon my care and diligence to provide coaches, litters, and waggons, necessary for this removal. Monsieur

* He was attacked by the gout on Whitfun-eve. The fit was violent, says Matthieu, the pain most severe; but his courage and the strength of his constitution would have overcome it, had he not taken a greater liberty in eating fruit than his physicians thought proper to allow him. He did not indulge his disorder, but continued his usual exercise; and about the 21st of May, being in bed with the queen, and perceiving a new fit coming on in one of his feet, he removed into another bed; and finding the motion in his removal of service to him, he got up and ordered himself to be carried to the great canal, where he walked till he had tired himself to such a degree, that

when he came back he fell asleep; and on waking again felt himself free from pain.

† Henry IV. has been blamed for suffering the great affection he had, for both his lawful and natural children, to blind him so far, as to prevent his seeing their faults, and acting with his usual prudence in what related to them. This I find him reproached with in the book called *Histoire de la Mere & du Fils*, vol. I. p. 43. But I do not know whether the anecdotes it contains are as full of truth as they are of curious matters: I find an appearance of prejudice in it for certain persons, and against others, which gives one reason sufficient to lay no great stress on its evidence.

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the Dauphin falling sick at Noisy, his majesty instantly writ me an account of it, as he did likewise of his recovery; for he never failed to give me notice of every alteration in his health, whether for the better or worse; as likewise of all the rest of the royal family. It was judged that the children of France might return with safety to St. Germain in the month of November; but Henry, not willing to run the least hazard in a matter of such consequence, writ to me and Madame de Montglat, to stay at Noisy the whole month*. They were accordingly not removed till the first of December.

TIME did not bring to the family of this prince that tranquillity which was so often disturbed by the pride and folly of women: on the contrary, those domestic disorders increased every day: great part of the conversation I had with his majesty in his library turned upon this subject. Henry entreated me, in terms such as one friend would use to another, to interpose once more between the two persons that caused all his uneasiness. I shall treat this subject more fully in the memoirs of the following year; all I shall say concerning it in this, being only to explain the meaning of some letters I received from this prince: one of these letters is dated from Verneuil, near Senlis, April 15. He there complains, that after having promised him at the Louvre to use my utmost endeavours to bring about an accommodation, yet I had suffered fifteen days to pass without doing any thing towards it. "I see, pursued he, that the entreaties of a friend are not sufficiently persuasive, and you will reduce me to the necessity of requiring your obedience as a king and a master. Do not fail then to perform your promise, if you love me, and desire that I should love you; for I am resolved to extricate myself from all these intrigues, which, as you well know without my saying it, are but too often renewed; and will put an end to them whatever it cost me. Adieu. You are very dear to me; but I must be equally so to you, which I shall be convinced of if you render me the service I desire of you."

I FIND another dated from Fontainebleau, in the month of October, conceived in these terms: "Something has happened in my family,

* The comet which appeared this year in the month of September, gave occasion to take all these precautions for the health of the children of France; because the astrologers gave out that it threatened their lives. Henry IV. said to Matthieu his

historian, who relates it, that the comet had shed its influence on the daughter of the king of England; and that, thro' God's mercy, the astrologers had been mistaken. Vol. II. book iii. p. 769.

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“ which has given me more pain than any thing of the kind I have ever yet met with. I would purchase your presence at almost any price; for you are the only person to whom I can open my heart, and from whose advice I receive the greatest consolation. This affair is neither of love nor of jealousy; it is a matter of state. Dispatch your business quickly, that you may come to me as soon as possible. I employ M. Sillery; but he is unequal to the task. You may guess what it is in which I want your assistance: this obstinacy and insolence will be at length insupportable.” “ For my private uneasiness,” writ he some days afterwards, “ it will last for ever: if you were here you could not restrain your anger, but would speak your sentiments freely.” The reader, I do not doubt, greatly pities this good prince; and it was almost all that I could do for him.

THE duke of Bouillon received a striking instance of the goodness and gentleness of Henry, when he resolved to yield Sedan again to him, and trust the guard of it to himself, by withdrawing Netancourt and the company he had placed there. The Sieur Gamaliel de Monfire, commissary in ordinary of war, was sent thither for that purpose. His instructions, which were dated the last day of December in the present year, imported, that although the term of four years, during which the royal garrison was to remain there, was not yet expired; yet his majesty thought proper, for sufficient reasons, to withdraw it, and to put the duke of Bouillon again in possession of this city; that Monfire should give this company their pay for the remaining four months of the present year, after which it should be disbanded; and that this commissary should take care that the soldiers paid all the debts they had contracted among the town's people. It being the king's intention to fulfil exactly the article of the act of protection of April the 2d 1596, by which his majesty engaged to maintain there a certain number of officers and troops for the security of the city, Monfire was directed to make those officers and soldiers, who were placed in Sedan in the room of those that were commanded to leave it, take a particular oath to his majesty, besides that which by the treaty they were obliged to take four times a year at their quarterly payments. These officers and soldiers bound themselves by oath to serve the king for and against all persons whatever, even against the duke of Bouillon himself, if he should neglect to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of 1606: and, lastly, Monfire was ordered to oblige the burghers of Sedan likewise to take the oath expressed in the act of protection, which differed

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differed from the other only in this, that they were released from that taken to the duke of Bouillon, and by his own consent, if he should ever be capable of engaging in opposite interests to those of his majesty. All this was exactly executed. The original instrument of this transaction was executed before the notaries of Sedan, and proved as well as the two oaths taken by the burghers and soldiers, which were reduced to writing, and dated one on the 22d, the other on the 23d of January following.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XXV.

THE memoirs of this year, as of the former, will contain none of those extraordinary events, which cannot be read without astonishment or horror: I shall continue in them my usual details of the government, court intrigues, and the private life of Henry as well as my own. The winter was spent in diversions more varied and more frequent than ever, and in shews prepared with great magnificence. The king had sent for some comedians from Italy, in whose performances he took much delight: he often sent for them to Fontainebleau to play before him, and in my absence commanded my son to pay them their appointments with great exactness. The arsenal was generally the place where those plays and shews were exhibited, which required some preparations. The king, sometimes when I was absent, came thither to run at the ring: but he never thought there was the same order and regularity preserved, as when I was there: and the queen, and the whole court, thought no other place so agreeable and convenient for theatrical representations. For this purpose I had caused a spacious hall to be built and fitted up, with an amphitheatre; and a great number of boxes, in several galleries separated from each other, with different degrees of height, and particular doors

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belonging to them. Two of these galleries were destined for the ladies: no man was allowed to enter with them. This was one of my regulations, which I would not suffer should be reversed, and which I did not think it beneath me to enforce the observation of.

ONE day, when a very fine ballet was represented in this hall, I perceived a man leading in a lady, with whom he was preparing to enter one of the womens galleries; he was a foreigner, and I easily distinguished of what country by the swarthy colour of his skin. "Mon-sieur, said I to him, you must seek for another door, if you please; for I do not imagine, that, with such a complexion, you can hope to pass for a fair lady." "My lord," answered he in very bad French, "when you know who I am, I am persuaded you will not refuse to let me sit among those fair ladies, as swarthy as I am. My name is Pimentel, I have the honour to be very well with his majesty, who plays very often with me." Which was, indeed, too true; for this foreigner, whom I had already heard often mentioned, had gained immense sums from the king. "How, Ventre-de-ma-vie," said I to him affecting to be extremely angry, "you are then that fat Portuguese * who every day wins the king's money. Pardieu, you are come to a bad place; for I neither like, nor will suffer such people to come here." He offered to speak, but I would not hear him. "Go, go," said I, pushing him back, "you shall not enter here: I am not to be prevailed upon by your gibberish." The king afterwards asking him if he did not think the ballet very fine, and the dances exquisitely performed, Pimentel told him that he had a great inclination to see it, but that he met his grand financier, with his negative front, at the door, who turned him back. He then related his adventure with me, at which the king was extremely pleased, and laughed heartily at his manner of telling it; nor did he forget to divert the whole court with it afterwards.

I SHALL not here have recourse to the artifices of false modesty, to insinuate that the affection the king shewed for me, and the confidence he placed in me had risen to such a height, that if I had been capable of aspiring to the superb title of favourite, I might have obtained it. The reader may judge of this by the offers his majesty made me this year; but it is necessary to take this matter a little higher.

* Pimentel was not a Portuguese, but an Italian.

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AMONG the many calumnies which in the year 1605 brought me to the brink of ruin, my enemies by private informations endeavoured to persuade Henry, that I intended to procure so rich and so powerful an alliance for my son *, as might one day render him formidable to his majesty himself: that several persons, either, by my desire, or to make their court to me, laboured so earnestly for the success of his scheme, that already I had it in my choice to marry my son either to Mademoiselle de Bourbon, de Maïenne, de Montmorency, de Bouillon, or de Crequy, or into any of the richest private families in the kingdom, if I preferred a great estate to a noble name. This was one of the principal points of that long and serious conversation I had with his majesty the preceding year in his library, and of which I promised to relate all that I was permitted to discover, as opportunities offered. Henry asked me what were my views for my son, and whether there was any truth in those reports that he had heard concerning his marriage with one of those ladies I have mentioned. I acknowledged to this prince, that it was indeed true. Each of those families had made me offers very capable of dazzling an ambitious man; but that my constant reply had been, that it was from his majesty alone I would receive a wife for my son.

THE king appeared extremely well satisfied with this answer, and these sentiments; and opening his heart entirely, he told me, that with regard to me, there were two things which would give him equal uneasiness: one of which was, if, knowing the extreme concern it gave him to see the chief of his nobility mixing their blood with that of a burgher, or a plebeian, I should ever dream of marrying my son below the dignity of his birth; and the other if, erring in the contrary extreme, I should choose a wife for him either out of the house of Bourbon, or of Lorraine, but more especially that of Bouillon. Therefore, among the five young ladies proposed for Rosny, he saw only Mademoiselle de Crequy on whom he could fix his choice; for every one knew the houses of Bonne, Blanchefort, and Agoust, to be of the lowest class of the nobility, although otherwise distinguished as much by brave examples of personal valour, as by the most shining dignities of the state.

* Maximilian de Bethune, marquis of Rosny, eldest son of the duke of Sully, by Anne de Courtenay his first wife. He was super-intendant of the fortifications,

governor of Mante and Gergeau, and master-general of the ordnance in reversion, after the death of his father; but died before him in 1634.

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Henry, confirming himself in this thought, added, that he would not have the proposal come from any but himself; and that he would take a convenient time for it, which he did almost immediately after.

LESDIGUIERES and Crequy were not hard to be persuaded: I may even say, that the eagerness they shewed for the conclusion of the match did not abate, till they saw the articles not only drawn up but signed. I may say, likewise with equal truth, that in the conditions they found no artifice on my side: I sought rather to acquire tender friends, than relations still nearer connected. Nothing fell out in the succeeding years, that did not confirm me in the thought, that I had succeeded in my endeavours to procure this happiness. Those years were full of glory and prosperity for me, but they are past: those friends so affectionate have disappeared with my favour; those allies so respectful have vanished with my fortune: but what do I say, have they not endeavoured to complete my misfortune, and that of my son, by giving me cause to detest on a thousand accounts the most unhappy of all alliances? Why had I not the power of reading hearts? But perhaps I have reason to thank heaven for my error and my credulity: the temptation to which I saw myself a short time afterwards exposed, might have been then too powerful for conscience to have surmounted.

ALTHOUGH the marriage *, thus absolutely resolved on, was not celebrated immediately, as both parties left it to the king to fix the time for it, from that moment I looked upon the tie, which united the family of Crequy to mine, as indissoluble; and I was so far the dupe of the sincerity and tenderness of my own heart, as to make this alliance one argument for not suffering myself to be influenced by the enchanting prospect that was suddenly offered to my view. It was at the latter end of this year, which was some months after the treaty with the Crequy family had been concluded, that this temptation was thrown in my way; and in the beginning of this, when I was more strongly assailed by it. But before I explain myself, it is necessary to observe, that

* It was not celebrated till the month of October, in the following year, at Charenton, by M. Du Moulin, a reformed minister. The lady was only nine or ten years old: she was called Frances, daughter of Charles de Blanchefort de Crequy, prince of Poix, and afterwards

duke of Lesdiguieres, by his marriage with Magdalen de Bonne de Lesdiguieres, daughter of the constable of that name. The Marquis of Rosny had issue by her, Maximilian Francis de Bethune duke of Sully, &c. and Louisa de Bethune, who died unmarried.

it was still by an effect of the most refined malice of my enemies, that I saw myself in a situation wherein it depended only upon my own choice to reach the highest degree of greatness and splendor that any subject could arrive at.

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My enemies then began to insinuate to the king, under an appearance of zeal both for him and me, which he thought very sincere, that he had not yet done enough for me; that he ought not to delay offering and obliging me to accept all that his munificence was able to bestow, without requiring any thing more of me than what indeed appeared most essential and indispensably necessary; namely, to quit the protestant and embrace the catholic religion. It was, doubtless, far from their intention to procure so many advantages for me; and I shall easily prove, that the object they had in view was diametrically opposite to that which they appeared to have by the proposals they made. They had inwardly so good an opinion of me, as to believe that I would not purchase any advancement at the price of quitting my religion. From my refusal, therefore, they hoped to persuade the king, that he had every thing to fear from a man who was capable of making his religion triumph over his interest, which it was generally found no considerations, whether sacred or profane, were able to resist. The king, pleased with the prospect of advancing me, received this proposal with intentions so different from those by whom it was made to him, that I cannot preserve a too grateful remembrance of his goodness.

ACCORDINGLY he sent for me one morning to the Louvre; and shutting himself up alone with me in his library, "Well, my friend, said he, you have been in great haste to conclude the treaty for your son's marriage, tho' I cannot conceive why; for in this alliance, neither for blood, riches, nor person, can I see any advantage for you." Henry, it is apparent, had forgot that I had done nothing in this affair but by his express commands. "I have resolved, continued he, to employ you with more authority than ever in the administration, and to raise you and your family to all sorts of honours, dignities, and riches; but there is a necessity that you should assist me in the execution of this design; for if you do not contribute to it on your side, it will be difficult for me to accomplish my intentions, without prejudice to my affairs, and hazarding great blame; consequences which I am persuaded you would be unwilling I should draw upon myself. My design, then, is to ally you to myself, by giving my daughter.

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“ daughter Vendome * in marriage to your son, with a portion of two hundred thousand crowns in ready money, and a pension of ten thousand a year; the government of Berry to your son, to which I shall join that of Bourbonnois after Madame de Augoulême's decease; and the domaine she possesses there, by re-imbursing the money it cost her. I will likewise give your son the post of grand master of the ordnance in reversion, and the government of Poitou to your son-in-law, for which I shall give you that of Normandy in exchange; for I see very plainly, that poor M. de Montpensier † will not live long, any more than the constable, whose office I likewise destine for you, and will give you the reversion of it now. But to favour all this, it is necessary that you and your son should embrace the catholic religion. I entreat you not to refuse me this request, since the good of my service, and the fortune of your house require it.”

THE recital I have made here is so proper to excite and to flatter vanity, that to avoid so dangerous a snare, I will not give way to any reflexions upon it, not even to such as must necessarily arise on the goodness of a prince, who enforced his entreaties with acts of the highest munificence. My answer was conceived, as I remember, in these terms: I told his majesty, that he did me more honour than I deserved, and even more than I could hope or desire: that it was not for me to decide concerning the two proposals he had made for my son, since his settlement in the world depended entirely on his majesty, and he was arrived to an age that rendered him capable of serious reflexions upon religion, and might therefore direct his choice himself: but with regard to me, the case was quite different. I assured him with the utmost sincerity, that I could not think of increasing my honours, dignities, or riches, at the expence of my conscience: that if I should ever change my religion, it would be from conviction alone; neither ambition, avarice, nor vanity, being able to influence me: and that if

* Catherine-Henrietta de Vendome, legitimated daughter of Henry the IV. by Gabrielle d' Efrées. She married Charles of Lorrain, duke of Elbœuf, and died in 1663.

† Henry de Bourbon, duke of Montpensier, actually died in the month of February in this year, after languishing two years, during which time he lived only on womens milk; having prepared himself in a truly christian manner for his death. Henry

IV. being informed of it, said aloud, “ We ought all to pray to God to grant us as much time to repent as this prince had.” Matthieu, *ibid.* 772. The Duke of Montpensier was only thirty-five years old. The branch of Bourbon Montpensier was extinct in him; for he left only one daughter, who was contracted in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, second son of Henry IV.

I acted otherwise, his majesty himself would have good reason for distrust-
 ing a heart that could not preserve its faith to God. "But, why,"
 replied Henry, with a cordiality that sensibly affected me, "why should
 I suspect you, since you would not do any thing that I have not
 done before you, and which you yourself advised me to do, when I
 proposed the affair to you. Give me, I beseech you, this satisfac-
 tion: I will allow you a month to consider of it: fear not that I
 will fail in the performance of any of my promises."

"I HAVE not, sire, I replied, the least doubt but that your word is
 inviolable: I desire nothing so ardently as to please you; nor will I ever
 neglect any thing that is in my power to do. I promise to think seri-
 ously of all that you have been pleased to propose to me, still hoping
 I shall satisfy your majesty, tho' not perhaps in the manner you expect."

THE protestants hearing that I intended to break off my proposed al-
 liance with Lesdiguières, and to marry my son to Mademoiselle de Ven-
 dome, for this report was immediately spread every where, now be-
 lieved they were going to lose me entirely. They had long, with the
 severest reproaches accused me of having laboured to ruin the pro-
 testant party in France, by amassing up such considerable sums for the
 king, and providing such an abundance of warlike stores, which their
 fears represented to them would be first employed against them. In vain
 did I endeavour to convince them, that they had no reason to appre-
 hend such designs from a prince like Henry. Their prejudices made
 them always return to their former suspicions of me: in these they
 were confirmed by the affection the king shewed for Rosny, calling
 him often my son; the free access which all ecclesiastics had to
 my house; the care I took to repair churches, hospitals, and con-
 vents, in which I every year expended a considerable sum of the royal
 revenues; the brief of Paul V. of which several copies had been ta-
 ken; and I know not how many other circumstances, which all at
 that moment concurred to persuade them of my breach of faith.

THE chief persons amongst the protestants, and the ministers espe-
 cially, seemed to be most uneasy at this report, not only because of the
 triumph which their enemies were going to have over them; but be-
 cause they were persuaded, and they even said it publicly, that if I
 was once prevailed upon to abandon them, I should not act with indif-
 ference towards them, but become their most zealous persecutor. For
 a long space of time, I heard nothing but exhortations, remonstrances,
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and harangues, from that party, which were not likely to be very efficacious after what the king had said to me, if I had not happily found the strongest support within myself. The countess of Sault, Leſdiguières, and the Crequy family, exerted themselves, in the mean time, with the utmost vigour, to hinder the marriage with Mademoiselle de Crequy from being broken off, and that with Mademoiselle de Vendome from going forward: they endeavoured to persuade the queen to interest herself in their cause, and complained to her of what was designed to their prejudice. But finding that she would do nothing in the affair, they renewed their solicitations to me, making use of every method they thought capable of keeping me on their side; affiduities, assurances, promises, oaths, all were employed to dissuade me from a design I had never entertained.

DURING these transactions, I left Paris to take a journey to Sully, and my other estates; and immediately, upon my return, which was at the end of ten or twelve days, his majesty sent Villeroi to me, to receive my answer upon the proposals he had made to me. I was not sorry that he had deputed a person to me, before whom I could declare, with the utmost freedom, those sentiments which reflection had but the more confirmed. I told Villeroi, that I most humbly thanked his majesty for all the honours he had conferred on me: that I could never consent to be invested with the offices of persons still living; and that, although they should become vacant, I did not think myself entitled to them, being already possessed of as many as I desired: that as for what regarded my son, I should never have any other counsel to give him, than to obey the king, and to do nothing against his own conscience. I had particular reasons for being still less explicit upon the articles of my change of religion; therefore, I only told Villeroi, that cardinal Du Perron should bear my answer to his majesty. His eminence, as well as Henry, thought there was great meaning in these words: the king related them to Du Perron, declaring that he entertained some hopes from them. And soon after this, the cardinal came to visit me, and entreated me to open my whole heart to him. My answer had both strength, and even theology * enough in it to convince Du Perron that he had been deceived in his expectations; neither his learning nor his eloquence could move me; and at his return, he told the king I was inflexible.

* Theology which might be seasonable at that time, but would be much out of its place here; and which I also suppress, that it may not be offensive to catholic ears.

THIS prince, who was desirous of making one effort more, sent for me again; but although he made use of no other arguments than what the gentleness of his disposition, and his affection for me suggested, and, if I may be permitted to say so, such sollicitations as became our ancient friendship, yet I was persuaded, the danger would not stop there, great as it was even then, especially when he began to reproach me, and called my constancy and firmness, obduracy to him; and a certain sign, he said, that I no longer loved him. At length, he told me, that this was the last time he would speak of this matter to me; and that he expected I should give him my son at least. To this I again replied, that I would not deny him; but that I could not consent to use the authority of a father to make my son embrace the roman catholic religion. His firmness was equal to my own; and the king, who would not bestow his daughter on any of the princes of the blood, for fear of rendering them too powerful, resolved to marry Mademoiselle de Vendome to the son of M. le Connetable. The countess of Sault took this opportunity to renew her instances for the accomplishing her grand-daughter's marriage.

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ALL that now remained to be done, was to guard against the counter-blow of my enemies: and this I did not neglect, when I found that they were busy in preparing it for me. I took that opportunity to write to the king, telling him that I was not ignorant of any thing that was reported to him to give him a bad impression of my thoughts, words, and actions: that they imputed to me what I neither thought, said, or did. I earnestly entreated him not to forget the promise he had made me, to declare to me himself his will, and what causes of complaint he had against me. His answer was wholly calculated to restore my quiet, and secure me against all apprehensions from my enemies: he told me in it, that I, in common with all persons in power, excited more envy than compassion. "You know, added he, whether I am exempted from it from the people of both religions. This then is all you have to do; that since I take your advice in all my affairs, do you also take mine in every thing that relates to you, as that of the most faithful friend you have in the world, and the best master that ever was."

It was not without some reason that Henry brought himself as an example. He likewise had his uneasinesses, and his secret enemies; for although we no longer, as formerly, saw seditions ready to break out

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in the kingdom, because the exertion of the royal authority had obliged insolence and mutiny to keep themselves concealed; yet it was but too certain, that in court, and among the most considerable persons in the kingdom, the same turbulent and restless spirit, the same eager panting after novelties, which had so long kept the state in disorder and anarchy, were perceived. That spirit now shewed itself in divisions amongst families, and quarrels between particular persons, which Henry laboured to compose by every method in his power, looking upon them as seeds from whence nothing but the most dangerous fruits could proceed: and it gave him great pain when he could not always succeed to his wish. The reign of Henry the fourth, which in many respects bore a great resemblance to that of Augustus, had likewise this in conformity with his, that it was disturbed by quarrels among his nobility; and on these occasions, the example of Augustus was, what Henry commonly proposed to himself to imitate. “Æquitate non aculeo” was the motto which, by his direction, I put on the gold medals struck this year, which represented a swarm of bees in the air, with their king in the midst of them without a sting. I presented these medals to Henry, as he passed through his little gallery to that which leads to the Tuilleries, where we walked together a long time, discoursing upon the subject I have just mentioned, and those domestic quarrels which embittered the life of a prince too gentle and too good, whose unhappiness I have so often deplored.

THE reader may perceive, that in my memoirs of the late years, I have faithfully observed the promise I had formerly made, to entertain him no more with the weaknesses of Henry. I carefully concealed from my secretaries, and all persons whatever, all that passed between Henry and me upon this subject, in those many long and secret conversations we had together: except the duchess of Beaufort and the marchioness of Verneuil, the name of no other woman has been mentioned in these memoirs, with the title of mistress to the king. I chuse rather to suppress all the trouble I have suffered in this article, than make it known at the expence of my master's glory: probably I have carried this scruple too far. The public has heard so often the names of Madame de Moret *, Mademoiselle des Essarts, old Madame d'Angou-

* Jacqueline Du Beuil, countess of Moret; Charlotte des Essarts, countess of Romorantin; two of Henry the IVth's mistresses. By the first, he had Antony earl of Mo-

ret, killed at the battle of Castelnaudary in 1632: and by the second, he had two daughters; one abbess of Fontevraud, and the other of Chelles. By those two ladies

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leme, the countess of Sault, Mesdames de Ragny, and de Chamblivault, two of my relations; the Commandeur de Sillery*, Rambouillet, Marillac, Duret the physician, another physician who was a Jew, and many of the most considerable persons at court, all differently interested in these adventures of gallantry, either as principals or as parties concerned; that I might relate a great deal without saying any thing new, which would be indeed but a cold repetition of little debates and love quarrels, such as those which I have already slightly mentioned. The following circumstance I have excepted from this rule, as it is of a nature that seems to require I should justify my part in it to the public.

ON one of those occasions when Henry was most deeply affected with the uneasy temper of the queen, it was reported, that he had quitted her with some emotion, and set out for Chantilly without seeing her. This indeed was true: he took the arsenal in his way, and there opened his whole heart to me upon the cause of this dispute. The king pursued his journey, and I went in the afternoon to the Louvre, attended only by one of my secretaries, who did not follow me to the queen's little closet, where she was then shut up. Leonora Conchini was at the door of this closet, her head bending down towards her neck, like a person who was sleeping, or at least in a profound reverie. I drew her out of it, and she told me, that the queen would not suffer her to enter her closet, the door of which however was opened to me the moment I was named †.

by the dutchess of Beaufort, and by the marchioness of Verneuil, who successively had openly the title of the king's mistress, he had eight children, which were all he legitimated. Besides these, he was in love with Mary Babou, viscountess of Estages, two cousins of the fair Gabrielle, and many others. See L'Histoire des Amours du Grand Alcandre.

After the death of Henry IV. Made-moïlle des Essarts secretly married the cardinal of Guise, Lewis of Lorraine; the pope having granted him a dispensation for that marriage, and, at the same time, empowered him still to hold his benefices. This is proved by the very contract of marriage, found amongst the cardinal's papers after his death, executed in the most authentic form. Mention is made of this in the Mercure Hist. and Polit. April 1688.

From this marriage, two sons were born; one bishop of Condom, and the second earl of Romorantin; and two daughters, one of whom married the marquis of Rhodes. Charlotte des Essarts afterwards married Francis Du-Hallier-de-l'Hospital, marshal of France, earl of Roñay, &c. The commentary of Les Amours du Grand Alcandre remarks only, that she was the cardinal of Guise's mistress; and afterwards of N. De-Vic, Archbishop of Auch. She was the natural daughter of the baron of Sautour, in Champagne. Journal du regne de Henry III. printed in 1720, vol. I. p. 277.

* Noel de Sillery, brother of the chancellor, ambassador at Rome.

† The queen, for a long time, placed a great confidence in M. de Sully. The author of L'Histoire de la Mere & du Fils,

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I FOUND the queen busy in composing a letter to the king, which she allowed me to read: it breathed an air of spleen and bitterness, which must inevitably have very bad effects. I made her so sensible of the consequences it was likely to produce, that she consented to suppress it, tho' with great difficulty; and upon condition that I should assist her in composing another, wherein nothing should be omitted of all that, as she said, she might with justice represent to the king her husband. There was a necessity for complying with this request, to avoid something worse. Many little debates arose between us concerning the choice of expressions and the force of each term. I had occasion for all the presence of mind I was capable of exerting, to find out the means of satisfying this prince's, without displeasing the king, or of being guilty of any disrespect in addressing him. This letter, which was very long, I shall not repeat here. The queen complained in it of the continual gallantries of the king her husband; but declared that she was excited to this only by the earnest desire she had to possess his heart entirely. If therefore she appeared to insist too absolutely upon his sacrificing his mistress to her, her quiet, her conscience, and her honour, the interest of the king, his health and his life, the good of the state, and the security of her children's succession to the throne, which the marchioness de Verneuil took pleasure in rendering doubtful, were so many motives which reduced her, she said, to the disagreeable necessity of making such a demand, with some degree of peremptoriness: to awaken his tenderness, and excite his compassion, she added, that she, together with the children she had by him, would throw themselves at his feet: she reminded him of his promises, and took God to witness, that if she could prevail upon him to keep them,

says, that prince's having resolved one day, by the advice of Conchini, to inform the king, that certain of the courtiers had had the boldness to make love to her, she was desirous of previously taking the duke of Sully's advice in regard to it, who persuaded her not to execute that resolution, by representing to her, "That she was going to give the king the strongest and justest suspicion a sovereign could have of his wife; since every man of common sense must know very well, that it would be highly improper to entertain a person of her rank on the subject of love, without previously being assured,

"that it would not be disagreeable to her, or from her having made the first advances: and that the king might imagine, the motives which had induced her to make such a discovery, were either fear that it should have been made by some other means, or that she had taken a disgust against the persons accused, by meeting with somebody else more agreeable in her eyes; or, in fine, through the persuasion of others, who had influence enough over her to prevail on her to take this resolution." Vol. I. p. 10.

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she would, on her side, renounce all other vengeance against the marchionefs de Verneuil. 1608.

ALL my caution was scarce fufficient to avoid the extremes the queen would have run into; and it is apparent, however, that I failed either in address or invention: for the king, when he received this letter, was mortally offended with it, and so much the more as he instantly perceived that it was not in the queen's manner. I had a billet from him immediately, conceived in these terms: "My friend, I have received the most impertinent letter from my wife that ever was wrote. I am not so angry with her, as with the person that has dictated it; for I see plainly that it is not her style. Endeavour to discover the author of it: I never shall have any regard for him, whoever he be; nor will I see him as long as I live." However secure I thought myself, I could not help being uneasy at this billet.

THE king, on his arrival from Chantilly three or four days afterwards, came to the arsenal. I was sufficiently perplexed by the questions he asked me concerning this affair; for it was expressly for that purpose that he came. "Well, said he, have you yet discovered the person who composed my wife's letter?" Not yet certainly, replied I, making use of some little address, but I hope to give you this satisfaction in two days; and probably sooner, if you will tell me what there is in it that displeases you. "Oh, replied he, the letter is mighty well writ; full of reasons, obedience, and submission; but wounds me smiling, and while it flatters piques me. I have no particular exception to make to it; but, in general, I am offended with it, and shall be the more so if it comes to be public." But, sire, replied I, if it be such as you say, it may have been written with a good intention, and to prevent something still worse. "No! no! interrupted Henry, it is maliciously designed, and with a view to insult me. If my wife had taken advice from you, or from any of my faithful servants in it, I should not have been so much offended." What, sire, refused I hastily, if it was one of your faithful servants who had dictated it, would you not bear him some ill-will? "Not the least, returned the king; for I should be very certain, that he had done it with a good intention." It is true, sire, said I: therefore you must be no longer angry; for it was I that dictated it, through an apprehension that something worse might happen: and when you know my reasons, you will confess, that I was under a necessity of doing it. But to remove all your doubts, I will shew you the original, written in my
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own hand, at the side of the queen's. Saying this, I took the paper out of my pocket, and presented it to him.

THE king, as he read it, made me observe some words, in the place for which the queen, when she copied the letter, had substituted others far less obliging. "Well, said he, since you are the author, let us say no more of it: my heart is at rest. But this is not all," added he, taking advantage of the ascendant, which on this occasion I seemed to have over the mind of the queen: "there are two services which I expect from you." I listened to the king with great attention, and without once interrupting him, although he spoke a long time; and I shall here relate his words, which I took down in writing at the time. It is by this kind of familiar conversations that the heart is best known. "I know, said he, that my wife came twice to your house, while I was at the chace: that she was shut up with you in your wife's closet, each time above an hour; that at her coming out from thence, although her colour seemed to be raised by anger, and her eyes full of tears, yet she behaved in a friendly manner to you, thanked you, and appeared not ill satisfied with what you had said to her: and that you may know I am not ill informed, I shall not hide from you, that it was my cousin de Rohan, your daughter, who related all this to me; not for the sake of telling secrets, but because she thought I should be glad to see my wife and you upon such friendly terms. It must certainly be, therefore, that my wife has some business of consequence with you: for, notwithstanding all the questions I have asked her, she has never said a single word, or given the smallest intimation of these two conferences. I forbid you likewise, upon pain of my displeasure, to say any thing of this matter to my cousin de Rohan: you will deprive me of the pleasure I have in seeing her here, and she will never tell me any thing more, if she knows I have repeated this to you. Although I laugh and play with her as with a child, yet I do not find in her a childish understanding. She sometimes gives me very good advice, and is extremely secret, which is an excellent quality. I have told her many things in confidence, which I have been convinced she never mentioned, either to you or to any other person.

"BUT to return to these two important services, which only you, in my opinion, are able to undertake, I have already said, and I repeat it again, that you must be extremely careful to avoid giving
" the

" the least suspicion that you have concerted with me what you are to
 " do and say in these affairs: it must not appear, that I knew any
 " thing of your interposition, but that you act entirely of yourself:
 " and you must even feign to be apprehensive of its coming to my
 " ear. One of these services regards Madam de Verneuil: it is with
 " her you must begin, and this will smooth your way to the other.
 " You must tell this lady, that as her particular friend you come to
 " give her notice, that she is upon the point of losing my favour,
 " unless she behaves with great prudence and circumspection: that
 " you have discovered, that there are persons at court who are endea-
 " vouring to engage me in affairs of gallantry with others; and if this
 " should happen, you are fully persuaded, that I shall take her chil-
 " dren from her, and confine her to a cloister; that this abatement
 " in my affection for her is, in the first place, apparently caused by
 " the suspicion I have entertained that she no longer loves me; that
 " she takes the liberty to speak of me often with contempt, and even
 " prefers other persons to me: secondly, because she seeks to strengthen
 " herself with the interest of the house of Lorraine, as if she was de-
 " sirous of some other protector than me; but, above all, her con-
 " nexions and familiarities with Messieurs de Guise and de Joinville
 " offend me to the last degree; being fully convinced, that from
 " them she will receive only such counsels as are dangerous both to
 " my person and state; as likewise from her father and her brother,
 " with whom, notwithstanding my prohibition to her, she still cor-
 " responds, when she might have thought herself happy, that, at her
 " entreaties, I spared their lives; that she sends messages to her bro-
 " ther by his wife, whom I have allowed to visit him; but that the
 " chief cause of my estrangement from her is her insolent behaviour
 " to the queen."

HENRY then told me many circumstances concerning the marchio-
 nefs, which I have already related. " If, continued he, either by an
 " effect of your industry or good fortune, you can prevail upon her to
 " alter her conduct in all these respects, you will not only free me
 " from great uneasiness, and set my heart at rest with regard to her,
 " but you will likewise furnish yourself with the means of disposing
 " the queen to accommodate herself to my will, which is the second
 " service that I require and expect from you: you must remonstrate
 " to her, still as from yourself, that it is absolutely necessary she should
 " do so, if she would engage me to give her the satisfaction she de-
 " mands. That, among many other causes of disgust which she gives
 " me,

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“ me, nothing is more insupportable to me, than that absolute authority she suffers Conchini and his wife to have over her; that these people make her do whatever they please, oppose all that they dislike, and love and hate, as they direct her passions; that they have at length exhausted my patience; and that I often reproach myself for not following the advice given me by the duchess of Florence, Don John, Jouanini, Gondy, and even what my own judgment suggested, which was to send them both from Marfeilles back to Italy. I was desirous, pursued the king, to repair this fault through the interposition of Don John; but I soon perceived it was too late: for scarce did Don John enter upon the subject with the queen, to whom he proposed it by way of advice, than she entered, as you know, into such an excess of rage against him, that there was no sort of reproaches, insults, and threats, which she did not use to him; so that, not able to endure them, he quitted France, notwithstanding all my endeavours to retain him. But before this happened the princess of Orange thought of other expedients for removing these two persons, and proposed them to me by Madam de Verneuil, who thought to prevail upon the queen, by this complaisance for her favourites, to permit her to see her, and come freely to the Louvre. These expedients, to which I consented, because I found you did not oppose them, were to marry Conchini to la Leonor, and afterwards to send them back to Italy, under the honourable pretence of living with splendor in their own country, upon the great riches they had acquired in France: but all this, instead of softening my wife, or engaging her to alter her conduct, has only taught her to oppose my will with more obstinacy than before; and the Conchinis, both husband and wife, are now become so insolent and audacious, that they have dared to threaten my person, if I use any violence to their friends.”

IT was not easy for the king to quit this article, through the rage with which he was agitated against this whole party. Among many others, he recounted the following circumstance, which, till then, I thought he had been ignorant of. My wife, knowing that Conchini had a design to purchase La-Ferté-au-Vidaime, which was worth two or three hundred thousand crowns, she thought such a considerable estate would give occasion for murmurs that could not fail of reflecting back upon the queen herself, on account of the protection she was known to grant them. She did not hesitate therefore a moment about waiting on the queen, to represent to her, that it was her interest to hinder

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hinder Conchini from pushing this matter any further. The queen received this advice very graciously, and thanked my wife for giving it her: but as soon as she saw the Conchinis, they knew so well how to make her alter her opinion, that she exclaimed in a strange manner against madame de Rosny, and would not see her for some time. Probably her resentment would have lasted much longer, had she not reflected, that both herself and her favourites had always occasion for me. "I have been told, added Henry, that Conchini had the impudence to reproach your wife upon this occasion, and used expressions so full of insolence both against her and me, that I am surprised she did not answer him more severely; but, doubtless, she was restrained by her fears of breaking entirely with my wife. You cannot imagine," pursued Henry, not able to cease his invectives against this Italian, "how greatly I was provoked to see this man undertake to be the challenger at a tournament, against all the bravest, and most gallant men in France, and this in the Grande rue St. Antoine, where my wife and all the ladies of the court were present; and that he should have the good fortune to carry it: but nothing ever gave me greater pleasure than I had at this course, when I saw M. de Nemours, and the marquis de Rosny your son, arrive, mounted upon two excellent horses, which they managed with equal grace, and uncommon justness."

HENRY, after dwelling some time longer upon a circumstance that had given him so much pleasure, renewed his former subject. "Be careful, said he to me, to manage those two affairs I have recommended to you, cautiously; proceed leisurely, and as opportunities offer, without hazarding any thing by too great precipitation: in a word, act with your usual prudence, respect, and address. I protest I shall esteem these two services more than if you had gained me a battle, or taken the city and castle of Milan with your cannons; for my heart suggests to me, that this man and woman will one day do great mischief: I find in them designs above their condition, and absolutely contrary to their duty." Again I asked this prince, why he referred to me an affair the success of which, in my hands, were so doubtful; whereas if he would undertake it himself, it would cost him no more to execute it, than to pronounce to two women with a resolute tone, these few words, "I will have it so." His reply to this and the debates that followed, were the same with those which the reader has already too often seen in these memoirs. At last he went away, saying, with an embrace, "Adieu, my friend: I earnestly recommend to you

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 “ be secret.”

ALL that by my utmost endeavour I was able to do for the tranquillity of this prince, was to procure him some short calms, amidst the long and often repeated storms he was obliged to suffer, in such an unequal vicissitude did he pass the few days that heaven still left him. One of his longest intervals of quiet was, during the queen's lying-in. She had followed the king, who went in the beginning of March to Fontainebleau. It was not possible to carry tenderness and sollicitude farther than Henry did. While she was in this condition, he often wrote to me from Fontainebleau, and in every letter gave me account of the queen's health. “ I thought,” said he in one of these letters, “ to have sent you the news of my wife's being brought to bed; but I believe “ it will not be this night.” In another, “ My wife imagines she will “ go to the end of the month, since she has passed yesterday.” The queen was delivered of her third son * on the 26th of April.

THE king still continuing to write to me as usual, in one of his letters ordered me to acquaint him how the news of his son's birth was received. “ Not by you, said he, for there I have no doubt; but by “ the public.” I keep with great care the following letter, which his majesty sent me by the duke of Rohan, upon hearing that my wife had lain-in of a son about the same time that the queen did. “ I do not believe, that any of my servants have taken greater interest in the birth “ of my son d'Anjou than you; and I would have you likewise believe, that I surpass all your friends in joy for the birth of yours: you “ will be stun'd with their flatteries; but the assurance I give you of “ my friendship, ought to be more convincing than all their speeches. “ Remember me to the lying-in lady †.”

THE queen was more indisposed after this lying-in, than she had ever been before; but proper remedies being used, she was soon restored to perfect health. The king took all imaginable care of her. He came to Paris the beginning of May, but returned almost imme-

* Gaston-John-Baptist of France, then called duke of Anjou, and afterwards duke of Orleans: he died in 1660. Siri makes Henry IV. say, before the birth of that prince, that he would dedicate him to the church, and that he should be called the

cardinal of France. Ibid. 568.

† “ I should be glad, says Henry IV. “ God had sent him a dozen sons; for it “ would be a great pity, that from so good “ a stem there should not be some offsets.” Mem. Hist. de France, ibid.

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diately after Fontainebleau; and the joy the queen shewed at his return filled him with a real satisfaction. He allowed, at the request of this princess, that ten or twelve thousand crowns should be expended on buildings at Monceaux, and sent me orders to that purpose. It is from these letters of his majesty that I collect all these circumstances. This order he repeated when the master-builder, who had undertaken the work, informed him, that he had been obliged, through want of money, to dismiss his men. I had given him an assignment upon a restitution of money to be paid by the nephew of Argouges, which he had not yet done, pretending, to gain time, that he owed nothing. The king sent me orders to press him for the payment, and to advance the master-builder the money out of other funds, without referring him to Fresne, who could not be forced to pay it. Being apprehensive that I should give credit to the reports which were made me of the queen's being disgusted, and that she sought a pretence for quarrelling with me, he, in another letter, for a proof of the contrary, related to me in what manner this princess had taken my part against M. and madame de Ventadour, who had made some complaints of me to their majesties.

ONE could not give Henry a more sensible pleasure, than by conforming one's self to that complaisance which he had for every one with whom he lived in any degree of friendship or familiarity. I received from him a gracious acknowledgment for some services rendered to madame de Verneuil and madame de Moret, and for the methods I made use of to free him from mademoiselle des Essarts. This young lady began to be extremely troublesome to him: she had the presumption to expect she should have the same ascendant over him as his other mistresses. At last, however, she seemed willing to retire into the abbey of Beaumont, and named certain conditions, upon which Zamet and La Varenne were often sent by Henry to confer with me. He gave himself the trouble to write to the president de Motteville, concerning the place of a Maitre-des-Comptes at Rouen, which the young lady requested from one of her friends: and to Montauban, to advance the money for the purchase. There was a necessity likewise for giving her a thousand crowns, and five hundred to the abbey of Beaumont, which she had chosen for her retreat*. Both these sums the king demanded of me, in a letter dated the 12th of May: happy indeed, to get rid of her at so easy a rate!

* She did not retire thither; or, at least, if she did, she did not stay long there.

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HE likewise desired my advice, as to the manner in which he should behave to avoid a quarrel with the queen, on an occasion when Conchini became a competitor with madame de Verneuil, for a favour which that lady had obtained a promise for two years before. "I love," said he in his letter, "Madame de Verneuil better than Conchini." Which indeed was not to be doubted: but at that time he was obliged to act with great circumspection towards the queen. This gave rise to an intrigue at court, that afforded great pleasure to several persons, which I cannot better explain than by the following letter the king writ me from Fontainebleau:

"ALTHOUGH I have parted with madame de Verneuil upon very bad terms, yet I cannot help having some curiosity to know, if there be any foundation for the report which prevails here, that the prince of Joinville visits her: learn the truth of it, and give me notice in a letter, which I will burn, as you must do this. It is this that retains him so long, say they: you know well it is not for want of money." The report was indeed true: Joinville had suffered himself to be captivated by the charms of the marchioness, who, as it was said, did not let him despair. For a long time, nothing was talked of but their intimacy, and the very passionate letters which it was pretended they writ to each other; and it was at last confidently reported, that he had offered to marry her: it must be observed, that all this I repeat after the court and Paris. Trifling as this affair may seem, there were in it some circumstances relating to the king, of such consequence as to make a profound secrecy necessary. If matters had really gone so far between the two lovers as people were willing to believe, madame de Verneuil, notwithstanding all her experience, was here the dupe: she was not sufficiently well acquainted with the disposition and conduct of a young man, still less amorous than rash and heedless: promises, oaths, privacies, letters, all, in a very little time, ended in a rupture, which was equally imputed to both. However, to say the truth, the fault lay on madame de Villars*, who appeared too beautiful in the eyes of Joinville to leave his heart faithful to its first choice.

MADAM de Villars did not at first appear so easy a conquest as her rival had been: proud of her alliance with the blood-royal, she treated him with distance and reserve. Joinville repulsed, and in despair, ex-

* Juliet-Hyppolita d'Estreés, wife of George de Brancas, marquis of Villars.

torted from her a confession of the cause of her rigour. She told him, that after the correspondence he had, and still continued to carry on, with a lady so beautiful and witty as Madame de Verneuil, it would be dangerous to rely on his fidelity. Joinville defended himself; it is not necessary to say in what terms. She refuted him, by alledging their interviews, and letters; one in particular from Madame de Verneuil, more tender and passionate than the rest. On such an occasion, it is a custom to make to the beloved lady, a sacrifice of her letters who was abandoned. Joinville resisted as long as he was able; but, at last, put into the hands of Madame de Villars that pretended letter: (I say pretended, because it was far from being certain that this letter, which he was prevailed upon with so much difficulty to shew, ever came from Madame de Verneuil) But be that as it will; for the use Madame de Villars intended to make of this letter, it was indifferent to her whether it was forged or not.

THIS woman had an inveterate hatred to the marchioness of Verneuil: the moment she had the letter in her possession, she flew with it to the king. It was not difficult, with such a proof, to force belief; and she made such an artful use of it, that this prince, hitherto ignorant, or willing to seem so, of the greatest part of the intrigue, came instantly to me, with a heart filled with grief and rage, and related to me I know not how many circumstances, which to him appeared as certain proofs of her guilt; tho' I thought them far from being convincing. I told him, for it was necessary to treat this affair methodically, that he ought to hear what Madame de Verneuil could say for herself, before he condemned her. "Oh! heavens, hear her," cried Henry, she has such a power of expression, that if I listen to her, she will persuade me I am to blame, and that she is injured: "yet I will speak to her, and shew her these proofs of her perfidy." In effect, he went away breathing nothing but vengeance. Joinville's intrigues with the governor of Franche Comté seemed to him not half so criminal.

THE marchioness of Verneuil, long accustomed to these sort of transports, was not much alarmed; and maintained to the king, that Joinville had been wicked enough to forge this letter. Henry, softened by a circumstance which had not entered into his head before, became almost entirely satisfied, when she proposed to him, to submit it to my judgment, whether the hand-writing was her's or not, sensible that no collusion could be suspected between us; she not having an excess of confidence in me, nor I too much esteem for her. Accordingly the papers

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I HAD already begun to question her, when Henry came in with Montbazou: I am not permitted to relate the rest; for the king would not suffer any of those that came with him to be present at this conference: however, they heard us talk very loud, and the marchioness weep. The king went from her apartment into another, and desiring all that were there to withdraw, took me to one of the most distant windows to examine the papers with him more exactly. This was not done so calmly, but those that were without might hear us discourse with great heat; and that I went often backwards and forwards, between the lady's closet and the place where the king stood. The conclusion of this scene was, that the king went away entirely satisfied with his mistress*. As for Joinville, whatever part he had acted, it was happy for him that it was Henry with whom he had to do; and the more so, as he engaged, almost immediately afterwards, in another intrigue of the same nature with Madame de Moret †, which I was not acquainted with.

* In the Memoirs of Bassompierre, Vol. I. p. 92. I find the following account of this intrigue: "A few days afterwards happened the difference between madam de Verneuil and the king, which had its origin from madam de Villars' having shewn the king some letters which madam de Verneuil had wrote to the prince of Joinville, and which he had given her. The affair was accommodated by the duke of Eguillon's bringing to the king a clerk of Bigot, who confessed that he had forged those letters; and the prince of Joinville was banished." Our Memoirs mention this to have happened this year; but it was in the year 1603, upon the return of Henry IV. from his journey to Metz.

† The Memoirs for the History of France give this account of it: "The prince of Joinville having made his addresses to one of the king's favourites, who was one of those whom Tertullian

" calls *Publicarum libidinum victimæ*; she, to excuse herself, alledged the prince had given her a promise of marriage. He thereby incurred the king's displeasure, who commanded him either to banish himself, or marry the lady. At first, he put on the appearance of being willing to marry her, and to go on with what he had begun: but at last he declared, that he had never any such intention; and said aloud, That, the king only excepted, if any gentleman, or any one of whatever quality, had given him such language, he would have set both his feet on his neck. The count de Lude hearing of this, said it was the sentiment of a hangman. Madam de Guise, in tears, came and threw herself at the king's feet, and, as if she were in the extremest despair, begged of his majesty to kill her. To which the king answered, I have never killed any ladies, and I do not know how to go

THE count of Sommerive * was likewise hardy enough to become the rival of his master, and to make the countess of Moret the object of his gallantries, with whom he began by a proposal of marriage; and it was believed, that he had given her a promise in writing: for to a young man transported with passion, the one costs as little as the other. The king, when he was informed of it, approved of the match, and employed La Borde, a gentleman whom he knew to be more faithfully devoted to him than any of those that resorted to the countess's house, to discover if they were sincere on both sides, and to take care to prevent the youth from transgressing the bounds of his duty. La Borde's report was not very favourable to the count of Sommerive, who, at first, had some thoughts of murdering this troublesome Argus; and meeting him one day as he was coming from church, he fell upon him so furiously, that La Borde, to save his life, was obliged to have recourse to flight. The king commanded me to examine into this fact, which, in his fury, he called an assassination. The time Sommerive had chosen for it, and the disrespect it shewed for the king, rendered him still more guilty.

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HOWEVER, it being necessary to observe some caution, tho' it were only in consideration of La Borde; for the king was sensible, that Sommerive was a far more dangerous person to deal with than Joinville; La Varenne came to me from his majesty, to consult upon proper measures for managing this affair, without wounding his own authority; and we agreed that the best expedient was, to prevail upon the duke of Maienne himself to do the king justice, with regard to the offence his son had committed against him: I was charged with this message, and the conduct of it left wholly to my judgment. I found

“ about it. Those, adds he, who were
 “ esteemed to be the most knowing at
 “ court, gave out it was the king himself
 “ who had induced the countess to do
 “ what she did.”

“ I gave notice, says Bassompierre in
 “ his Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 205, to the
 “ prince of Joinville, and madame de Mo-
 “ ret, of the design the king had to sur-
 “ prise them together. They were not
 “ found together; but the king discovered
 “ enough to forbid Mon. de Chevreuse,
 “ the name the prince of Joinville then

“ bore the court; and would have done
 “ the same by her, had she not been on
 “ the point of being brought to bed: but
 “ time made up this difference.” Henry
 “ gave orders to take the prince of Joinville
 “ into custody; but he escaped out of the
 “ kingdom, and did not return till after the
 “ death of Henry IV. his family having never
 “ been able to prevail on the king to recal
 “ him. Galantries des Rois de France.

* Charles-Emanuel de Lorraine, second
 son of the duke of Maienne.

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the duke of Maienne fell with a fit of the gout, which was attended with a high fever, that there was no possibility of speaking to him, especially upon such a subject. The duke of Eguillon *, Sommerive's eldest brother, told me, that this action of his brother was not more deeply repented by any person than by his own family: that it had been the cause of his father's illness; and wished himself dead, as well as this unworthy brother, rather than to become the reproach of their relations. He added, that the king himself knew but too well how Sommerive treated them all, tho', for the honour of the family, they concealed his behaviour from the public: that this last offence gave them inconceivable affliction. And after entreating me to assist him with my advice, he declared that he would go himself, if his majesty required it, to receive his orders, and would execute them, whatever they were, upon his own brother: and that, for himself, he would rather lose his life than fail in the oath he had taken, to obey his master with all the fidelity and zeal of a servant and subject.

To conceal from D'Eguillon that I had been commissioned by the king to come thither, I told him, that I would not advise him to go to his majesty, because I did not know whether he was yet informed of the affair; but that, in twenty-four hours, I would give him such advice as I thought most for his interest (for so long it required to send to Fontainebleau to know his majesty's intentions.) I, therefore, contented myself, at present, with representing to him the atrociousness of Sommerive's crime, and the fatal consequences that might attend it. He exclaimed against it himself, with a sincerity which I thought it my duty to relate to his majesty, telling him, at the same time, that he had only to pronounce what satisfaction he required, the family fearing nothing so much as the loss of his favour.

HENRY sent me notice, by Villeroi, that he was satisfied with what D'Eguillon had said to me, although he was convinced that all this rage against Sommerive would not hinder them carrying it with a high hand in public, as they had already done upon other occasions of the same kind: he ordered me to make the whole house of Lorraine sensible how greatly they were indebted to his indulgence, in referring to them the chastisement of Sommerive; that he expected they would immediately oblige him to retire, tho' it were only to Soissons, as being un-

* Henry de Lorraine, duke of Eguillon, and afterwards of Maienne.

worthy to stay in a place where his majesty was; that D'Eguillon should come and tell him what resolution they had taken, in the mean while, till he should himself name the punishment; offer to be security for Sommerive's appearance, and even conduct him to the Bastile, if such was the king's pleasure; or make him leave the kingdom, and not return till after the expiration of two or three years. Henry insinuated, that it was this last part he should take, although it required some consideration, on account of Sommerive's intrigues with Spain. The king had been told that this young nobleman had endeavoured to prevail upon the count of St. Paul to go with him to Holland, with an intention to enter into the service of the archdukes; that he had taken the advice of Du Terrail, and, as soon as the fact was committed, had sent some of his servants to Flanders. It was neither to that country, nor to any other dependant upon the Spaniards, which his majesty chose he should retire to, but towards Nancy, from whence he might pass to the emperor's court, or into Hungary, that country being most agreeable to his majesty.

To this letter of Villeroi's was added a short billet, addressed to me, by the king, and contained only these few words: "I must tell you, that the best of the whole race is worth but little: God grant I may be mistaken." However, he was not displeas'd with D'Eguillon's behaviour, when he waited on him at Fontainebleau: his majesty only thought that he shewed some little affectation in endeavouring to extenuate his brother's offence. The king told him, that it was his will Sommerive should retire to Lorraine, and not stir from thence without his permission. I was commissioned to notify this order to the duke of Maienne, his majesty being willing, at the entreaties of D'Eguillon, to spare him the ungrateful task.

D'EGUILLON did not make a proper application of the lessons the king gave him in relation to his brother. No one was ignorant of the affection his majesty had for Balagny*: he had lately given a proof of it, by maintaining him in the possession of the gresses of Bordeaux, of which the contractors endeavoured to deprive him. D'Eguillon had the imprudence to quarrel with him upon some affairs of gallantry indeed, and the baseness, some time after, to attack him when he was almost

* Damien de Montluc, lord of Balagny, he was, at that time, only 25 or 26 years son of John prince of Cambray, and of old, and unmarried.
Renée de Clermont de Buffly d'Amboise:

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alone, while himself was accompanied with a body of armed men. The prejudice Henry already had to this family increased the indignation he felt for this attempt. In the first emotions of his anger, he writ to me, that being resolved to punish D'Eguillon for it, he earnestly entreated me to forget the friendship I had hitherto had for this family, since I ought to set a much higher value upon that of my king. This letter afforded me a proof of this prince's great knowledge of mankind: he predicted to me, that all the obligations I should confer on D'Eguillon would be forgot, if, through any change of my fortune, I should be incapable of adding to them: and this prediction has been fully accomplished.

HOWEVER, I was then persuaded of the contrary, and listening only to what my friendship for the whole house of Lorraine suggested to me, the king's letter, which his courier, meeting me at my return from Sully, delivered to me at Montargis, did not hinder me from answering his majesty immediately, and that only to do the very thing he had forbid me, which was the soliciting a pardon for D'Eguillon, without deferring it till I went to court, which I proposed to do immediately afterwards. My letter was not unuseful to D'Eguillon, when he presented himself to his majesty to clear himself of the charge. This is what the king himself writ me, May 22d: "Your letter came very seasonably; for he arrived this night, and talked to me in such a manner, that I was scarce able to restrain my anger. Certainly "this youth grows very insolent." I did not however abandon his interest. When I went to Fontainebleau, I found the king's resentment so violent, that there was a necessity for all the perseverance the warmest friendship is capable of to vanquish it. I obtained, at length, that this affair should be left to me, to make up in the best manner I could. I surmounted, with the same steadiness of friendship, many other difficulties, which were not inferior to this; and believed that, all was forgotten on both sides, congratulating myself upon my success when I heard in what manner D'Eguillon talked of this good office in public, and the gratitude he expressed to me for it.

YET this man, without faith and without humanity, dishonoured himself and me, a short time afterwards, by completing the crime, which I had so lately obtained his pardon for attempting, and procured Balagny to be assassinated. The letter his majesty writ to me upon it, will give the reader the truest notion of this crime. "My friend, you "have doubtless heard of the wicked action committed upon Balagny:

" I

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“ I would not write you an account of it, till I had heard all the in-
 “ formations; for, on such occasions, the parties are not to be be-
 “ lieved. Things are worse than you can imagine: he has violated
 “ the promise he made to you, and irreparably wounded his honour,
 “ by the extreme cowardice and cruelty of falling upon a single man
 “ with numbers. I had rather a son of mine were dead, than that he
 “ should be guilty of such an action. The bearer will tell you the par-
 “ ticulars. The relations of both have attempted to fight; but I have
 “ taken care to prevent it. Adieu. I love you sincerely, and with
 “ this truth I conclude.”

BUT Henry (for I felt too much horror at this indignity to dwell on it any longer) was himself in fact to blame, since it was through his easiness of temper, that the rage of duelling had spread through the court, the city, and over the whole kingdom*; and to such excess was it carried, that it gave me, and even his majesty himself, infinite fatigue and trouble, to compose differences, and to hinder, each day, the disputants from proceeding to the last extremities. Before the affair of Balagny happened, the baron de Courtaumer came to tell me, that he was busy in reconciling his two nephews, M. the prince of Conti, and the prince of Joinville. Montigny quarrelled, for no cause, with D'Epemon, whom I was ordered to pacify. “ For you know,” said Henry in his letter, “ that he will always be the master.” The forcibly carrying away of a young lady occasioned a combat between the families of La-Force and St. Germain. St. Germain, the son, who was the ravisher, being sent for by the chancellor, in the king's name, left Paris, instead of obeying, and went to his father, which made his majesty apprehensive that he would divulge, amongst foreigners, some important orders which he could not be ignorant that he had given to La-Force.

THIS easiness of temper in the king was the true cause of that licentiousness and sedition which had infected the court and the kingdom, and which his majesty so deeply lamented: the gentry had taken it from the nobility, and the nobility from the princes of the blood. The count of Soissons publickly shewed his discontent. The prince of Condé, by indiscreet sallies, some indeed only worthy of laughter, and

* Lomenie computed, in 1607, how many French gentlemen had been killed in duels, since Henry IV. came to the crown. The number was found to be full 4000. Mem. Hist. de Fr. ibid.

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others of consequence enough to give great cause of uneasiness to his majesty, almost exhausted his patience. It was believed, that marriage would cure his impetuosity and wildness; and mademoiselle de Montmorency* was the wife the king chose for him. It was this marriage that completed Henry's domestic troubles, as we shall see in the following year.

THE difficulties that arose, concerning the marriage of Mademoiselle de Mercœur increased his dislike of the whole house of Lorraine. She had been contracted to M. de Vendome, in the year 1598, when the king took a journey to Brittany. The parties were now of age to consummate the marriage; but the mother and grand-mother of the young lady had taken care to inspire her with such an aversion for M. de Vendome, that she would not suffer him to speak to her. The prince of Condé, who was not then married, would have been a more agreeable match, in all their opinions; but, since that could not take place, the dukes were unwilling to let her daughter's large estates go out of the family. The king could not help thinking, that the dukes of Guise and Maïenne contributed to support this lady in her obstinate resistance to his will. I often combated this opinion, and represented to his majesty, that, on this occasion, he did not do them justice, which in the end he had reason to be convinced of, by the little opposition they made to his intentions, when they were declared to them by the marquis D'Oraison, whom they had sent to his majesty.

THE readiest and the surest way for Henry to accomplish this marriage, was to have assumed his authority, and given them an absolute command to fulfil the contract: but this prince † had less inclination to take such measures on this occasion than on any other. It only remained then, either to endeavour, by gentleness and persuasion, to prevail upon the ladies, or to have recourse to the decision of the law, which must undoubtedly have been in his favour, were his majesty to be treated with the same impartiality as any private man: but this was to draw it out into length, by the delays and tricks of the courts of

* Margaret Charlotte of Montmorency.

† Henry, in his anger, threatened the duchess de Mercœur to make her pay two hundred thousand crowns for damages, besides the penalty of a hundred thousand for breach of covenant. The duchess, on her part, caused the king to be told, that

he might not only take the hundred thousand crowns, but all her estates besides, if he was entitled to them. Her daughter retired to a nunnery of capuchins, with intent to take the veil. *Mém. Hist. de Fr. ibid.*

justice. It would take up a considerable time to bring up only the letters of attorney from Lorrain, without which the proceedings could not be begun: and it would be two months before the affair could be terminated, although his majesty should interpose his authority, to oblige them to dispense with the accustomed formalities in his favour. However, gentle methods were far more eligible, since not only the union of two persons, but that of several families, were concerned in it. There still remained many resources for a young woman forced from her relations, and obliged to marry, in spite of herself, to regain her liberty, although all the ceremonies were performed that should seem to have deprived her of it, especially if she could not be prevented from privately receiving bad counsels. For these reasons, therefore, I advised his majesty to try gentle methods, in the long letter I sent him in answer to his.

FOR this purpose many conferences were held at the houses of the two duchesses, at that of the duchess of Guise, aunt to the young lady, and at the princess of Conti's, during which time M. de Vendôme was kept at a distance, his majesty having sent him under the conduct of La Vallée into Brittany. As for me, I thought no person better qualified to manage this negotiation than father Cotton. I advised the king to employ him, and he succeeded so well, that at the time when the king was most fully persuaded he should never terminate this affair but by the ordinary course of law, and had already writ to the first president on this subject, this father, on a sudden, gave him hopes that it would be concluded by other means. The art of directing consciences, in which he excelled, gave him up immediately the first point, and not the least essential. They began to cease their invectives, which only nourished hatred and disgust. Father Cotton did not fail to go as often as he could to the king, to give him an account of the progress he had made; and his majesty, from time to time, sent him to the chancellor and me to take our advice, and was highly pleased with the service he did him upon this occasion.

THE mother and the daughter were the first that were prevailed upon; but not without the duchess's giving such free scope to her resentment against the king, her relations, and all the world, that Henry believed he should never find a favourable moment to obtain her consent, but exhorted me, if such a one ever offered, not to let it escape. The grand-mother, and some other confidants of the duchess's, as La-Porte the confessor, continued a long time obstinate: but, at length,

all

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all were appeas'd, and the marriage was celebrated *. The king was not quite freed from his suspicion, that the Guis'es, and all the princes of the house of Lorraine, sought, in reality, to deceive him, under an appearance of the greatest respect and deference; for which reason, when the post of first president of the chamber of accounts in Provence became vacant by the death of Beauville, and the duke of Guise solicited it for one of his friends, as likewise the countess of Sault for one of hers, he denied them both. "They have both been supporters of the league," said he; and this was all the reason he gave me for it, when he writ to me to consult with the chancellor about filling up this place with one more fit for it.

NOT all the arguments I used to the king, could prevent him from giving, if I may use the expression, a right to every one to disturb his quiet, by continually bringing him informations against the most illustrious persons in the kingdom, as well catholics as protestants. Sometimes he was told, that the duke of Bouillon, Du-Plessis, and other heads of the reformed religion, were levying troops; sometimes that it was agreed upon between them, M. the prince, M. the count, and even all those that had been the greatest supporters of the league against them, to take possession of several towns. Another time, it was said, that the duke of Roannais held assemblies in Anjou, which Pont-Courlai writ also to me: but nothing so much alarmed his majesty as the advice he received from a gentleman of Poitou; for this province was always made the seat of rebellion. This man said, that he had been present at assemblies of a great number of gentlemen, who acted in the names of almost all the grandees of the kingdom, besides the protestants, in which he was a witness; that they had fixed upon a day for seizing a great number of towns, which he named, and had delivered out money for the making provision of scaling-ladders, petards, arms, ammunition, necessary for the enterprize.

THE king was at Fontainebleau without any train, and only with a design to make some parties for hunting, when this informer was presented to him; he sent him back to Paris, with orders to wait on Sillery and Villeroy, to whom he gave such exact memorials, that the

* The 7th of July in the year following. "The nuptials," say the Memoirs de l'Hist. de France, "were splendid and magnificent: the king shone all

"over with jewels of an inestimable value; he ran at the ring, and seldom failed of carrying the prize."

king was no longer in doubt of the truth of his report, and, full of apprehensions, returned instantly to Paris through Melun, and entered the city at the gate of St. Antoine. He sent St. Michael immediately for me, having matters, he said, of the utmost consequence to communicate to me. My wife and my children being then in the city with all the coaches of the house, I was obliged to wait till one was sent me by Phelipeaux.

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I FOUND the king shut up in the queen's little closet; with him were that princess, the chancellor, and Villeroi, busy in examining those papers which had heated the lively imagination of Henry. "Well," Monsieur Obstinacy," said he to me as I entered, "here is the war begun." So much the better, Sire, said I; for it can be only against the Spaniards. "No, no, answered he, it is against much nearer neighbours, supported by all your huguenots." All the huguenots, returned I; ah, Sire, what makes you imagine so? I will answer for many, that they do not entertain the least notion of it, and I am ready to answer for almost all the rest, that they dare not. "Did I not tell you, my dear," said his majesty, turning to the queen, "that he would not believe this? according to him, no one dare give me the least offence, and it depends only upon myself to give law to all the world." It is true, Sire, I replied, and so you may when ever you please.

VILLEROI and Sillery attempted to support his majesty's opinion, that this was a most dangerous conspiracy. I represented to them, that it was great weakness to suffer themselves to be intimidated thus by mere trifles: I took the paper out of their hands, and could not help smiling when I found, that, of this formidable body of rebels, only ten or a dozen poor inconsiderable gentlemen and soldiers were mentioned, whose persons I knew, being, in reality, in my government; and five or six villages, as La-Haye in Touraine, St. John d'Angle, La-Rochepozai, St. Savin, and Chauvigny-le-Blanc in Berry. Pardieu, Sire, resumed I with some emotion, these gentlemen mean to jest both with your majesty and me, by making these idle reports of consequence enough to affect you with any apprehensions, and inducing you to take measures to prevent what will never happen. The whole mystery is this: one of your subjects has an inclination to get a hundred crowns from you.

"Not-

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“NOTWITHSTANDING all you can say, replied the king, I am convinced that there is a necessity for my going thither, or else that you should set out in two days, and give proper orders there for keeping every thing quiet.” If you would consent, Sire, replied I, after listening patiently to a long detail he made me of the artillery, ammunition, and other warlike stores necessary for this expedition, to let me manage it my own way, I will engage to bring this affair to a conclusion, without much trouble or expence. “Pardieu, said Henry, you are the most obstinate man I ever saw; well, what would you say?” Sire, answered I, I only desire you will give me Moret the prévôt, and twenty archers, and I will bring you a good account of these rebels. “You will have it so,” said Henry, vanquished by my perseverance; “but if any accident should happen, you will have all the blame.” However, the king’s fears were wholly groundless. My whole army consisted of twenty horse, with which I seized all those persons that had been accused, very few of whom were punished, his majesty finding most of them innocent, and that the others were not worth troubling himself with.

THE assembly of protestants, which it was necessary should be held this year, for appointing the two deputies-general, seemed to the king to merit still more attention, on account of the present situation of affairs. He ordered me to assist at it for the third time; and that I might do so with the greater conveniency, the assembly was summoned to meet at Gergeau, of which I was governor, and where I could direct every thing from my estate of Sully, which extended to the gates of that city. I shall be silent as to the article of my instructions. On the 3d of October, when I wrote for the first time to Villeroy, the assembly had not yet taken any form, although the members had met some days before; for they still expected some of the provincial deputies. When I found, that, by one single word, I had put all the disaffected to silence, I took upon myself to answer for it to his majesty, that nothing would be done in it contrary to his will; which, however, he could not be persuaded to believe. All the letters I received from the king and Villeroy were filled with complaints of the protestants. “Send back my courier immediately,” said the king in one of his letters, “there are people at Gergeau whom there is no dealing with: they have treated you like a catholic; I knew they would do so: and four days ago, I saw a letter from Saumur which prescribed the manner.”

IT is certain, that there was, at first, some tumult in the assembly, and upon this account in particular, that his majesty had sent two catholic governors into the cities of Montendre and Tartas, which they alledged had been yielded to them by the king. They supported their demands by the tenor of the edicts, and complained that Caumont had been taken from them in the same manner. Chambaut, Du-Bourg, and Du-Ferrier, were sent, by the assembly, to me at Sully, with messages full of submission to his majesty, to whom they had likewise resolved to depute two or three of their body upon the same subject. As I knew his majesty would not receive this deputation favourably, I endeavoured to dissuade them from that design: I represented to them, that I had no commission from the king to treat upon this article; but that I would write about it to him. I excused myself from having any thing to do with regard to Moncenis, a place upon which they had the same pretensions as the two former, because it belonged to M. the count.

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I WROTE to Villeroi what the assembly had proposed, charging him to represent to the king, that, if he was willing this affair should not be protracted, it would be necessary to satisfy such of their demands as were just, or promise, at least, to do so, when he should return an answer to them: to which his majesty consented. This article dispatched, which was one of the eight proposed by the assembly, I told them, that, of those that remained, five were to be brought before the council, as falling under the cognizance of that tribunal; and that they ought now to settle the principal affair, which was the appointing the two deputies. His majesty notified his intentions to them on this subject, which were conformable to what he had declared to them before, as has been seen when I treated of the general assembly held at Châtelleraut: and this affair was likewise concluded to the entire satisfaction of both parties, by means of a proposal I made to the king, to appoint Villarnou to be deputy for the nobility, and Mirande for those of the second order. The former would have been chosen the preceding year, if he had not been proposed in a manner contrary to the form prescribed by the king. He went immediately to receive his orders, bearing a letter from me to the king, who summed up to him, in a few words, the duties of his office, and seemed very well satisfied with his choice.

THE assembly, after this, continued no longer than was necessary to receive the brevet of the deputies acceptance, and all was over before

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the 1st of November. His majesty, in every letter he writ to me, recommended to me, in particular, to be speedy in settling this business, to return to him as soon as possible, and always concluded with his usual expressions of kindness. The last courier that I dispatched to him found him at the arsenal, from whence, as Villeroi informed me in his letter, he returned at seven in the evening, making him write to me at eight, not being willing to do it himself, for fear of keeping the courier too long.

WHEN I returned, I gave his majesty a more exact account than I had done in my letters, of all that has passed at Gergeau, and of the pacific dispositions in which I had found a great number of the best and most considerable persons of the protestant body. His majesty was then at Fontainebleau, where he staid as long this year as any of the former ones: he had returned thither the middle of May, after that short journey to Paris which I have mentioned, and staid there all June and July; in August he went back to Paris, from whence he went to St. Germain, and afterwards to Monceaux, where he staid fifteen days; and, passing through Fontainebleau, came to Paris the beginning of October, while I was still at Gergeau; in the middle of October he went again to Fontainebleau, where he staid all the remainder of that month, and part of November, and then returned to Paris to dispatch his affairs. I have already observed that this manner of living was only fatiguing to himself, and a few of his principal ministers.

HE was not, this year, afflicted with any dangerous distemper. In a letter he writ to me from Fontainebleau, dated June 2d, he says, "I have had a fever, which has lasted two days and a night, but it "only proceeds from a cold, which, by the help of God, I hope will "not have any bad consequences. I am resolved to take more care of "my health than I have done hitherto: this you may depend upon, "as also upon the assurance I give you of my affection for you." Yet he still continued the fatigue of the chace. From St. Germain he writ to me, that he had taken a stag in an hour: that he went afterwards to bed, where he lay another hour, and then went to walk in his gardens, and to visit his manufacturers. Henry, while this cold in his head continued, wet eight or ten handkerchiefs in a day: he had, at the same time a defluxion in his ears and throat, which was very troublesome to him. And afterwards preparing himself, by purges, to drink the waters of Spa, he was seized with a looseness, from which he suffered violent pains for two days, and which left a weakness upon him for
a con-

a considerable time afterwards. This was a disorder that prevailed not only over all that district, from whence his majesty writ to me, that he had with him the good man Villeroy, and above a hundred gentlemen of his court, who were afflicted with it, but likewise in Paris, and all the neighbouring parts.

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ALMOST all the children of his majesty were sick during the month of May. In his letter to me, in which he sent me an account of it, his paternal tendernefs made him enter into the smallest circumstances relating to the state of their health, none of which, indeed, were indifferent to me. In his letter he sent me from Fontainebleau, dated May the 16th, he says, "I am in great affliction, having all my children ill here: my daughter de Verneuil has got the measles; my son, the Dauphin, vomited twice yesterday; he has a slight fever, attended with a drowiness, and a sore throat: from these symptoms, the physicians think he likewise will have the measles. Last night, my daughter began to have a little fever: my son d'Orleans has a continued one; but it is more violent one day than another". This prince's illness was most dangerous, and lasted longer than any of the other. "Judge, continued he, whether, with all this, I must not suffer great uneasiness. I will every day give you an account of my childrens health." Happily they all recovered. "Whatever it shall please God to do with them," said this prince to me, "I will submit patiently to his will: all the dispensations of his providence are good." He enquired with his usual goodness, how my son did, who, he had been told, had the small-pox. He chose Noisy for the place of his childrens residence during the summer, and would not suffer them to be removed to St. Germain till November, at which time he sent me orders, as usual, to have them carried thither, with madame de Monglat, in the coaches and litters of the queen and queen Margaret; ordering me to tell madame de Verneuil to send hers thither likewise, the small-pox then raging at Paris.

THE son of this lady, who was called the marquis de Verneuil *,

* Henry de Bourbon, marquis, or, according to others, duke of Verneuil, afterwards bishop of Metz. If Paul V. shewed himself so difficult on account of the bishopric of Metz, Innocent X. shewed himself much more so: for he positively

refused to give the purple to this prince. He enjoy'd more than four hundred thousand livres a year in benefices, when he gave them all up, in 1668, to marry Charlotte Seguiet, widow of Maximilian Francis, third duke of Sully. He died in 1682.

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was, by the king his father, designed for the church; and the bishopric of Metz becoming vacant, he had some thoughts of giving it him; but the procuring this prince to be nominated, the illegitimacy of his birth, and his youth, for he was yet but a child, were three obstacles to his advancement to this see. It was in the power of the chapter of Metz to remove the first, by admitting the young prince as a candidate; or, if that was too difficult to be granted, to appoint the cardinal of Guise either to be bishop or administrator, because, from his hands, it might afterwards easily pass into those of the young De Verneuil. This chapter having both a right to chuse themselves a bishop, in case of a vacancy, by resignation, or death, and of giving the administration of the revenues of the bishopric to any person they pleased, there was no necessity for using many persuasions with them; for, as soon as they perceived that it would please the king to have his son appointed, he was admitted and chosen unanimously.

BUT it was the pope alone who could grant the necessary dispensation on the other two articles, the birth and age of the young prince. His majesty, to prevail upon him to grant this favour, sent the duke of Nevers to Rome*. Valerio, the courier from Rome, was received in a most obliging manner at Paris, and retained there till the end of March. The marchioness of Verneuil neglected nothing to secure the success of this affair. However, all that could be obtained from the pope, was a dispensation for the birth. He refused the second request, as being absolutely contrary to the canons and discipline of the church; but, by the force of entreaties and solicitations, they drew from him, at length, that kind of approbation, which, in the Roman style, is called expectative, and that the young prince might bear, at present, the title of bishop of Metz. Valerio brought the news to Fontainebleau the latter end of April, and, by the king's command, I acquainted Madame de Verneuil with it immediately.

THE little complaisance which Paul V. on this occasion, shewed his majesty, was well repaid by him, when at that pontiff's request, the cardinals and prelates of France renewed their solicitations to Henry, that the decrees of the council of Trent might be published in the kingdom; the king, without suffering himself to be moved by their repeated attempts on this head, replied, that since they could not get

* The Memoirs of those times takes notice of the magnificent entry and reception of the duke at Rome.

this council approved by Francis I. Henry II. and Charles IX. although they had not the same obligations to the protestants as he had, nor had granted them such favourable edicts as he had done, they must not expect that he would ever give his consent to it. He shewed them the mischief such a grant was capable of doing in the kingdom, and declared, that he had no inclination to establish the inquisition in France; and that he thought it very surprising, for he was aware of that objection, that such a strange clause should be made one of the conditions of his absolution. All therefore that they could obtain from his majesty was, that the mass should be permitted in Bearn*.

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THIS year the Roman college lost the cardinals de Lorraine and Baroni-
 us. The duke of Florence, and the famous Scaliger died also about
 the same time: and, in France, the chancellor de Bellievre, father
 Ange de Joyeuse, and Miron †.

* The exercise of the catholic religion had been re-established at Bearn, ever since the time of the edict of Nantes. There is therefore a mistake here in these Memoirs; and, instead of the *mass*, it should be read the *jesuits*; those fathers being established there this year, by the king's edict of the 16th of February. They were obliged for this to the solicitations of the bishop of Orléon. Nic. Rigault, Book i. Merc. Fr. 1608, &c.

† Francis Miron master of requests, superintendent of the government of the isle of France, president of the great council, provost of Paris, and lieutenant-civil within the provostship thereof, &c. died in the month of June, this year, extremely regretted on account of his probity, and other good qualities. His party esteemed him so much for the steadiness with which he had opposed the superintendent on occasion of the order of council which had been made the year before for the suppression of the annuities of the Hotel de Ville, and of the bold remonstrances he made to the king on that behalf, that they got together in a body, and came, in a seditious manner to defend his house against the threatenings of

the council. Peréfixe, from whom I have this fact, agrees, that the enquiry into the case of the annuities was in itself most just; and yet blames the authors of it: "Because, says he, the greatest part of those annuities having passed through several hands, or been divided, many families must be put to great trouble by it. Miron, adds he, earnestly requested the citizens to retire, and not to make him criminal; assuring them they had nothing to fear: that they had to do with a king as great as wife, as gentle as equitable; and who would not suffer himself to be influenced by the advice of evil counsellors."

For my part, I do not so much admire this gentleman, who, notwithstanding his probity, suffered himself to be so far transported with passion, as to make some odious comparisons: "Not indeed, says the same writer, with the king's person, but with some of his council;" as I do the king himself, who resisting the persuasion of those who would have prevailed on him to seize him by force, and severely to punish his boldness, "graciously received, continues M. de Peréfixe, the

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SOME new embellishments were made at Fontainebleau and Monceaux. The bridge Marchand * was built at Paris, in the place of that called the bridge Aux-Meüniers. I gave the king a design for La-Place Dauphin, by which, leaving the fund to be managed by the undertaker for his own advantage, it might be finished in three years. It was offered to the first president, and to the parliament. I also drew a plan for the bridge of Rouen; which my son presented to his majesty, for I was then upon the spot. Henry thought nothing could be better contrived for the conveniency of the ground. The bridge at Mante was finished this year. In Bourbonnois I deposited several pieces of artillery, which procured me the thanks of that province by St. Gérân.

THESE works of necessity, or of public utility, might have been carried much farther, if the king had been willing to follow the advice I gave him, to sacrifice some of his private expences to such laudable undertakings. The money he lost at play only, would have answered

“ excuses and most humble submissions of
“ Miron; and besides, forbid the profes-
“ sion of the enquiry into the annuities,
“ which had made so much noise.” I am
surprised no notice is taken of any part of
this transaction in these Memoirs.

But another action which does real honour to M. de Sully (taken out of the *Memoires pour l'Hist. de Fr.*) was, his soliciting Hen. IV. on behalf of the president Miron, brother of the deceased, who had resigned the office of lieutenant-civil to him, and afterwards of his son. The king saying to him, “ I am surprised
“ you should desire my favour for persons
“ whom you formerly so much hated.
“ And, Sire, replied Sully, I am more sur-
“ prised to find you hate people you for-
“ merly so much loved, and who love you,
“ and have done you good service.” The queen, at the recommendation of Conchini, procured this office for Nicholas Le-Geai, the king's attorney of the Châtelet.

* “ So called after the name of Charles
“ Le-Marchand, captain of the arquebu-
“ siers and archers of Paris, who under-
“ took, with the king's permission, to

“ build the said bridge at his own costs and
“ expences, on certain conditions, which
“ were granted to him, and amongst others
“ that it should bear his name.” *Journal*
“ de L'Etoile, *ibid.*

This bridge, which formerly was called Pont-aux-Colombes, (the Pigeon-bridge) because pigeons were sold on it, had afterwards the name of Pont-aux-Meüniers, (the Millers-bridge) because there was a mill under every arch. It had been broke down ever since the year 1596, by a flood, on the 22d of December, between five and six o'clock in the evening, crushing under its ruins upwards of five hundred persons, who were for the most part, as it was said, of the number of those who had enriched themselves at the massacre of St. Bartholomew; and it had, ever since, continued unrepaired. It was begun this year, and finished the next. It took fire twelve years after, being of wood, and was burnt down, together with another bridge, called Pont-au-Change, which was rebuilt with stone in 1639: and the two bridges were united in one, which, at present, is called Pont-au-Change. See the authors of the *Antiquities and Descriptions of Paris.*

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those purposes. I was ordered to pay Edward Fernandez*, a Portuguese, at one time thirty-four thousand pistoles which he had lost to him. This order is dated August 27. He often sent me others for two or three thousand pistoles †, and many more for sums less considerable. However it must be confessed, that this passion for play never hindered him from agreeing to every proposal in which the public good was concerned.

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A DREADFUL devastation ‡ was made by the Loire, in the month of October. In my journey from d'Olivet to Orleans, I expected to

*This Edward Fernandez is taken notice of in the Memoirs of Bassompierre, as being a rich Portuguese banker, who lent money to the courtiers for play, on pledges, and at large interest.

† "I do not know, says M. de Peréfixe, what answer to make to those who charge him with being fonder of cards and dice, than was becoming a great king; and that besides he played ill, being eager to win, timorous when large sums were depending, and out of temper when he lost." It requires no answer, I should tell this writer; for it must be owned, that it is a blot in the life of this great prince. How can one justify a passion for play, when pushed to the degree it was by Henry IV? What can be more pernicious in the master of a whole nation? What example can be worse? What can have a stronger tendency to the subversion of order, and the corruption of manners?

We find, on this subject, in the Memoirs for the History of France, a story as pleasant as it is pleasantly told. "M. de Crequy, afterwards duke of Lesdiguières and marshal of France, lost so much money, that one day, coming from the king's, in a manner out of his senses, he met M. de Guise, who was going to the castle, to whom he said: "Friend, friend, where are the guards placed to day? on which M. de Guise, stepping back two or three paces, Excuse me, Sir, says he, I am not of this country; and immediately went to the king, who laughed heartily at the story."

The marshal de Bassompierre says, that Pimentel, the foreigner mentioned in the beginning of this book, "won upwards of two hundred thousand crowns, which he carried off; and came back to France the following year, where he made another good harvest." It is reported that the stratagem he made use of to win so much, was to get into his hands all the dice which were in the shops at Paris, and substituting false dice, which he had got made, in the place of them. But what some people have said, that Henry IV. was informed of the cheat, and countenanced it, with design to impoverish his courtiers, and thereby to make them more submissive to him, ought to be looked upon as a mere stroke of satire. The duke of Epemon lost considerable sums, and all his jewels. The duke of Biron also lost, in one year, more than five hundred thousand crowns.

‡ This devastation lasted twenty-four hours, and came in an instant. Had not the banks broke down, the city of Tours must have been laid under water, and Blois ran a great risk. M. de Sully, who was then at Sully, with great difficulty saved himself: both he and his whole duchy were in great danger. *Mém. Hist. de Fr. ib.*

According to Le Mercure Francois, this misfortune happened twice, in this year, in the Loire; once toward the end of winter, after a frost; the second time, in the beginning of summer, by the sudden melting of the snow on the mountains of Velai and Auvergne: it places none of those

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have been involved in it. This whole passage was one continued sea, in which the boats swam over the tops of the trees and houses the water had yet left standing. However, no accident happened to myself; but the boat, which carried me, stuck in its return, and fell in two pieces, but fortunately all the passengers saved themselves by swimming. The desolation was extreme, and the damage infinite. In the petitions of the injured towns and villages, not only a total discharge of the taille was demanded, but likewise a speedy and effectual succour, at least for their most urgent necessities, without which most part of the lands must remain untilld, and the houses be deserted. "God," said Henry, in his answer to a letter I writ to him upon this terrible accident, "has given me subjects, that I may preserve them as my children. Let them meet with tenderness and charity from my council. Alms are always highly acceptable to God; and in cases of public misery more especially so. It would lie heavy on my conscience, if I neglected to do every thing I can for their relief." I seconded with all my power, the king's pious intentions.

In the same letter I obtained three little gratuities for different persons: the profits of a mill, at the gates of Paris, for one; the remainder of some trees, that had been cut down, for another; and the timber which had served to repair the stone bridge at Mante, for the third.

The merit and learning of Messieurs Fenouillet and D'Abeins, so well known throughout the whole kingdom, encouraged me to request, for the first, the reversion of the bishopric of Poitiers; and, for the second, the first bishopric which should become vacant, both which were promised me. I set out immediately after for Sully; but I had scarce left his majesty, when news was brought him of the death of

floods in the month of October, in which he is mistaken. "The loss, says he, of men, women, children, cattle, castles, mills, houses, and all sorts of goods, was inestimable. There was not a bridge on this river, which has a course of more than five hundred leagues, which had not some of its arches broke down. The force of the water made breaches in all the banks. The low grounds were covered with it quite to the skirts of the hills; the lands which are very fruitful there, was for a long

"time overflowed, there being no vent for the water to run off; and became quite barren, being covered with sand and stones, which the water had brought from Auvergne."

This year was called the year of the hard winter, that season being unusually severe. "Henry IV. said his beard froze in bed with the queen by him." He had some frozen bread given him on the 23d of January, which he would not suffer to be thawed. Matt. Vol. II. Book iii. p. 771.

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the bishop of Montpelier, which he instantly sent to inform me of. I was of opinion, that I should make some alteration in the favour I had obtained of the king. I therefore writ to him, that Montpelier being full of protestants, it seemed to me to require, that a man as eloquent as the abbe Fenouillet should be made bishop of it; and that the mild and moderate disposition of the abbe d'Abiens rendered him absolutely fit for the bishopric of Poitiers, that province having many hot and violent spirits in it that required tempering. Henry read my letter to the courtiers about him, and, smiling, asked them whether the catholics could have made a better disposition *. Fervaque was so dangerously ill, that I advised his majesty to think of disposing of the very considerable posts he held in Normandy. But he soon destroyed our opinion of his danger, by writing, some days afterwards, that, if a commission was sent him to hold the states of that province, he found himself able to preside at the assembly.

THE treaty of 1564, between France and Lorraine, daily suffered some new difficulties relating to the limits of the country of Meffin, which determined the king to send commissioners upon the spot. These were chosen by the chancellor and I, out of the council and elsewhere. Another work no less useful, and much more considerable, was to order report to be given in, upon exact views, of all the encroachments made by our neighbours in different parts of the frontiers, and especially upon the confines of Champagne, with Franche Comté, and Lorraine. Chatillon, the engineer, to whom I committed this task, executed it with the utmost exactness. He made it clear, that the king of Spain, and the duke of Lorraine, had unjustly appropriated to themselves a great number of sieves, and even whole villages, as the village of Pierre-court, the town of Passeran, the lordship of Commercy, and many others, which it would be too tedious to enumerate here †.

* Péréfixe relates this fact something differently. "The bishopric of Poitiers being become vacant, Rosny earnestly recommended one Fenouillet to him, who was esteemed a man of learning, and a good preacher. The king notwithstanding this recommendation, gave it to the abbot of La-Rocheposai, who also possessed many good qualities; and besides was the son of a father who had

"served equally well with his sword in the wars, and with his genius in embassies. Some time after the bishopric of Montpelier became vacant, on which the king, of his own motion, sent for Fenouillet, and gave it to him; but on condition, that he should take it as an obligation to him alone. Ibid. p. 312.

† They may be seen in the old Memoirs of Sully, Vol. v. p. 222.

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THIS work was but a small part of what, by his majesty's orders, I had undertaken. The most exact plans of all the coasts and frontiers of France were to be drawn. The duke of Maienne and the inhabitants of Antibes having put to sale the lands they had in the neighbourhood of that city, the king was desirous of purchasing them, which, when known, was sufficient to make them set such a price upon those lands as disgusted his majesty, who ordered them to be told, that they might sell their land to whomsoever they pleased, but that he would put a governor into Antibes, who might probably make them repent of their injustice to himself.

LET US now come to the finances. There was a new regulation made, directed to the treasurers of the exchequer, of the private expences, of the posts, of the Swiss League, of the ordnance, of the extraordinary of the wars, and the extraordinary on this side the mountains, and the rest, which prescribed them still a more exact method for giving in their accounts, and placed them in the lowest dependence on their superintendant, without a precept from whom they had scarce the power of doing any thing. This regulation * was extended, likewise, even to the registers and the secretary of the council. I put in the same subjection those who acted under me in every other business: I obliged Lichani, under whose direction the streets of Paris were paving, to come every Wednesday and Saturday noon, to give me an account of the payment and employment of his workmen.

By a circular letter sent to all the managers of the finances, I forbid them to place any more, in their accounts, such articles as had been once rejected, or reduced by the council, leaving no means to recover them but that of petition; and that they might not plead want of rules, I sent them forms drawn up with clearness and exactness. They were obliged even to quote the date, and the signatures of the patents and edicts of council that were there mentioned. The regulation of the fees of the chamber of accounts, and another, concerning the money embezzled by the treasurers of France, and the receivers-general, was joined by the former. This new scheme brought the king, at present, a hundred thousand crowns profit, which would be doubled, when it came to be perfectly observed. The chamber of accounts did not part with its fees but with a great deal of trouble, not even when

* See this regulation in the old Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 194.

it was made appear upon how false a supposition they had been established. I was obliged even to get a formal order, from his majesty, to obtain from them a delivery of the registers, for which I had occasion. I had a great deal of trouble with the procurer-general, and the presidents of that chamber, to make them verify an edict with respect to those who paid their rents, and for the extinction of forty-eight thousand livres of rents settled by composition.

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I DECLARED to the sovereign courts, and the office of finances of Languedoc, the resolution of the king upon several questions which they had sent to me, respecting rights of presence, feudal or seigneurial rights, supplement of the crown-lands, new purchases, the crown-lands of Navarre, rights of "traite foraine et domaniale," payments upon cloths, and particularly the taille réelle, upon which the council determined, with one voice, that the prince, the officers of the crown, and the king himself, being obliged to pay it, for the lands which they possessed in that province, it must be paid by every one else, both cities and communities. I ordered Maussac to carry letters, concerning all this, to the parliament of Toulouse, the treasurers of France, and the farmers of the gabelles. I directed the edict for the repurchase of the registers to M. de Verdun, first president of that parliament, that he might see it registered, which he did without any difficulty or subterfuge. He wrote, at the same time, that he had proceeded to make a compensation to the registers of the several courts; and assured me of the exact submission of the parliament to the king's will. To this he added some personal acknowledgments, and thanked me, among other things, for having sent such a commissioner as Colange, a man of soft address, and insinuating behaviour.

I DO my best to suppress all particularities, which must naturally be tedious; and shall therefore say nothing of the letters which I wrote to the procurer-general of Dauphiné, to the sieur Marion, and to the treasurers of Burgundy upon the repurchase of the domaine, upon the late regulations, and upon every other subject*.

WHEN I saw the year drawing to an end, I wrote to the king at Fontainebleau, that his presence was necessary for a general view of the finances: that I wanted his orders for a thousand things, such as

* All the letters in the old Memoirs of Sully, of this year 1608, may be consulted on this subject. Vol. III.

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THE brevet of the taille had never been made in a manner so solemn as it was now for the year 1609. His majesty came on the 16th of August, and took his seat in the council, attended by several princes, dukes, peers, and officers of the crown, and an edict of the council was passed in his presence, by which it is said, that the king having examined the calculations of receipts, and expences for the present year, and heard the reports of his council, and the superintendant of his finances, was very desirous to shew his regard to the remonstrances which they had made him, by discharging his people from part of the taille; but that the debts contracted by his predecessors, and the disorder in which he found the finances, obliged him to encrease it instead of diminishing: but that, however, he was contented to impose, for the next year, only the same sum as for the year past, with the augmentation but of twenty thousand seven hundred and fifty livres, ten sols, and seven deniers, which were to arise by an appropriation of the same sum, which the commissioners had always charged upon the parishes for some petty expences of each province, which charge was from henceforth suppressed.

I SHALL give an account, with some satisfaction, of a memorial, which I presented to the king, concerning the taille, because, by the particularities and reflections contained in it, it may pass for an epitome of the history of the taille, in France.

It is certain that no state, whatsoever, subject to the government of many, or of one, can be without paying taxes: for tho' we should suppose it content with the power which it now has, without endeavouring after more, it is however impossible, but that, from time to time, it must have outrages to revenge, and rebels to repress. Innumerable necessities, rising within itself, must be indispensably supplied by regular expences, which however must be sometimes greater, some-

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times less. These expences, as well ordinary as extraordinary, were, in this kingdom, for a long time, raised upon the lands belonging to the king, or to the crown*, by taxes, under the name of voluntary assistance, laid and allotted by a general determination of all the orders of the kingdom, which are called the states. They were, however, almost nothing to the immense sums to which we have seen them rise since, because, in those times, they confined themselves to things barely necessary as well in as out of the kingdom. It is a remark, which I know not whether any man has made, that of all our kings of the third race, down to Charles VIII. not one appears to have engaged in distant conquests, or even to have made a formal declaration of war, against any neighbouring prince †. With this spirit of moderation and frugality they never

* M. de Sully has so often and so strongly declared himself against the abuses of popular states and assemblies, that it is not likely he should here mean to authorize them: but he sometimes deceives himself, and is hurried too far by his notions of economy and severity. Whatever appears in this place in opposition to sovereign authority, springs from this source.

Men, separately considered, are some good, some bad: therefore, a state governed by one man, will sometimes be well ruled, sometimes ill. Men considered in that collective state, which is called the people, have never been, are not, nor ever will be any thing but a multitude, whose understandings and manners of thinking are confined, prejudiced, weak, passionate, fearful, and daring, by turns, without cause; as defective in experience as in foresight, and pushed on, by instinct, towards the only real good. Consequently a state governed by the multitude must be bad, and always ill governed. This proof is clear from its simplicity, and may be called a demonstration, as well against republics, as every other form of government, which grants more or less power to the people. The principle that makes the chief riches of a king to consist in his demesnes, has no better foundation. See *L'Essai Politique sur le Commerce*.

† This observation is false. Before Charles VIII. France was engaged in wars with Spain, Flanders, and England; with

its neighbours as well as with more distant states, offensively as well as defensively. What a period of time is here compared with, and preferred to the present? The last reigns of the second race of our kings, and the first of the third: could a more unfortunate one, for this kingdom, have been pitched on? If there were then fewer foreign wars, continual civil ones, the greatest of all calamities, were the unfortunate reason of it. Our kings had scarce any other employment, than to make useless attempts to deliver the nation from a thousand domestic tyrants. France was defenceless against the Barbarians, and against its neighbours, of whom successively she became the sport.

This time, it may be said, was at least happy for the nobility; but even that I cannot agree to. They shone only with false lustre, since the public and general evils must also necessarily bring on their particular ruin. Can a man be deemed less unfortunate because he himself is the cause of his misfortunes? if a state of peace and quietness, notwithstanding what ambition may alledge to the contrary, be the only happy one, the cardinal of Richlieu has done more for the real good of the French nobility than they are sensible of.

In short, what has been doing in France for near three hundred years past, but taking pains to heal the wounds given to her power at the time here extolled for its happiness and wisdom? The duke of Sully,

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found themselves in want; but were able to discharge all expence^s without mortgaging, or alienating their lands; and were therefore, in reality, notwithstanding that appearance of poverty, much richer * than their successors in the midst of all their treasures, which they have obtained by boundless power, and absolute authority. This is no paradox. The prince who can do much, he thinks, he can do every thing †,

in this place, seems to give a little into that popular prejudice, which causes admiration of whatever bears the mark of antiquity. One thing, nevertheless, may serve to excuse him. He had been a witness of part of the mischiefs which the religious wars had occasioned in the last age, and which, to say the truth, can be equalled by instances very few, if any, to be found in our history: he did not think himself deceived when he placed those calamities to the account of the government; but is it not more probable that they were so great, only because monarchy was not yet fully established among us? A king, possessed of the power our kings at this day have happily acquired, had found means to prevent them, since he would have known how to overawe the great men, to whom alone they ought to be imputed.

If it were necessary, in order to place this truth in its strongest light, to add to it an example to shew the justness of this assertion, we have not, within the last fifty years, wanted many occasions for the production of civil troubles, as well as religious dissensions. We could even quote a minority, and that in a time full of difficulties: yet what mischief has happened from thence?

But what ought to surprize us most, is, that there should be people, even at this time of day, who, in spite of experience, and contrary to the most convincing evidence, undertake, by their reasonings, to restore opinions so justly exploded.

* This is another error. To speak justly, one cannot say the king is either rich or poor. Of all the persons who may be said to belong to the public, the king is most properly so. In this light, he possesses nothing but what, at the same time, appertains to the whole state. All those expences, which are deemed royal, ought

also to be called civil, since they are all made in the name, for the benefit, and on behalf of the whole state. This is obvious in what is spent in the support of armies, navies, fortifications, &c. and no less so, as to all works of public utility and convenience; or simply of grandeur and magnificence: and if a serious attention be given to it, it will appear that the same may be said even of those expences which bear relation to the person of the king alone; as his table, apparel, houses, diversions, &c. On all these occasions he is not less in the service of the public, than whilst he is at the head of his armies.

The ill use some sovereigns make of the public treasures, destroys not the truth of this principle: besides it is for the advantage of the whole nation, that the quantity of the public money to be applied, and the manner of its application, should be under the direction of one person only. Should any one expect, that the people would give attention enough to the public good, to contribute voluntarily to what may be found to be necessary for the use, convenience, and glory of the nation; to the secret expences policy requires, to those which secure the recompence of bravery and merit, or the improvement of arts and sciences, he must be unacquainted with what they are capable of. The republican constitution can be adapted to the happiness of small states only.

† This is the strongest objection that can be, and which, in fact, is constantly made against monarchy. Must one man be the master of all? Suppose that one to be ambitious, prodigal, or cruel, must not the whole people be the victims of ambition, prodigality, and cruelty? I deny not the possibility of the fact: there are examples of it. And in admitting this, I agree

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and undertakes every thing without perceiving a capital error in the computation of his strength, the impoverishment and ruin of his subjects, which is always aggravated as his desires encrease, and at last reduces him to total weakness.

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that this is the greatest, but at the same time, in one sense, the only inconvenience of this form of government.

But since perfect happiness falls not to the share of man, and since human wisdom, exerted to the utmost pitch, can only promise itself to diminish the measure of human evils, the only question is, whether monarchical power is not more conducive to this end, than any other form of government? This must become apparent, I am persuaded, on a slight reflection.

Whatever excesses a king may run into he will still, for his own interest, to a certain degree, be careful of the lives and properties of his subjects. Besides, only a moderate share of virtue in a monarch is sufficient to insure the good of his people, tho' it may not produce the greatest happiness they may be capable of enjoying: and, on the contrary, all the vices a prince may be liable to, are not in every case destructive of the happiness of those under his command: some even promote it, whilst others only suspend it. In fine, his incapacity may be supplied by the choice of able ministers. From these causes, it happens that under a kingly government, no evil is of long continuance, or absolutely irremediable. Before this can be the case, ignorance and presumption must concur with an assemblage of all the vices.

These principles lead us to this conclusion: that there is only one, but that an infallible method, to prevent all the evils which have been produced in France by the nobles, in England by the people, in the north by the clergy, in the east by the monks, in many ancient monarchies by the soldiers, and in an infinite number of states by the diversity of religions; and that is, to encrease the royal authority to a degree sufficient, not only to counterbalance those several authorities, but to outweigh them. The name of a king, provided it

is not reduced to a mere name, will be a rock, against which, whatever waves may at any time flow from parliaments, universities, or any other bodies of people, may safely dash and break themselves.

The reason of this is plain. All other power, besides this, is a power compounded of many parts, which, through the openings in them, admit all the members of the body-politic to enter into a share of the supreme authority; that is to say, into a share of what cannot be divided. Royalty alone keeps every thing in order; makes head against, and opposes every thing, being superior to, and blunting every danger. It will always have this effect when it appears not to be doubtful. In the state, as in the church, there must be a visible authority, whose brightness may dazzle the eyes of those who would move out of their proper spheres. For it is a truth, which seems to me not to be sufficiently attended to, that all the mischiefs, all the revolutions, which afflict or destroy states, spring, without exception, from the want of subordination. It may consequently be set down as a fundamental principle of government, that the preference should be given, above all other means, to those which are most proper to preserve this subordination; an advantage which undeniably results from royalty.

In order to prove, in opposition to the principles established, in this part of these Memoirs, for the government of this kingdom, that all the calamities, wherewith it was afflicted during the second and third race of its kings, had their origin from the changes made in its original constitution, in diminution of the prerogatives and authority of the monarch, the most effectual method will be to refer to the *Histoire critique de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Françoise dans les Gaules*, which has been before cited by me. The author therein

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I SAY nothing of the troubles arising from endeavours to satiate an avarice in itself insatiable. The *taille*, which of all arbitrary imposts is indisputably the most pernicious as the most unjust, as under that name are comprehended all capitations or assessments raised arbitrarily upon particular persons, furnishes us with many striking examples of its bad consequences. How many times has it brought the royal authority into danger? Its first consequence was to turn Childeric, the father of Clovis, out of his throne; and some time afterwards it cost Chilperic his life: for he was assassinated by Bodillon, a French gentleman, in revenge of ignominious treatment, which he received from the prince, for having represented, with a little freedom of speech, the danger of an exorbitant tax, which he was going to establish. Such another tax, under Philip Augustus, produced an insurrection of the nobility, which defeated the design. Others, who have succeeded better in this undertaking, have afterwards felt such violent remorse of conscience, that they have been forced to set themselves at ease by an absolution from the pope. St. Lewis left no injunction so forceable to his son, as that of raising no money upon his subjects against their will, and without their consent. Philip de Valois, who got rid of all such scruples, found the consequences of raising taxes, and saw his chief cities in arms against him. He assisted, before he was king, at an *assemblée des Notables*, in the reign of Lewis surnamed Hutin, in which it was decreed, that every king should, when he was consecrated, take an oath to lay no new taxes upon his people without the authority of an assembly of the three estates. To this decree John I. and Charles V. submitted, and made modest demands of supplies, which were granted them. A tax * assessed upon particular people, without an assembly of the

demonstrates, that our kings of the first race enjoyed, perhaps, a more absolute authority than the king has at present, in levying taxes, condemning the principal nobility to death, &c. that the dukes and earls, by making themselves proprietors of the lordships and estates whereof they were only governors, insensibly usurped both the prerogative of the king, and the rights of the people: that the people, on many occasions, supported the efforts which the successors of Hugh Capet began to make, to deliver them from the servile subjection they were under to so many tyrants, &c.

Vol. III. book vi. chap. 11. 16.

* Most of the examples brought by the author in this place, that is, all those preceding the reign of St. Lewis, are less applicable to the *taille*, than to any other taxes, equally insupportable to a people fond of liberty, and prejudiced with the opinion, that the strongest mark thereof, is not to make any contributions in obedience to the sovereign, without examining whether his demand of them is just or unjust, and whether they are required for his own benefit, or for the public good. M. de Sully is much to blame, in taking the part of the

states,

states, or consent of the nation, was looked upon as not the least evil in the reign of Charles VI. a reign so full of unfortunate events, that it may be called the grave of the French laws, and the French morals. Under Charles VII. who had the English to drive out of his country, that necessity which lessened the murmurs of the people, encreased the evil. He had the address to change that tribute into a stated and settled payment; which, from being a personal assessment, had the name of taillie. It was however established, in different provinces, in different forms: in some it was called a poll-tax, in others a tax upon estates, in others a mixed tax: it was fixed by Charles VII. at one million eight hundred thousand livres. Let us now see what progress it had made from reign to reign, down to our time.

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LEWIS XI. augmented the taillie to four millions seven hundred thousand livres. In the year 1498, at the time of the death of Charles VIII. it appears, that there were paid into the exchequer, when all expences were deducted, four millions four hundred sixty-one thousand six hundred and nineteen livres; in 1515, at the death of Lewis XII. four millions eight hundred sixty-five thousand six hundred

people in so unreasonable a sentiment, after himself had laid down the necessities of a great state: this may therefore be looked upon as a stroke of vain declamation,

This, nevertheless, is no reason to forbid men of sense from being of his opinion, so far as relates to the taillie: those who established this tax, may be said to have laid a greater weight on the people by the form of raising it, than by the charge itself. From hence I draw new instructions, in corroboration of the principles the foregoing remarks have endeavoured to establish; for should I be asked why it is so, I would answer, because it is a popular establishment; not indeed as it is a charge on the people, for they would never have framed such fetters for themselves: on the contrary, it was in order to shake it off, they made so many violent efforts; but I call it popular, as to the manner of levying and imposing it.

If those of our kings who first made use of it, Charles VII. for example, had been master enough of their subjects, to be able to say, The state is in want of a considerable

new subsidy, pay me the tenth of all your effects; this sum is wanting; don't you intermeddle, but leave the manner of raising it to me: it may reasonably be supposed, some other means of collecting it would have been made use of, than those pursued in raising the taillie. But it was thought, the least indulgence which could be shewn to the people, was to leave them at least a kind of liberty, in the manner of assessing and raising it, &c. Hence it comes, as our author says, that in some places it was capital, in others real, and in a third place mixed: all the changes which could afterwards be made in a building, standing on so weak a foundation, were to prop it up, and to render it more inconvenient.

Let this be an example of what popular wisdom and management produces: the people, at this time, pay the full price of their mistake; in all the old impositions this ill-timed complaisance of the sovereigns, which led them to soften, by a multiplicity of regulations, what ought to have been done, if possible, by one simple method, is perceptible.

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and seventeen livres. It made at once a prodigious advance under Francis I. who left it at his death raised to fourteen millions forty-four thousand one hundred and fifteen livres. Henry II. left it at no more than twelve millions ninety-eight thousand five hundred and sixty-three livres. It continued to shrink in the two following reigns, being in the time of Francis II. only eleven millions one hundred and four thousand nine hundred and seventy-one livres; and in that of Charles IX. but eight millions six hundred thirty-eight thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight livres. The reign of Henry III. favoured it much, if we take a view of it, not as it stood at the time when he was stripped of great part of his kingdom, as about the year of his death, but in 1581 for instance, when it brought in thirty-one millions six hundred and forty-four thousand four hundred livres. Henry the Great, instead of suffering himself to be carried away by a bad example, was content, tho' he had immense debts to clear, and great charges to support, with receiving only sixteen millions clear money, half from the tailles, and half from the farms.

IF, notwithstanding all this, Henry found means to put twenty millions into his coffers, as we shall find he did, he owed it to a frugality which was not known in those reigns, and which would probably have been looked on as scandalous. Foreigners could no longer meddle in the finances with impunity. This year the elector palatine wrote to me from Heidelberg, earnestly pressing me to procure him the reimbursement of some money, which, he said, he had lent to the king, and for which, in eight years, he had only drawn one single assignment. Carl-Paul, a counsellor, and gentleman in ordinary to this elector, was sent to me with great offers of service from his master, to prosecute this affair. The place I held often procured me compliments from foreign princes. The duke of Savoy, when he sent the sieur Jacob to his majesty, to congratulate him on the birth of his third son, sent me, at the same time, a very polite and obliging letter.

THE duchess of Lorraine's sickness brought the duke of Mantua into Lorraine, and from thence into France. This princess was so ill after her lying-in, that the physicians long despaired of her life: she had had but one child, which was a daughter, who was extremely well, and the mother was at length cured. Their majesties appeared to be greatly interested in her recovery, and neglected nothing to make the duke of Mantua's stay in France agreeable to him: they gave him a great many fine ballets, and still better repasts, for which the king paid

a severe penance, by the great quantity of medicines he was obliged to take afterwards. The duke of Mantua did not repass the Alps till the middle of October, carrying with him a large sum of money, which he had won from the king at play. There were still four thousand pistoles due to him when he went away, which, at parting, he desired Henry to pay to his commissioner. His majesty sent me an order for it in a billet, which Edouard brought me.

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THE negotiations for a peace, or a long truce, were still continued in the Low Countries at the Hague, the place chosen for the conferences, but in such a manner, that it was long believed the mark, which had been thought so near, would be removed for ever; such difficulties arose through distrust, enmity, and a diversity of interest. A certain Spanish cordelier, who was employed very much in this affair by his catholic majesty, passing through Paris, had the honour to be presented to the king, whom he endeavoured to persuade that the peace would be soon concluded. Don Pedro* caused a report to be spread through all Paris, that the couriers, which were to carry the news of it to Spain, would speedily arrive. The king, and all those who were informed of the true state of things, by the dispatches sent from Jeannin, and the rest of his majesty's agents in the Low Countries, could not give credit to these reports; and with reason, since from that time, till the end of September, and of October, and so on all the remaining part of the year, nothing was effected. It is not certain, that the obstacle proceeded from the Spaniards: it is the safest way, therefore, to leave this point doubtful. As for the archdukes, they laboured in earnest for the peace. His most christian majesty, tho' contrary to his own interests, gave also the most pacific counsels: but things were brought to such a point, that this was the only part, Henry thought, he ought to take.

* Don Pedro was ambassador from Spain at the court of France; his presence there was far from being agreeable to Henry IV. since he was not unacquainted with that minister's cabals, to engage his council in the Spanish interest. See Vittorio Siri, mem. second. vol. I. Le Grain, Decade de Henry le Grand, b. x. L'Etoile and other Historians. Le Grain relates the following repartee from Henry IV. to Don Pedro, who saying to him, he saw nobody so ill lodged at Fontainebleau as God, Henry made answer, "We Frenchmen lodge

"God in our hearts, not between four
"walls like you Spaniards; and I should
"have a doubt, if you were even to lodge
"him in your hearts, as we do, he would
"there be in a lodging of stone. But don't
"you see, says he, afterwards, smiling,
"that my chapel is not yet finished; I
"do not intend to leave it in the condition
"it now is; there are few gentlemen in
"my kingdom, who have not a chapel in
"their houses, I do not design mine shall
"want one."

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WITH respect to the prince of Orange, if he was not the sole enemy to the peace, he was, at least, the most declared one. These are the reasons and pretences made use of by him and his partisans, to prevent its taking place: That whatever desire Spain might appear to have, either for a peace or a long truce, yet she would never agree to it, with the condition of renouncing, formerly and expressly, all sovereignty over the United Provinces; and yet, without this clause, these provinces could have no dependence upon treaties, since otherways the Spaniards would still have a right to secure the harbours, forts, soldiers, sailors; would draw to themselves all the trade, and open, a second time, the way to the tyranny: that during the truce they would find means to lull all the best and wisest of the people into a lethargy, and put the disaffected and mercenary among them into motion; that the catholic party in those provinces, having already a strong inclination for the Spanish dominion, would rise, declare themselves openly, and bring all, or the greatest part of the country into their measures; so that when the truce was expired, Spain would have an opportunity to finish the war at one blow*; that the peace, if the treaty might be called so, had no security in a truce, which the king of Spain would break whenever his designs were ripe for execution. The princess of Orange wrote to me soon after in almost the same terms, except only, that, although she observed to me that the troops, the towns, and even whole provinces were of her son-in-law's opinion, and faithfully devoted to the whole house of Nassau, yet she could not dissemble, that the contrary party was at least as strong as theirs.

PRINCE Maurice, who thought in the same manner, did not fail to use his endeavours to gain the king: in October he sent Lambert, the son, with a letter to his majesty, in which he told him, he might give absolute credit to whatever he should say to him in his name. Lambert highly extolled his master's design: he endeavoured to persuade the king, that things were brought to such a point, that the marquis Spinosa, the president Richardot, and the Spanish commissioners, had been thanked and dismissed on the first of this month. All this so much the more surpris'd his majesty's counsellors, who were present at this report of Lambert, as Berny, in the dispatches he had sent before, had acquainted the king, that the equipages of these Spa-

* Spain, in reality, renewed the war against the Flemings more vigorously than ever, in the year 1621, when the truce expired.

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nish deputies, and themselves likewise, were expected at Brussels the 4th of October. They would have persuaded his majesty, that now both his friends and his enemies would think themselves happy, to receive from him whatever conditions he should be pleased to impose upon them. This was what Villeroi wrote to me when he gave me a full account of this whole affair; sending me likewise to Gerseau, where I then was, a copy of the prince of Orange's letter. But the king was not so precipitate: Lambert's discourse appeared to him, from several circumstances, very doubtful. He saw no letter from the council of the States. That from the prince seemed full of reserve and artifice. Maurice himself had hitherto acted in a manner so little conformable to his professions, that there was sufficient reason for holding him suspected. When Lambert added, that Zealand would rather come under the dominion of the English, than consent to an agreement with Spain; and that the Dutch entreated his majesty would at least keep himself neutral, if he would not assist his allies as formerly; since, if they only remained possessed of these towns, they would still find employment for the Spaniards fifty years longer: Henry, in these words, saw nothing but an extravagant boast full of falshood, or at least of most gross artifice; which appeared plainer when Lambert advanced a thousand other things, that, if true, Jeannin could not have been ignorant of, and of which he had not given his majesty any account. According to Lambert, Barnevelt and Aërfens were disgraced, and even in danger of being prosecuted; and in several towns of the States it had been deliberated in their councils, whether they should not take a resolution to submit themselves to the French sovereignty. Strange how all this could be carried on so secretly, that in Flanders people should be wholly ignorant such designs were forming: but indeed the discourse of Lambert did not always agree with the letter he brought from the prince of Orange.

I AM of opinion, that if his majesty had seen probability in any of these proposals, such, for example, as that of receiving the Dutch under his dominion, he would not have needed any spur to animate him to the undertaking; for he sometimes could not hinder himself from being a little offended with Jeannin, for not turning his views that way: but at length Henry took a wiser resolution, which was quietly to hear and see all that passed, without appearing either willing to retard, or solicitous to accomplish the peace; and suffer them to agree in whatever manner they pleased, without interposing in the affair. He ordered Jeannin to conduct himself by this plan; and willing to have my advice,

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he sent me an exact account of every thing by Villeroi, and sent Lambert to me likewise. This agent talked to me in the same manner as he had done to his majesty; but I had, in the princess of Orange's letter alone, a good preservative against his arts. He could find nothing to answer me, although probably he was not well pleased with my sincerity; nor with the epithets of base, and ungrateful, which I so freely bestowed on the States.

I ANSWERED Villeroi only by letters; and in these I did not disclose all my thoughts, but referred him to my return for a fuller explanation. It was to the king alone that I chose to declare my true sentiments of all that passed in Flanders. Although prince Maurice had not always exactly followed the plan of conduct he had laid down, and had even sometimes deviated from it plainly enough; yet it was not either strange or surprising, that he should endeavour to support, even to the last extremity, a resolution in which his honour could not but be deeply interested: but as to Henry, it did not become a great captain, and a powerful monarch, to intrude himself into affairs in which his interposition was not sought for; his dignity required that he should examine well what was proposed, and not act precipitately. With respect to the States, if it was with their concurrence that Maurice made these offers, it was done too late and unseasonably: they had committed faults against his majesty, which they sought to repair, or rather they added to that ingratitude they had shewn to the king the shameful design of making him still their dupe: the offer of Zealand to England was a mere fable, and all the rest conclusion, deceit and artifice, to which it was not fit his majesty should answer any otherways, than by continuing to interpose in the affairs of these provinces, just as much as was convenient for his interest and his glory.

IT was partly on this account that Henry so earnestly wished for my return from Gergeau. In Flanders every thing continued in a state of doubt and uncertainty, of which all the advices that came from thence partook. It happened that the original of the instructions given by the archdukes to the deputies, when they were sent to the Hague, fell into the hands of the prince of Orange; either the paper had been forgot by the president Richardot *, or was stolen from him; or he suffered it expressly to be seen to please the catholics,

* John Richardot, president of the privy council in the Low-Countries, was a good negotiator: he had been concerned in the treaty of Vervins. He died the next year.

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to whom those instructions were very favourable. Maurice exclaimed loudly against it, and often made use of it to animate his partizans; the conferences often languished, but were not interrupted: war was become impossible, and consequently an agreement was absolutely necessary. This only was past a doubt, that whatever sincerity both parties might seem to profess, yet they sought carefully to prevent a true interpretation of their words, that they might not want a motive for renewing the war as soon as they could do it with any probability of success. If therefore France lost a favourable opportunity for humbling her rival, she had reason to expect that a much better would present itself, provided that, till then, she took care to manage her strength. "I am still of opinion," thus writ his majesty to me, "that in this affair God will strike a blow which men little expect, and which will blast all their designs: thus have I seen it happen during thirty years, and always to my advantage; may it still be so, and I entreat with my whole heart, that my faults and ingratitude may not hinder it."

By able politicians another observation was made still more important than the preceding; which was, that the power of Spain was now beginning to decline. If they judged thus, it was not surely on account of the respect shewn by the king of Spain and the archdukes for his majesty's agents, particularly Jeannin; the restrictions she kept with regard to the Dutch made it evident, that she still possessed the same arrogance and ambition; and that she either would not confess, or was herself ignorant of, her weakness; but when a state is seen to want strength and good conduct, when fortune and opportunities are let slip, its decline is then no longer on the foot of a mere conjecture, but may be pronounced absolutely certain.

Of this, however, we had other proofs from what passed upon the frontiers of Navarre and Bearn. The Spaniards having renewed their former quarrels concerning the boundaries of these two kingdoms, Henry, who was determined to give up nothing, writ to me to confer with the chancellor about this affair, and to send one of the privy-counsellors to talk of it to the Spanish ambassador, rather to clear himself of the consequences this quarrel might produce, than with any expectation that it would be composed by that method. His majesty, with the same view, writ to La-Force, to whom alone all the authority over that frontier was confided, to support his rights by all the most speedy and efficacious means he could think of; and as it could not be expected that the inhabitants of that country could furnish him

James Nonpar de Caumont, afterwards duke de La-Force.

with

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HOWEVER, these precautions were all useless. Upon the first complaints made by La-Force to the viceroy of Arragon, he was promised a ratification of all that he should demand, and, contrary to the custom of the council of Madrid, without any delay. The kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon were full of disaffected persons, who, upon any appearance of a rupture, were ready to join the enemy; and the council of Spain was not ignorant, that many of them had already offered their service to France. La-Force, to whom they applied, gave his majesty notice of it; and added, that although he was convinced no great dependence could be placed on the restless and uncertain temper of these people, yet an opportunity now offered which could not fail of giving success to their designs, provided only that it was immediately made use of: that the Spaniards, with all their art and skill, could not conceal their weak and exhausted condition, which no one was any longer ignorant of; and that the affairs of the government were in the utmost confusion. La-Force had never before writ either to his majesty or me in terms like these; and he was more likely than any other person to know the true state of things, as well with regard to this as to another faction, which gave great apprehensions to the council of Madrid, tho' it was formed only by the wretched remains of a people almost wholly extirpated; I mean the Moors.

To make this understood, it is necessary I should give a place here to a transaction which I could not introduce elsewhere without interrupting the narration. Henry, when only king of Navarre, was strongly persuaded in his own mind, that he should one day assist himself against Spain with these domestic enemies, less considerable indeed for their number, than the deep resentment they were believed to preserve against their oppressors. The Moors, on their side, learning by public report that the protestant party, which they knew to be very powerful in France, and always opposite to Spain, had a king of Navarre at their head; that is, a prince from two powerful motives the enemy of that crown, began again to solicit the interest of all those persons who could be useful to them in procuring his protection; and among others, they applied to Messieurs de St. Geniés, and D'Odou, promising them to excite an almost general insurrection in Spain, provided they were sure of being supported. All they demanded was a general,
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and some good officers, to whom they promised an absolute obedience. They offered to furnish all the money that was necessary for this enterprise, assuring them that they would have reason to be satisfied, both with the number of their soldiers, and their courage and resolution. An asylum in France, with the free enjoyment of their effects, and the liberty of their persons, were all the conditions annexed by them to this treaty. As to religion, they seemed disposed to a very easy composition, since they offered to embrace that which was professed in the kingdom; not the Roman catholic religion, for the tyranny of the inquisition had rendered this second servitude more insupportable than the first, but the protestant. They found that it would be no difficult matter to accommodate themselves to a form of worship unincumbered with images and ceremonies, and of which one sole God, equally adored, and invoked by all, was almost the only object.

• ST. Geniés, and D'Odou, did not fail to make a faithful report of all this to the king of Navarre, when he took that journey into Bearn and Foix, which we have already mentioned. Henry ordered them to get exact information from the Moors what forces they could muster, what arms they had occasion for, what money they could promise to contribute, and by what methods they proposed to begin an enterprise of such consequence. These two gentlemen employed, at first, only one person in this negotiation, who was an officer, called captain Danguin; but in proportion as their correspondences increased, they employed twelve others; and the secret, tho' entrusted to so many persons, was so carefully kept, that the Spaniards had not the least suspicion of this conspiracy, 'till they received notice of it from Nicholas L'Hote, that secretary of Villeroi whose history has been already related. They afterwards made a full discovery, and the affair appeared to be of so much the more importance, as it was proved that this party, at first very inconsiderable, was then joined by more than five hundred thousand persons. Two things had concurred to make it so formidable; first, the succours they had the address and leisure to procure from the Turks, the great enemies of Spain; and, secondly, the interest that many natural Spaniards took in the affair.

THE council of Madrid, upon the first notice of this rebellion, having deliberated whether it would not be proper to clear the country of these Moors, by obliging them all to repass the sea, communicated this resolution to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom of Valentia, where it was received so ill, that a sedition was raised in several provinces,

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vinces, the nobility of which, keeping many of these Moors in slavery, could not consent to their banishment, without losing, at the same time, one fourth part of their revenues. They therefore took up arms against those who came to signify to them the new order of the council of Spain. The viceroy thought to have appeased this first tumult, by sending the principal officer for the administration of justice to the mutineers, whom the chancery called the regent. This regent was a fearful old man, who, seeing himself instantly surrounded with arms and a furious mob, fell dead in the midst of them.

IN such a conjuncture the Spanish council could no longer dissemble their weakness. It was indeed but too palpable, by their tamely suffering, for a long time, a revolt in the midst of the kingdom, without using any efforts to quell it. The Moors, who had not expected to be so cautiously dealt with, became more bold. They renewed their solicitations to Henry, who could not now, as when he was king of Navarre only, evade their request by alledging that he was too weak, and had too many difficulties to encounter to make any great efforts in their favour. The Moors, determined, at all events, to shake off the Spanish yoke, entreated him only to receive them into the number of his subjects, on whatever conditions he pleased: but the same considerations which hindered Henry from openly espousing the party of the United Provinces, on an occasion wherein he was more nearly interested, forbid him likewise from declaring himself the deliverer of a people who were more immediately the subjects of Spain, at a great distance, and who demanded a naval armament, for the centre of the revolt was in Valentia, Murcia, and Granada; without taking in many other reasons drawn from the character of this people, and without laying any stress upon the usual vicissitudes of war, which distance always conceals, or partly disguises. All this considered, his majesty certainly could not be blamed for not answering more favourably the desires of the Moorish nation. I leave the reader to judge, if, during this whole time, the council of Madrid, which was well informed of all that was projecting, could be very easy. They had suffered, for five years, a malady which they had but too great a certainty of, to take deep root. At length they thought proper to make an effort, and resumed their design of shipping off all the Moors that were in Spain, a design which was now believed more difficult to execute than before, as a report was spread, that the Turks were cruising near Majorca to prevent the blow. It was therefore necessary to fit out a fleet to oppose theirs. October came without any thing appearing either on one side or the other; and the whole year passed,

passed, during which no motion was made by the Spaniards, who knew that the Barbarians waited for them with a body of ten thousand foot, and five thousand horse, fully determined to defend themselves bravely. The battle however proved favourable to the Spaniards, and time furnished them with the means of totally ridding themselves of an enemy * who had no longer any resources. This, however, could not be done without the loss of five hundred thousand subjects to Spain †; for that was the number of persons she banished out of her states, after depriving them of all their effects.

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THE emperor treated the city of Donavert, in Germany, with equal severity, and with less right to do so. He seized it, although it was one of the imperial cities, deprived it of the greatest part of its privileges, and its inhabitants of the liberty of conscience. This violence excited many murmurs there, and was the cause of many disorders.

* The Moors, with one Barbarossa at their head, gave battle to the Spaniards, in which they were defeated, and were obliged to leave Spain the year after. See Le Merc. Franc. and other historians.

† Others make them amount to seven or eight hundred thousand: a wound to Spain which has never yet been healed: but from whence no benefit accrued to us, tho' it was easy for us to have had advantage from it: for though we had not given assistance to those unfortunate people, as cardinal Richelieu afterwards did to the Portuguese, on a similar occasion, we might, at least, have given them an asylum in France, had it been only in the uncultivated parts of Bour-

deaux, where they in vain, as it is said, desired leave to settle. This false step of the government is judiciously pointed out by the author of *L'Essai politique sur le Commerce*. "To cultivate barren ground," says he on this subject, "is conquering a new country without prejudice to any one." It may be said, that the same reasons which made it expedient to drive the Moors out of Spain, were equally strong against their reception in France. But it would have been easy to take the advantage of the miserable condition they were in, to have imposed on them whatever terms might have been thought expedient.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XXVI.

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ON the first day of the new year, I went, as usual, to present the king with some gold medals, of which the subject was, the glory he had acquired in reconciling the Pope and the Venetians, the Spaniards and the Dutch, and some other princes of Europe. After a few moments of conversation upon indifferent matters, Henry took me aside to a window to tell me, that he desired I would compose for him four states of accounts, in the manner of several others I had already given him: the first, of the equivalentes gathered in the twelve generalities of the kingdom; the second, of all the claims, and duties, which make part of the royal revenues; the third, of the principal levies of the taille, called the ordinary levies, from the year 1599 to 1609, taking in these two last years; the fourth, of the levies of the taille, called the great increase, or extraordinary increase, during the eleven last years. I want, said Henry, to shew them to some persons who think they have great skill in the finances, although they know nothing of the matter; and to others who admire their method, defective as it is.

THERE was no necessity for this prince to make any excuse to me for this demand; the pleasure it gave me to see him enter with me into
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all the particularities of the government, left me no inclination to examine into the motive of this attention. I perceived that he had, for some time, made a study of my manner of conducting affairs, as well general as particular; and that by asking me sometimes for a state, sometimes for a memorial, one day for some instructions, the next for an explanation of them, all these pieces would soon compose a complete system of the finances, and other parts of the state. But I had no uneasiness upon this account; for whether Henry did this for his own instruction, or that he had a design to form other statesmen upon my maxims, through a fear that I should not always continue faithful to him, or whether he had an intention to employ me in other affairs, either within or without the kingdom, which would not give me leisure for these, the manner which he behaved to me* gave me no reason to imagine that there was any thing in this procedure, but what was wise, good, and even advantageous for me.

WHEN he came to the arsenal at the end of the month, I gave him those four states, which I shall not transcribe here; but only content myself with observing, that the total of the first made it appear that the equivalents amounted to one hundred and fifty-one thousand seventy three livres, a sum greatly inferior to what many persons imagined, who had suggested to the king, that he ought to get a sol in the livre by all. In the second, notwithstanding the great application I had given to it, some terms had escaped me, which the king could not understand; but I promised him to make it complete within the year. The total of the third was one hundred and seven millions four hundred forty-five thousand three hundred and fifty three livres, sixteen sols, eleven deniers: that of the fourth, fifty-two millions one hundred forty-four thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine livres, twelve

* If we give credit to the author of L'Hist. de la Mere & du Fils, we shall find Henry IV. had other motives for this behaviour to the duke of Sully. "He was," says this author, far from being pleased "with the conduct of M. de Sully, and had a mind to take the management of the finances out of his hands, in order to put them under the direction of Arnaud. He had often told the queen he could no longer bear with his ill humours. His discontent with the duke was fixed, and he was resolved to strip him of his office; but the time for it

"was not yet proper, &c." But the rest of this book will furnish us with so strong proofs of the great confidence Henry IV. had in M. de Sully, that we may conclude this author was taken in the trap, which, another writer of those times informs us, this prince and his minister frequently laid for those that were too credulous, when, in order to do their business the better, they thought proper to assume all the external appearances of a real misunderstanding, which made the courtiers say of them, *Like master, like man.*

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fols, six deniers. Henry only looked at the titles of these papers then, and gave them to La-Varenne, with orders to return them to him when he returned to the Louvre, and was in his library with Berenghen. I likewise gave him a list of all the particular accounts, which made part of the general account of the finances, or was inserted in that account*.

As Henry went to Chatillon two days afterwards, I did not suppose he had examined, with any great degree of attention, this long list of accounts, which gave rise to a little debate. One day, when his majesty was discoursing with the chancellor, Villeroi, and me, and that the conversation had turned upon this subject, I happened to say, that, besides those accounts which I left to the care of my secretaries, there were above a hundred which I was obliged to write with my own hand, at the beginning of each year. The king seemed astonished, and Villeroi likewise. I am persuaded, said Sillery in his soft gracious manner, that there must be a great number; but I cannot conceive how there should be a hundred. I think I have a little knowledge of the matter. You have done well, monsieur, replied I, to say something; but you would have done still better to have said nothing, since you are talking of matters that you can be informed of by no body but myself. There needed no more to prove which of us was in the right, than just to look into the list I had given the king, wherein those, and only those were comprehended. Having a copy of it in a bag of papers, which one of my secretaries had brought with him, I ordered him to draw near: Sillery himself read the paper, by which his majesty was convinced I had said no more than the truth.

WHILE the king was at Chantilly, he wrote me the following billet, dated Wednesday, March 25: "My friend, I mount my horse, after dinner, to go to Lufarche, where I intend to lye this night. To-morrow I shall come very early to Paris; and, as I intend to dine with you, provide for twelve persons, and let us have some fish. Adieu, my dear friend." He came accordingly, and I gave him a dinner to his taste. After the cloths were taken away, I ordered cards and dice to be brought, and laid a purse of four thousand pistoles upon the table for his majesty, and another, with a like sum, to lend to those lords that accompanied him, and who, not expecting to play, might not have money about them. Henry was pleased with

* These accounts are set forth at large in Sully's Memoirs, in the IIIId. and following Volumes.

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his ceremony. "Come hither, grand master, said he to me, and embrace me; for I love you, and I have reason to do so. I am so agreeably situated here, added he, that I am resolved to sup and lye here. I have some reasons for not going to the Louvre to-day, which you shall know after we have done play; and, in the mean time, order three coaches to be got ready to carry me an airing, after which you and I will have some discourse together: but do not admit any company while I am here, except those I shall send for. I expect to find no one here at my return." The king having passed the whole day entirely to his satisfaction, he desired that I would give him a dinner the next day likewise. He continued great part of the morning shut up with me in my closet, discoursing upon many things, which I am not at liberty to mention. His majesty read the accounts I had given him with great pleasure, and said to me aloud, as he went out of the closet, "You have given me papers with which I am highly pleased; but there are still many particulars which you must explain to me in writing: for I shall not remember all you have said."

ALL the company gathering about the king, he declared publicly his design of passing, in the same manner, two or three days each month at the arsenal. He commanded me to have a hall, a chamber, a wardrobe, and a closet, fitted up for him, without encroaching upon any of the apartments of my family; telling me, that whenever he came, for the future, he would neither be attended by his own officers, nor bring any of his cooks along with him; but that I should treat him as now: adding, in a most obliging manner, that every way, he was of opinion, he could not be better than in my hands; but that as it was not just this confidence should bring an increase of expence upon me, he would give me a gratuity of six thousand crowns a year for that purpose only: and this he repeated again at dinner.

BEFORE we sat down to table, the conversation, between the fifteen or twenty persons who were in the king's retinue, happening to turn upon those great men whose actions are celebrated in history, Henry asked me which of them all I most wished he should resemble. It was not easy to answer this question by a single word, and the rather as Henry added, that I must not only have regard to their conduct and personal merit, but likewise to every thing that a man might reasonably wish for; such as the qualities of the body, health, and that concurrence of circumstances by which a man is pronounced happy. To decide this question, it was necessary to examine and compare those heroes

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heroes one with another; and, to say the truth, I was not sorry that such an opportunity offered to cover with shame several persons in the company, for their absolute ignorance of things, which every man of birth and figure should have, at least, some slight knowledge of. The king comprehended my design, by the turn of my compliment to him, in my first reply to his question. "I find, said he, that you are not going to appear a man of few words; but I am resolved to hear all you have to say, which will be full as pleasing, and more advantageous to me, than if I had gone, as I intended, to see them play at mall till your dinner was ready."

ACCORDINGLY I began to give an exact representation of all those whom antiquity styles illustrious men, among whom I did not forget such of our monarchs as had been dignified with that title; as Clovis, Charlemagne, Hugh Capet, Philip Augustus, St. Lewis, Charles V. Charles VII. and Lewis XII. The quality of enemies of France did not seem to me a sufficient reason for excluding the great names of Edward III. and Charles V. I named none without making their characters known to the company, at least, in general, by strokes, which, tho' slight, for the sake of brevity, yet displayed their good and bad qualities, and the happy or unfortunate events of their reigns. It is now your part, Sire, said I, (after I had finished this enumeration, which had obliged me to continue speaking a long time) to declare which of these great kings you would chuse to resemble, and to examine whether you would not lose by the comparison; you, who in many things, have certainly surpassed them all. "Before I decide this point, replied his majesty, it is necessary I should consider more attentively what you have said as well good as ill, concerning each of these princes: but your dinner, which is served (for indeed we were informed that it was time to place ourselves at table) will not afford us leisure for it now; therefore we must defer it till another time. However, I desire you will reduce your discourse to writing; after which I will tell you what I think of it, as well as of your last words, which you only added, said this prince with a gracious air, to make your repast more agreeable."

WHILE we were at table, some of the company, to shew their reading, renewed the subject we had just been treating; and mentioned several circumstances in history with great ostentation: but, at the same time, confounded persons and things in so ridiculous a manner, that the king could not help laughing at them, while he made me a compliment

pliment upon the strength of my memory. I suffered the king to remain in this advantageous opinion of me till we rose from table, when I told him, in private, the fortunate accident to which it was owing; for I happened, three days before, to meet with an extract of the lives of illustrious men, which I had made during the time that I employed myself in the study of history; and, that very day, had made it the subject of conversation with some of my friends, which had recalled all my former ideas, and furnished me with those circumstances I had related. This learned scene was succeeded by cards, dice, and pistoles. I went, in the mean time, into the hall, where I spared his majesty the fatigue of giving audience, he being employed more to his taste; for he gained, that afternoon, two thousand five hundred pistoles, and came out in very good humour to take an airing in the coaches I had ordered to be prepared for him, as he had done the evening before, after which he returned to the Louvre.

FIVE or six days after I had the honour to treat and lodge the king at the arsenal, he was informed that some reports were spread in several provinces relating to things, which, he imagined, were only known to himself and me: for indeed, he had imparted them to me with the utmost secrecy. For some days he suspected that I had been indiscreet in divulging these secrets, while I, tho' he often asked me who were those intimate friends I had in Bourbonnois and Berry, had not the least doubt of his suspicion. At length he called me to him one day, "Come hither, grand master, said he to me, and answer truly to the questions I am going to ask you." I promised faithfully to do so; but with this condition, that if his questions related to any thing, wherein, by answering, I might displease him, that he should command me absolutely to speak my sentiments freely, and promise not to be offended if I obeyed him. He replied, that his questions were not of that nature; and then opening his whole heart to me, I justified myself by oaths, which perfectly convincing him of my innocence, his vexation was succeeded by a surprise which I felt in no less a degree than himself.

HOWEVER, it was not long before I unravelled this mystery. A letter, written by father Cotton to father Ignatius, a jesuit at Moulins, was brought to me in a packet that came from Bourges, and laid open the whole affair. With this letter, which filled me with a real joy, I went to wait upon the king, who was arrived at the Louvre with the queen, whom he had gone as far as Anet to meet. After some con-

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versation upon Anet and Chantilly, I said to him, "Sire, the other day, you ordered me to swear that I would tell you the truth: do not be offended if I entreat you, in my turn, to tell me whether you have never mentioned, to any other than me, those things you accuse me of having revealed: if you have not, certainly there are some persons about you who have a familiar spirit, and can dive into the most secret thoughts." The king smiled, and lightly tapped my cheek; then embracing me, "I am too desirous that you should be always sincere with me, said he, to give you an example of insincerity. I confess then, that I have mentioned those affairs both to father Cotton and Beringhen; but I can answer for the last, that he has never revealed them." "Neither is it he, but the jesuit, said I; and this letter," giving it into his hands, "will prove it." His majesty read it; and here it follows transcribed entire:

"Rev. father, Pax Christi. I never wrote so seldom before, or desired to write so often. Your reverence may, if you please, lay the fault upon my business, particularly at this time. M. de Citeaux will be satisfied with an abbey near his own, which is, at present, in the hands of a canon of the holy chapel, seventy years old; and, in return for the said abbey, will procure to be granted by a general chapter, which will be held after Whitsuntide, whatever we desire of Bellebranche. There is a disturbance at Orleans about the business of the college, by some secret practices; but God will direct all. The king has written to the mayor and aldermen, to M. d'Orleans, M. the lieutenant-general, M. the prévôt, to his attorney, and to M. de La Chatre. I join my letters to M. D'Escures, who sets out to-morrow, and promises to bring every thing to a conclusion. The king has also given thirty thousand livres to La Fleche, upon the advice which I communicated to your reverence. His majesty goes to Chantilly on Tuesday, and the queen, four days afterwards, to Chartres, who will go and meet him at Anet, and then come here and to Fontainebleau. That passion you know of still continues, notwithstanding which, the marriages of M. the prince, and M. de Vendome will be celebrated after Easter. All is again upon a good footing with the man of the arsenal, whatever endeavours have been used to prevent it. The eldest son of M. de Crequy is to have the young de Verneuil; and the treaty of marriage between the marquis de Rosny and the eldest daughter of that nobleman still goes forward: for the father will not hear of breaking it off. M. des Yvetaux is employed in the affair. The sieur Collin has demanded permission to stay in the college du Mont till the middle of August;

"but

" but M. Savary will not agree to his staying longer than till Easter. 1609.
 " The edict against duels is loudly called for. The preachers have
 " done their duty concerning it; but father Gontry disgusts the king
 " from time to time, tho' I am endeavouring to ward off the blow.
 " He says, that his sermons are seditious, and that they will one day
 " give rise to a schism in our religion, or in the church. M. Bremont
 " is resolved to enter into our society. You will see his laudable incli-
 " nation by the inclosed letter, with one from the reverend father de
 " La-Tour, which I found upon my table without knowing how it
 " came there. M. de Bourges told me this day, that father Sallian is
 " very well satisfied, and has lost nothing by his change. It is given
 " out, that father Changer has changed; a thing that has been
 " long dreaded. I am reconciled to M. the count of Soissons, and
 " upon better terms with him than ever; but I have had neither vic-
 " tuals nor money since January. The queen took me with her to
 " Chartres, and places greater confidence in me than usual. M. de
 " La-Varenne says, that he is very willing to serve your brother; but
 " not in the way you propose: for it is impossible to introduce the use of
 " keeping horses to lett, without hurting the relays and posts; but
 " he offers to do any thing else for him that is in his power. The re-
 " verend father Raimond has been here, and has brought the sum of
 " four hundred livres for alms, without the materials of Talan for
 " some part of them, which M. Le-Grande promised him. Our
 " brother Paran is now discharged from the exercise of this office; for
 " I have an answer from Rome, by which I have been informed, that
 " the union has been approved by our holy father the pope, and the
 " alms given by his holiness solely upon my account, " quasi suite jus be-
 " nevolentiaë." I have delayed revising and printing my book till the
 " summer, or till after autumn. The truce, for nine years, in Flan-
 " ders is almost determined. Ten of our fathers have been taken
 " coming from the Balearean islands to Spain, by Simon Dansa, a Dutch
 " corsair, who has a wife at Marçilles. The king is endeavouring to
 " procure their freedom. Notwithstanding some little sallies of ill hu-
 " mour, he favours and loves the society. " Quod superest," I am in
 " great need of spiritual succours; " Oraque pro paupere," who is your
 " Reverence's most affectionate

" And most humble servant,

Paris, March 18,
1609.

PETER COTTON."

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P.S. "THE marchioness de Mefnelay is resolved to take the veil, notwithstanding all the entreaties of her friends to the contrary. M. Avias, rector of the chief church, lies at the point of death: his distemper is a spotted fever: he is a good priest, a faithful friend, and is going to his God."

HENRY read this letter twice from beginning to end; and although he concealed from me great part of his thoughts, yet I read in his countenance the uneasiness it gave him. "I must confess," said he to me, "that there is more prudence and fidelity in your actions, and more truth and sincerity in your words, obstinate huguenot as you are, than in many catholics, and even ecclesiastics, who make profession of great piety and regularity of conduct." Upon the approach of M. the count of Soissons, he left me to go to this prince, to whom I believe he related all, and even shewed him the letter, in which he had a place as well as others. I was extremely glad that I had kept a copy of this letter; for his majesty would never return me the original.

FATHER Cotton was very uneasy * at the accident which had happened to his letter; but he comforted himself a little, when he was told, that I had neither shewn it nor mentioned the contents to any one but the king. He thought he owed me some acknowledgement for this moderation; and likewise, that some trifling justification was necessary. A letter I received from him, at his return from a journey he had taken into one of the provinces, was calculated to serve both these purposes. His letter was dated from Fontainebleau, where the court then was, and sent to me at Paris. He took occasion to praise the goodness of my heart, and the sweetness of my temper; since all the endeavours that had been used to give me a bad impression of him, had not, he said, been able to make any alteration in my kindness to him. He acknowledged, that a man, less generous than myself, would have made this letter a pretence for preserving some resentment against him. He did not say why; for doubtless, in his opinion, the terms in which

* In the Anti-Cotton, p. 461, we find that father Cotton was in disgrace with the king for six weeks, for having disclosed his secrets to a Spanish provincial: but this is one of those libels which deserve no credit. On a similar occasion, Henry IV. said to

his ministers, taking the president Jeannin by the hand, "I will be answerable for this good man; but it is proper for the rest of you to examine your own conduct."

he had expressed himself concerning me, were not a sufficient cause for the anger of a generous man: nor, indeed, would I allow myself to be offended by them. Father Cotton must certainly understand his own meaning better than any other person; and if he was conscious of having intended any injury to "the man of the arsenal," he would not have had the confidence to entreat him, as he did, in this letter, to remember the building of the jesuits church, and the apartments destined for their classes, at Poitiers, by verifying the accounts in which such expences as these were comprehended. Here he again introduced an eulogium upon my charity, followed by an ardent prayer that God would finish his work by inspiring me with right sentiments of the good religion*.

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Not long after this affair, I plainly perceived, that some new, and more considerable cause of uneasiness had been given the king; for all his endeavours to dissipate his disquiet, served only to discover, and probably to encrease it. He staid eight whole days out of Paris, indulging his melancholy in places where it could not be observed, at Livry, and another house belonging to Montbazon: When he returned he passed most of his days in hunting, doubtless, that he might be longer and more frequently alone. This, however, was not the true remedy for his disease. He came, at length, to the arsenal to seek some comfort in disclosing his thoughts to me. He came up directly to my closet,

* From what follows, as extracted out of the History of France, it will appear M. de Sully did not so readily forgive father Cotton: "Towards the end of this year, the jesuits having obtained a gift from the king of a hundred thousand francs, to finish the building of their chapel at La-Flèche, came to M. de Sully for payment of it. Father Cotton told him, with his usual smoothness, that his majesty had made the society a small present of a hundred thousand livres for the chapel of La-Flèche. How, says the duke of Sully, do you call a hundred thousand livres a small present for you? The king gives you too much; but you will get nothing of me. Father Cotton desired to know the reason of this refusal. I do not think myself obliged, answered the duke, nor will I give any to you; but I shall give my reasons for it to the

king. Father Cotton complained of this to the king, who, to satisfy him, publicly chid the duke for it: and told him he would have his commands obeyed. M. de Sully, nevertheless, did not do what the king had ordered, in regard to the jesuits chapel at La-Flèche." The same author observes, in another place, that it is very well known, at that time, that when the king and his minister thus appeared of opposite sentiments in public, it had often been privately concerted between them. What gives one reason to believe that had been the case then was, "That his majesty, as this writer adds, at this very time, gave the duke thirty thousand crowns for a new-year's gift, instead of twenty thousand, which he used to give him before: with which the jesuits were not all pleased." Anno 1609.

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without permitting any one to inform me of his arrival, and tapped at my door himself. I opened it, expecting nothing less than such a visit, and was yet in my morning dress, with my night-gown and cap on. He bid me good morning; asked me what I was doing; then, ordering all that were present to withdraw, he came into the closet with me, and shut the door; while I, with a fixed attention, beheld his unquiet motions, now seating himself, now rising, and walking hastily about the room, all signs of the agitation of his mind, as well as the vivacity with which he talked for more than two hours that we continued alone. I shall have no reason for disguising the subject of this agitation, or concealing our discourse; which might, likewise, be easily overheard by those without. His majesty thought they had all left the little hall, and were gone to walk either in the great one, the courts, or the gardens: but some of them staid at the door of the closet, excited by their curiosity to listen; for the melancholy of this prince had been observed by every one. Those, therefore, that stood at the door might hear almost every word that passed.

AT first, he talked only of news relating to the emperor, some princes of Germany, the archdukes, and the president Richardot; after which, Henry confessing that there was something else which lay nearer to his heart, began a long discourse, during which I did hardly any thing else but listen to him. As his majesty believed that I, as well as the whole court, supposed the new quarrels between him and the queen, were occasioned by the passion it was publicly said he had conceived for Mademoiselle de Montmorency, a few days since married to the prince of Condé, it was with this article he began, which had always given me infinite uneasiness.

WHEN I first perceived this growing inclination in Henry, I foresaw much greater inconveniencies from it than from any of his former attachments, on account of the birth and relations of the young lady, and I used my utmost endeavours to prevent the progress of it; endeavours which, though absolutely fruitless, I renewed again, when the king proposed to me his design of marrying her to M. the prince; for I had no reason to expect that Henry, upon this occasion, would exert that generous self-denial which some lovers have shewn themselves capable of, when they have taken this method to impose upon themselves the necessity of renouncing the object of their passion. Indeed it was the very contrary which I apprehended; and this belief offering nothing to my view but deep resentment, rage, and exclamation, from the injured

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injured prince, the relations of the princess, and the queen, I therefore neglected nothing which I thought could dissuade him from taking this resolution. I entreated, I remonstrated, I threw myself at the feet of Henry, I not only importuned; I fatigued, I persecuted him; but all in vain: the fatal marriage was resolved on*.

THESE circumstances the king himself recalled to my remembrance, to convince me, he said, that, although I had foretold pretty justly the effects which love and jealousy might produce, yet I had not foreseen all that the malignity of his enemies was capable of suggesting to encrease those fatal effects. This prince, part of whose character it was to pay an inviolable regard to truth, tho' he exposed his own failings by it, would not pretend to deny that there was some foundation for the public opinion and discourse. And, indeed, the passionate manner in which he talked of the high birth, the wit, and beauty of Mademoiselle de Montmorency, was sufficient to betray his sentiments; but it was not to those mean and insolent Italians, such as Conchini, Vinti, Guidi, Joannini, that he was accountable for his actions, who justly deserved to be punished for daring to exaggerate what little faults there might be in his conduct, in order to enrage the queen, and force her to take violent resolutions, which might give some colour for their pernicious designs. It was these designs which Henry was informed of from all parts, which filled him with apprehensions and disquiet, and hardly left him one moment of tranquility. He had mentioned something of them in his letters to me, while he had yet only mere suspicions of their tendency: but these suspicions were changed into an absolute certainty, by the letters that La-Varenne and Zamet had communicated to him; by what he had been told by the younger Zamet at his return from Italy and Spain; and, lastly by the informations he had received from Vaucelas, his ambassador at Madrid. We shall soon see that my brother-in-law was not a suspected witness.

His instructions †, when he was sent ambassador to Spain, were such as rather shewed an intention to keep open the difference between France and the house of Austria, than to come to an accommodation.

* It was celebrated at Chantilly without any pomp. The marchioness of Verneuil said, "The king had made this match to sink the heart of the prince of Condé, and to raise his head." Mem. Hist. de Fr. Anno 1609.

† The titles given in these instructions to the count de Vaucelas, are counsellor of state, &c. camp-master of the regiment and companies of infantry of Piedmont. Vol. 8955. MSS. Royeaux.

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with it. He was a witness of the intrigues that the queen's agents carried on at Madrid, which they did in a manner so public and unrestrained, that he could not imagine it was unknown to the king, or even without his orders that they acted. These proceedings at first surprised, and afterwards mortified him to the last degree; for, believing that the council of France had absolutely changed its system, without acquainting him with the new resolutions they had taken, it must necessarily be, that his majesty had withdrawn from him his usual confidence, leaving him only the vain title of ambassador, while he entrusted to some other persons his important secrets, and the management of his most essential affairs. Full of this thought he supposed, that, if the king seemed, in appearance, not to have changed his opinion of him, or altered his behaviour, it was through his respect and regard for me, that he might spare me the uneasiness of knowing he despised my brother-in-law, who would not have failed to express his uneasiness to me, if he had not endeavoured to free him from such an opinion.

POSSESSED with this belief, Vauclas determined to insinuate in two words to La-Varenne, and through him to the king, that he had reason to fear he had lost his majesty's favour; but in his letter to his brother-in-law, which was much longer, he opened his heart freely, and entreated him to discover the cause of his disgrace, and to represent to his majesty, but with all possible respect, that it was unjust, and in some degree injurious to his ambassador, to employ one of a foreign prince preferably to him: it was the ambassador from the duke of Florence whom he meant; and, indeed, he treated about these affairs at Madrid, either without the knowledge, or with the consent of the Spanish council, with so much authority, that it is not surprising Vauclas should be deceived. He, therefore, entreated his majesty, by his brother-in-law, to restore him to his good opinion and confidence; and to believe, that no consideration of friendship or alliance should ever prevail upon him to disclose the secrets of his master to me, which was what I had myself recommended to him to observe with inviolable fidelity.

THIS letter gave the king a clear knowledge of those things, of which he had hitherto had but confused notions, and doubtful conjectures. His surprise was extreme; and, indeed, who could have imagined, that one half of the council and court should dare openly to cross designs, which the king had avowed, without being apprehensive either

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either of his resentment, or the infamy which, on any other occasion, must have attended such proceedings? Certainly this was a circumstance very uncommon in politics, and very different from all its maxims. They formed a party by methods, which, in any other case, tended to destroy it; to obtain their end, they pretended they had already obtained it; and secrecy was what they had least concern about: this, however, is to be understood only of their behaviour and the appearances they gave to things, and not of their designs, and the real methods they took to carry them on; for, after the king had returned Vaucelas such an answer as was proper to remove his suspicions, he could not, with all his industry, discover the bottom of this mystery, nor many particular circumstances, which he endeavoured to find out. All he knew was, that, by these intrigues, it was designed to blast his majesty's designs against the house of Austria, by bringing him, either willingly or by force, into an union with Spain: that the Florentine ambassador corresponded with certain persons of the queen's household, whom he named, upon this subject; and with others of higher rank, whom his respect forbade him to mention: the rest he was wholly ignorant of.

PART of these curious circumstances which Henry now told me, I knew not before: this prince added, that he did not doubt but those persons, whom his ambassador would not name, were the queen and Villeroi. All the conversation they had with him tended only to this end; and the last advices he had received, relating to the double marriages, could have their rise only from them, since the persons employed in negotiating these alliances had, it was said, gone so far with the council of Madrid, as to declare that they had the means in their power of obliging the king to consent to them, even with the clause that Spain, by giving the infanta to the Dauphin, should reserve to itself all the rights that this marriage might afterwards invest her with*. This it was that astonished, and even terrified Henry. He might have been able to find a meaning in such strong and positive affirmations, if his designs against the house of Austria were as little known, and as undetermined, as they were three or four years ago; but that they should

* One would be surprized, after this, to find Siri, Mem. recond. Vol. I. p. 187, advance, that Henry IV. wished for nothing so much as the marriage of the Dauphin with the infanta of Spain. Nothing further is necessary to prove this stranger

took his information of the transactions of the council of France, at that time, from hear-say only. I also think him still more blameable for that partiality he discovers, almost every where, against the person and politics of this prince.

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talk in this manner in a court where they could not be ignorant that he had already taken a quite contrary resolution, and that nothing would ever make him alter it while he lived; this it was that gave him, in spite of himself, the most dreadful apprehensions.

It is certain that all Europe knew he was endeavouring to ally himself to the duke of Savoy, by marrying the Dauphin to the heiress of Lorraine, that he might one day unite this state with France; and that it was partly to support this claim, that he attached to his interest, by so many acts of kindness and munificence, the German princes, who could assist him in this enterprise against all those who might attempt to traverse it. It was known likewise, that he intended to marry his second son to Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, and that they were already contracted; to give his eldest daughter to the prince of Wales, whom, upon my report, he preferred to all the princes of Europe; and, lastly, to bring about a marriage between his third son and the princess of Mantua, grand-daughter to the duke of Savoy, to give him a reason or pretence for a footing in Italy. I believe it will be easily granted, that his majesty, by possessing Mantua and Montferrat, with a free entrance into these two little states, and by being assured of the duke of Savoy lately become possessor of the Milanese, and having a firm dependence upon the Venetians, our inseparable allies, nothing could have hindered him from giving law to all Italy, without, as this prince said, incurring the guilt of detaining unjustly the possessions of another.

HENRY took so much pleasure in talking at length of his political schemes, that he forgot he was speaking to a man who knew them all as well as himself: but he returned again to the Spanish cabal, and to his own apprehensions, which their acting as if they were assured he had but a very short time to live, gave rise to. Whatever might be the foundation of this suspicion, it was strengthened and increased, when he reflected, that innumerable prognostics were every where spread amongst the people, which fixed his death in the fifty-eighth year of his age, a prediction which was given out to be a divine inspiration, because it was zealously supported by a certain nun, then in great veneration. Pasitheia, for that was the name of this devotee, had been some time in France; and when she left it, continued to correspond, by letters, with the queen. And it was this nun whom the faction made use of,

* Mary of Bourbon, daughter, and sole heiress of Henry duke of Montpensier, who died the year before.

to persuade that princess to be crowned with all the magnificence and all the ceremonies necessary to preserve to her the authority which, they said, she would have occasion for after the death of the king, which was not far off. They likewise talked publicly of bringing back this enthusiast.

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THIS design, these discourses and prefaces, were continually in Henry's thoughts, kept his fears and suspicions always awake, and filled him with melancholy and dismay. "I do not desire this," said he to me, speaking of the coronation; and here I shall relate his own words, which are but too remarkable: "Neither, continued he, can I endure, that this Pafithea should return again to France. My heart tells me, that some disaster will happen to me, or that the government will be thrown into disorder, if my wife obstinately insists upon her coronation, which, I am told, the Conchinis advise her to, and likewise continues her design of bringing back Pafithea. It is certain we shall quarrel on both these accounts; and if I discover more concerning her designs in Spain, I shall be provoked to the last degree against her." I know not whether this prince was mistaken in his opinion of the queen his wife; but, I confess, I was struck with the reflection he afterwards made, that this princess did not proceed to such extremities with him on account of Mademoiselle de Montmorency, and other ladies, whom he had been fond of, from any motive of jealousy; but because her wicked counsellors persuaded her, that she had occasion for a pretence for being upon ill terms with the king, or, at least, to appear so: and gave the public this excuse for want of a better: that myself, and every one else, had attributed to jealousy what was, in reality, the effect of a most refined malice. I make here very shocking discoveries, if it be true, that the queen's confidants made use of this damnable artifice, to conceal and carry on designs too black and horrible to name.

BUT to convince me that I had no reason to doubt it, Henry reminded me, that upon so slight a foundation as that of speaking oftener than usual to the duchess of Nevers, and seeming pleased with her conversation, that lady was ranked among the number of his mistresses the preceding year, and Mademoiselle de Montmorency in this, that the opinion of the court and the public, concerning his estrangement from the queen, might be still kept up, which it was necessary to do, at any price whatever: and from thence he concluded, that all his endeavours to put a stop to these reports would be fruitless; and that,

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if he should even resolve to see the princess of Condé no more, yet that would not silence the malicious reports of people who had such strong reasons for preventing all accommodation between him and his wife. He declared, that he would never attempt to obtain any favours of the princess of Condé, to the prejudice of her honour; that, if he could not subdue his passion, he would, at least, restrain its effects, and respect the sacred tie, which he had only formed to impose silence on his own wishes. He said this * with great seeming sincerity, and I should absolutely have relied upon this assurance, if I had not known how easy it was for a heart, tender and passionate as his, to be deceived by itself.

THE king continued still to talk of the queen's counsellors, and, among others, of Conchini and his wife. He told me several circumstances concerning these foreigners, after which I could no longer look upon them but as monsters: he said, that they hindered the queen from eating of any thing that he sent her, and persuaded her to make a kitchen of their apartment. But why did his majesty inveigh thus alternately against these Italians and the queen, and do no more? I agreed with him, that the former deserved the severest punishments that could be inflicted; and that it was, indeed, very surprising, that this princess should make friends and confidants only of those persons, who, at the time of the Third Party, had given the most violent counsels against his life; or with others who were now not less his enemies †. But what was I able to do for his deliverance, when he would not assist my en-

* The marshal de Bassompierre, to whom mademoiselle de Montmorency was offered in marriage, amongst other discourses on this subject, relates the following from Henry IV. to him: "He answered me, with a deep sigh, Bassompierre, I will speak to thee as a friend. I am not only in love, but madly, desperately, in love with mademoiselle de Montmorency. If thou shouldst marry her, I should hate thee: should she love me, thou wouldst hate me. It will be best to prevent the possibility of this becoming the cause of a breach of our friendship; for I love thee with great affection, and by inclination. I am resolved to marry her to my nephew, the prince of Condé, and to have her in my family: she shall be the comfort and entertain-

ment of my old age, which is coming on. I will give my nephew, who loves hunting a thousand times better than the ladies, a hundred thousand livres a year to amuse himself with. I shall desire no other favour of her but her affection, without pretending to any thing further." Vol. I. p. 229. But in the end, this passion, as M. de Sully had foreseen, hurried Henry far beyond the bounds he had prescribed himself.

† Queen Mary de Medicis did, on every occasion, give so many convincing proofs of a real affection for her husband, that those who have justified and praised all her actions, as the author of l'Histoire de la Mere & du Fils, have not even thought it necessary to refute any of the charges against her in Sully's Mémoires; and this minister

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deavours? Would any one imagine that this long discourse, which I am persuaded every reader must feel himself interested in, should end only in repeated entreaties to be attentive to the arts of the Spaniards, and to undertake again to persuade the queen that she ought to sacrifice the Conchinis, and all the rest who disturbed their peace, to the assurance he gave her by me, that, if she required it, he would never visit any woman more, married or unmarried? "For it is not just," said this too good and too gentle prince, "that I should deprive myself of all my pleasures to satisfy her, unless she will do the same for me; or that I should consent to all her desires, while she continues to oppose all mine."

HE permitted me to communicate to Sillery what I thought proper of this conversation; but not to Villeroi. "I will go to dinner," said he, for, indeed, it was very late, "and leave you at liberty to reflect on all I have said to you. I rose this morning by break of day; for I did not sleep all night, my mind was so much disturbed with these thoughts; nor should I have had better rest this night than the preceding, if I had not disclosed them all to you." His majesty then got into my coach, which I had ordered to be made ready for him, saying to me in the presence of a great number of persons who were in the court, "Farewel, my friend, I love you most affectionately; continue to serve me always thus, and remember all the conversations we have had together; for you are as dear to me as you can, or ought to desire."

I BELIEVE I have formerly justified, by the most solid reasons, my perseverance in the opinion that all these plots, half foreign, half do-

himself, on the closest observation, never once imputes, or takes notice of the king's imputing any thing to her, but her countenancing, by too great a confidence and credulity, the bad designs of some of her court; designs in which those persons took care never to engage this princess, but where they could do it by exciting a jealousy in her, which it was natural in her to conceive against her husband's mistresses. This is the only manner of judging of the behaviour of the king and queen, that enables one to find the key to many of their words and actions, which, with out that assistance, would appear totally contradic-

tory; since, at the same time, in the same persons, they denote confidence and diffidence, esteem and indifference, affection and coldness. The historian I am quoting gives many instances, both good and bad, of this: he represents Henry alternately complaining of and praising the queen; sometimes inclinable to part from her entirely, or at least, to keep her at a distance from him; at other times thinking no one of his council, but her, capable of the administration of affairs in his absence, or to support the weight of a regency. Hist. de la Merc & du Fils, Vol. 1. pass.

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meftic, againft his majefty's life, were neither real, nor greatly to be feared. I confefs, however, that there were fome moments wherein the force of my attachment to my prince would not permit me to hear, with indifference, all that was reported on this fubject; nor could all my firmnefs hinder me from being terrified at what I knew to be a mere phantom. My mind was in this ftate all the time that Henry continued fpeaking to me, and after he had left me. It was pretty remarkable, that, during the whole time Henry ftaid with me, I liftened to him with a profound filence; not uttering one word in answer to what he faid. When I fat down to dinner, the agitation of my heart, and the dark fufpense which clouded my mind, threw me into a dejection and faintnefs, which gave me a difguft to every thing that was placed before me. Certainly there was no neceffity for Henry's defiring me to make reflections on what he had faid to me: I gave myfelf up entirely to them. I carried my views as far as I was able, that I might forefee every poffible danger, and trace the remoteft caufe for fufpicion.

YET, when this firft tumult of my thoughts fubfided, and more calm and fettled confiderations had taken place of thofe confufed ideas that perplexed my mind, I was obliged to conclude, as I had always done, that it was Henry's apprehenfions which had given rife to mine, and that his had no certain foundation. The council of Madrid, feeing that the king began to advance in years, and had already felt the attacks of fome dangerous diftempers, were willing to begin, in time, to make the queen and the French council relifh a piece of policy, to which they might owe their fecurity. The Spaniards found perfons among the French who were ftrongly inclined to enter into their meafures, and they made ufe of them to carry them on, that they might fpare themfelves the fhame of making demands which were likely to be refufed. If this was really the cafe, the Spanifh council might reasonably be fupposed to feign the contrary for a long time, and deftroy or abate the ardour of the allies of France, deceived by this appearance. There was nothing in this conjecture which did not agree with the character of the Spanifh nation, eftablifhed by an infinite number of the like proceedings. When Philip II. urged monfieur the duke of Alençon to engage in the enterprife againft Antwerp, an enterprife which ruined his affairs and blafed his reputation, this was all that he fecretly promifed himfelf by it, while, in appearance, he feemed to look upon it as a neceffary ftroke, to feure to that prince the fovereignty of the Low-Countries, which was the bait he threw out for him. But is this a fufficient foundation for faying, that Spain was endeavouring to become miftrefs
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of the king's life? How many motives rendered the person and interests of that prince dear to the French nation, and even to those very courtiers whom, as it should seem, the Spaniards had engaged in their party? But to what excesses may not the human heart be carried when impelled by a violent passion? I am seized with horror at the very idea of actions, which these apprehensions must suppose persons to be guilty of, whose birth, education, and sentiments restrain them from atrocious crimes, and black attempts, although they leave them capable of some transient weaknesses. Ought I to account for my thinking and speaking thus, from the respect I owe to certain persons, the delicacy of my sentiments, or merely from the detestation I feel for wickedness, and the rectitude of my own heart? However that may be, it is certain, that, after all these reflections, I found my mind in the same calm situation it was before the king spoke to me; and if that gentleness of disposition, which he was too well known to possess, gave me, from time to time, reason to be apprehensive, that licentiousness would gain ground through a hope of passing unpunished, yet I did not fear any of those dreadful blows * which bring with them a sudden consternation.

WITH regard to the other part of his majesty's discourse, it would have been more proper for this prince to have put an end, at once, to

* I am afraid M. de Sully paid too little regard to reports and suspicions of so great moment as those here in question. "There were, at that time," says the author of the Memoirs for the History of France, "so many reports of conspiracies against the king, that this was commonly believed at Paris to be the principal reason of the long residence Don Pedro de Toledo made there, which made his departure to be earnestly wished for." Henry's fears, therefore, were not without foundation: and M. de Sully on this, as on many other occasions, was, unhappily for this prince, too much attached to his own opinions. It would answer no end to conceal, that a little vanity and obstinacy were the defects in a character, in other respects, to be envied on a thousand accounts.

It is manifest, from reading the Memoirs of that time, that the small number of Henry IV's servants, who had an unfeigned affection for him, did not make use of all

the precautions they might, to guard against the unfortunate accident that happened to him. Perhaps no solid answer can be given to those who may call this sentiment a judgment after the fact: and it must also be allowed, that if all the dark and secret plots, mentioned in an infinite number of places in these Memoirs, tho' nothing clear and positive touching them was ever discovered, were real, as the event seems to have proved, they could not fail of producing their effect, from the aversion this prince was known to have to severity and revenge. Those who from such examples draw arguments to turn the minds of sovereigns to despotism and cruelty, merit the utmost degree of hatred from mankind.

The manner in which the duke of Sully here lays open the bottom of his thoughts and opinions of those plots, absolutely destroys a doubt some, who seriously considered the transactions of those times, have made, viz. That the duke was perfectly

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all reproaches from the queen, by beginning immediately to disengage himself from those attachments, which were but little suitable to his years; or, at least, in these sallies, to preserve his reason so far unclouded, as to avoid any attachment which might raise an amour into an affair of policy. Those gallantries, which Henry had been engaged in, were always destructive either to his glory or his interest, and certainly to his quiet. However, in the princess of Condé love laid the most dangerous snare for him it had ever done: all the consequences were justly and greatly to be feared.

FROM these reflections it may be conceived what answer I made to the king, when, according to his orders, I waited on him five or six days afterwards: he had left his chamber, and was gone through the great gallery to walk in the Tuilleries. We walked together in the first gallery, for more than an hour. I removed his apprehensions, and restored him to his former tranquility. He took a resolution to redouble his efforts to banish, if possible, from his council and court, all this Spanish policy; and promised to educate his children, and the young prince, who was heir to his crown, in his own maxims; to bind the protestants to their king and their country, by the closest ties; and endeavour, with equal sollicitude, to banish all foreigners from any participation in affairs of state; these were, in his opinion, the two principal maxims to be pursued, and the most likely to secure the public tranquility against the rise of all domestic troubles.

THE natural inference from all this was, that Henry should make immediate preparations for the execution of his great designs; since to defer them to an impotent old age, would be to hazard their success: and accordingly, from this moment, his application to every thing which might contribute to them, increased every day. He now came oftener than ever to the Arsenal, and I was almost every morning and evening with him at the Louvre, where my coach was allowed to drive into the court. The king granted this privilege, which only two other dukes enjoyed besides myself, to a consideration of my indisposition, which

informed of whatever was intended against the person of Henry IV. but that having used his utmost endeavours to prevail on that prince to exert his authority to frustrate such designs, and finding that all the advice he had given Henry thereon, through his weakness, was always rejected, he

was inwardly convinced this unhappy king could not avoid his cruel destiny: therefore, he determined not to increase his apprehensions without cause; but only to prevail on him, as soon as possible, to leave a city where he was exposed to such imminent dangers.

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rendered walking on the stones very troublesome to me: he having almost always occasion for me to be with him, and, I believe, his friendship for me was another motive equally strong. 1609.

He went on to make me draw up views and memorials, to form a complete cabinet of policy, and of the management of the finances; and that nothing might be wanting to the completion of his scheme, which he now laid fully before me, he ordered that I should have a great desk or cabinet, contrived full of drawers and holes, each with a lock and key, and all lined with crimson sattin, in such number as to contain, in a regular disposition, all the pieces that were to be there deposited. The labour of this design was almost immense, tho' it does not appear such at the first glance.

To give a notion of it without repetition, the reader must image to himself all that has any relation, either near or distant, to the revenue, to war, to the artillery, to naval power, to commerce, to policy, to money, to mines; in short, to all parts of the government, either within the kingdom or without it, whether ecclesiastical or civil, whether exterior or domestic. Every one of these parts had its distinct allotment in this cabinet of state, which was to be set in the great closet of books in the Louvre, furnished with all possible conveniencies, that all the pieces under each of these heads, how numerous soever they might be, should appear at a single glance. On the side appointed for the finances, was a collection of different regulations, memorials of operations, accounts of changes made or to be made, of sums to be received and paid: a quantity, almost innumerable, of views, memoirs, of abstracts and summaries, more or less compendious. All this is more easily imagined than represented. All the letters of any consequence, which his majesty had written to me, were there filed and numbered, with an index pointing out the contents of each.

As to military matters, besides the accounts, lists, and memoirs, which were to shew the present state of the forces, there were all the regulations and papers of state, books treating of the arrangement of armies, plans, charts, geographical and hydrographical, both of France and of different parts of the world. These same charts, upon a larger scale, mixed with different pieces of painting, were to be placed in the great gallery. Upon this his majesty and I conceived a thought of appointing a large room, with its first range to make a magazine of models,

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of whatever is most curious in machinery, relating to war, arts, trades, and all sorts of exercises, noble, liberal, and mechanical; that all those, who aspired to perfection, might improve themselves without trouble in this silent school, the lower apartment was to hold the heavy pieces of workmanship, and the higher was to contain the lighter. An exact inventory of both was to be one of the pieces of the great cabinet*.

AMONG the pieces relating to the ecclesiastical government, the most curious were a list of all the benefices of the kingdom, with the qualifications which they required; and a view of all the ecclesiastical orders, secular and regular, from the highest prelate to the lowest clergyman, with the distinction of natives and foreigners of both religions. This work was to be imitated in another relating to temporal government, in which the king was to see, to a single man, the number of gentlemen throughout the kingdom, divided into classes, and specified according to differences of title and estate. In this scheme the king had the more pleasure, as he had, for a long time, formed the plan for a new order of knighthood, with an academy and hospital, only for the nobility; which institution, however glorious and useful, would have been no expence either to the people or the revenue †. He had proposed, at the same time, and with the same advantages, to establish

* The death of Henry IV. put a total stop to the execution of all these designs, which deserve all the praise that can be given them. It is also apparent, that however defective this state-museum remained, it has, nevertheless, given birth to many noble and useful establishments, which have done honour to succeeding ministers. This book will furnish many other subjects for this reflection. See what has been said of this in the preface.

† This design of the duke of Sully admits of a further extension. It has long been a just cause of complaint, that the public method of educating youth in the colleges of France, and in every part of Europe, still retains the barbarity of the most uncultivated times: the manner in which children are indiscriminately brought up, seems intended to qualify them only for the priesthood and the profession of theology. Latin and Greek, a system of rhe-

toric, fit only to deprave the taste and pervert the mind: a course of philosophy, which requires the application of two whole years to learn things so dry, tedious, and futile, that as much time would be necessary to drive them out of the mind, as were lost in acquiring them, did not the manner and language, in which they are taught, themselves produce that effect: a course of law, that follows, of still greater length, and in which, with the same inconveniencies, the ground of the French law is what is least taught. We see here in what particulars this method of education consists; the unhappy consequences of which are, that at a time when reading a number of good books, upon all subjects, ought to form a taste for the arts and sciences, and teach the principles of them, young men are not only held from making a progress, but sent into the world, fraught with prejudices against all kind of literature,

a camp, or standing body of six thousand foot, a thousand horse, with six pieces of artillery completely fitted out: and, to keep the same proportion in the naval force, twelve ships, and as many gallies, were always to be kept ready for a voyage. 1609.

As schemes of improvement and reformation, in every respect, had one of the chief places in this cabinet, besides the general plan by which Henry had contrived to change the face of all Europe, and which was laid out and particularised in the clearest and most extensive manner, there were distinct projects upon all sorts of subjects; in those, for instance, that related to war, methods were laid down for preserving an exact discipline, not only in time of actual war, but likewise in peace, by which the persons of the trader, manufacturer, shepherd, husbandman, would have been preserved inviolable from the soldiers. These four professions, by which the state may be truly said

and full of disgust to all books, from having been tediously confined to so small a number; a disgust which, in many instances, is never removed, or removed only so as to admit of reading, for mere amusement, at an age in which the mind has abated of that vigour without which the maturest judgment is only as an useless talent.

Would it, therefore, be impossible to suppress, at least, one half of this prodigious number of Latin colleges, and convert the rest into such as are more adapted to the different professions for which youth are intended? to dedicate the first years of infancy to the learning the principal duties of religion and virtue? to read, write, and account well? to remove children from hence to other colleges, where, along with a slight acquaintance with the learned languages, for those who are not intended to make any great use of them, they should be taught to speak and write well in our own language, to familiarise themselves to its different styles, the epistolary in particular; and to understand the languages of, at the least, some of her neighbouring nations, with whom we have the most concern? to let these schools be succeeded by others, where the elements of the most necessary parts of mathematics, geography, and hi-

tory, should be taught? where tactics, politics, laws, and commerce, laid down in a clear and concise method, should be made use of by the masters, to discover the bent of their pupils genius? and by the pupils to determine them in the choice of such studies as they are most disposed and attracted to by nature?

This short view of the subject can scarcely be deemed more than a very rough sketch of a better project. It, nevertheless, seems to me sufficient to point out the road which should be taken, to inspire youth with a zeal for true glory, labour, and application, to prevent their falling into idleness and debauchery; and, in short, to supply the state with the most excellent subjects of every kind. We, every day, see instances, that the knowledge of this truth determines many parents to prefer a private and domestic education for their children to the public one of the colleges. One cannot find fault with them for this, notwithstanding the advantages of the one over those of the other are so conspicuous. This consideration makes it only more to be regretted, that public education has not yet been carried to that perfection, amongst us, every one perceives it is capable of, and ought to be.

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to be supported, would have been completely secured from all outrages of the nobility, by other regulations there laid down, with relation to the domestic administration of government. The distinction of conditions, and the extent of the rights of each, was so exactly laid down, that none of them would have been able, for the future, either to break from their subordination, or make an ill use of their power. The design of the papers, relating to the clergy, was to engage all the ecclesiastics to make such use as the canons require of revenues which, properly speaking, are not their own; to forbid them to join together livings of the yearly value of six hundred livres, or to have any one that produced more than ten thousand livres; upon the whole, to acquit themselves worthily of their employments, and to consider it as their first duty to set a good example.

I WILL not enter into more particulars, having had occasion to treat of these subjects in different parts of these Memoirs *. I shall likewise refer the reader to all that he has seen, or shall see, in this book, upon the head of morality, and principles of just and wise governments, which had also their place in that collection. I cut off thus an account which I could have drawn to great length, because how much soever I might have diffused it, I could never have shewn the whole; at least not without tediousness and trouble, which would have been the greater as the account would have contained nothing absolutely new. Among other memorials relating to the finances, there was one upon the methods of raising money, which ought to be distinguished from the other

* This kind of silent school for the finances, war, commerce, &c. appears to me so happily contrived, that, in reality, I see no bounds to the extension of the utility of it. What is the reason those, who are employed in the administration of the different affairs of the government, are continually falling into so many mistakes? Because there being no positive rules, no written principles, they can consult, or whence they can either draw the information they ought to have, or correct their own ideas; they generally go on as chance conducts them, and often wander from the proper road. From hence, in every respect, it happens, we arrive so late at the intended point, and that very often we miss it intirely. No body or community can subsist

for two or three ages only, without the help of some fundamental rules of conduct, which can, on every emergency, be resorted to by those who have the direction of it. How then can the state, which comprehends all lesser communities, be conducted without them? How otherways can those, who succeed in posts and employments, form any judgment, whether different circumstances require any alteration in the principles by which their predecessors were guided? For want of such rules, such permanent laws, many useful projects, which could not be carried into execution at the time of their invention, have perished with their inventors; and many bad ones, adopted by rashness and ignorance, have been perpetuated.

pieces that are passed over without mention. By this scheme a hundred millions might be raised in three or four years. The only caution which I recommended, was not to make use of it without necessity; and to begin by the most easy and gentle, of the different ways there mentioned. They were laid down in the order which I shall here give them, tho' this is only a mere epitome of the plan*.

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A NEW regulation was to be made with regard to the presidents of ports and havens, the officers of the Crown Lands and Traites Fournains, the tolls of rivers, and the customs paid at their mouths; with a new valuation of these claims, and a new creation of officers for the collection. Another regulation respected the masters that bought and sold cattle, wine, and other liquors, fish, fresh and salt, wood, hay, and other provisions. Another related to the posts, in which were comprehended the post-masters and comptrollers, the masters of the king's stables, the couriers, bankers, and their commissioners, the stage-coaches †, the foot and horse messengers, and all carriages by land and water. When I read this article to the king, he said, "I commend you to La-Varenne, and all the people of the stable: I will send them all to you." Another scheme related to the markers of leather, the gaugers, the keepers of coffee-houses, the retailers, commissaries, assessors, and collectors, the keepers of lodgings to lett, and many others. "Right, says Henry, you must do all this for us; for not a day passes but I am teized to make a grant of some or other of these." Another was upon the fourth and eighth aids, the entry and exportation of goods, whether from city to city, or from province to province; a creation of new officers for the magazines of salt, with an augmentation of taxes paid by them and by retailers; an augmentation of a crown upon every minot of salt, and other regulations respecting both the salt-works, and the sale of the salt which is got from them. "This, says Henry, I should like well; but you must begin with your own government, or else we shall have great clamour." The parties casuelles, and the droit annuel ‡. The secretaries of the king were to be augmented to sixteen. A tax was to be raised upon salt, in the

* There is another state of this account in Sully's Memoirs, Vol. IV. p. 99. I have reduced both these into one.

† Post-horses and stage-coaches were first set up in the reign of Henry IV.

‡ This is the first and only time the *droit annuel* is mentioned in these Memoirs. This

is the more surprising, because this law, by which offices of justice, made saleable in the reign of Francis I. are made hereditary, was established under Henry IV. and therefore M. Sully was probably the principal author of it; and because when the edict for its establishment was made, nothing

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form of the taillie, to make a fund appointed for the wages of the different officers, sovereign, and subaltern, particularly of the courts of justice: another respected the offices of lieutenants, comptrollers, and treasurers, as well general as provincial, to be dignified with new titles, and set over the artillery, bridges, and causeways: another scheme respected the employments of bailiwicks, elections, and magazines of salt, to encrease them by new grants of wages and privileges, out of the money raised

was heard but murmurs and complaints; that the purchase of those offices being, by means of this new law, raised to an exorbitant price, the nobility and people of merit would be totally excluded from them, and they could, for the future, fall to the share only of monied men; whereby the vexations, in the administering justice, would be encreased, instead of being diminished.

Cardinal Richelieu, convinced by the good reasons M. de Sully had for acting thus, and which he had from that minister's own mouth, employs the first section of the chapter of his Political Testament, part I. to prove that neither the sale or inheritance of offices of justice ought to be abolished in this kingdom. "The late king, says he, by the advice of a very good council, in the time of a profound peace, and in a reign free from want, added the establishment of the right of inheriting of offices of justice to the right of selling them. It is not to be presumed he would have taken this step, without a mature consideration, and without foreseeing, as far as human prudence is able, the consequences and effects of it. Nothing contributed so much to enable the duke of Guise to render himself powerful in the league, against the king and state, as the great number of officers he had, by his interest, brought into the principal posts of the kingdom. I have been told, by the duke of Sully, that this consideration was one of the chief motives with the king for establishing the *droit annuel*, &c."

After this, the cardinal de Richelieu maintains, that it is better those offices should be bought, than given to poor and indigent people, or be carried off by am-

bition and interest. "Instead, says he, of opening the door to virtue, it would be opened to cabals and factions, and the great offices would be filled with officers of low extraction, often better stocked with Latin than riches—Low birth seldom produces in men the qualifications necessary to form a great magistrate—Wealth is a great ornament to dignities, and they are so much heightened by exterior lustre, that one may boldly say, That of two persons of equal merit, the preference ought to be given to him who is in the most affluent circumstances: besides, the fear of losing all he is worth, will be no small restraint against misbehaviour to an officer, who has engaged the greatest part of his estate in the purchase of his office.—If," says he further, "offices could be obtained without money, commerce would be abandoned by many, who, dazzled with the splendor of dignities, would rather push themselves into offices at the expence of being ruined, than acquire wealth for their families by employing themselves in commerce."

He proves the particular usefulness of the *droit annuel*, from the consideration, that without it, all the old officers would resign their offices, "When experience, and the ripeness of age, had made them most capable of serving the public." He ought, I think, to have added this further reason, That a young man who is intended for the enjoyment of one of those posts, will receive from his parents an education suitable to that station of life they know he is designed to fill. The advice wherewith our author finishes this article, is to fix the value of these offices at a moderate price, "Which should not exceed, says he, the

upon the taille, even to five fous in the livr. To establish new elections in Guyenne, Languedoc, Brittany, and Burgundy: the king foresaw that, in these provinces, there would be much murmuring. New treasurers were to be created in the offices of the finances, two at Sens and at Cahors, six in Brittany, and three elsewhere. Henry said, that the number of these harpies should be rather lessened than increased.

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I PROPOSED to create, in times of necessity, still a much greater number of offices among the treasurers, payers of rents and wages, receivers, and other officers of the tailles, secretaries, and under-officers of the greater and little chancery, as well as to make new grants to the offices already in being: to appoint two principal commissioners over all the offices in the revenue. To particularize all this would take up too much room. The virtue of the king representing to him, what was yet a mere project, as already put in execution, made him cry out against such a number of regulations, with which I agreed with him, that the people were not to be charged, but in case of great necessity.

To make an end, it was proposed, that sovereign courts should be erected in different cities, such as a parliament, chamber of accounts, and court of aids, at Lyons and Poitiers, suppressing the court of aids at Montferrand. As it was proposed that the aids should be extended

“ half of what, from the extravagant humour of the people, is now given for them.” He does justice to Henry IV. on this head: “ The late king, says he, foreseeing this evil, had inserted in the edict he made on this subject, clauses able to prevent it; not only excepting from the *droit annuel* the offices of the chief-presidents, and the solicitors and attorneys-general; but moreover reserving to himself the power to dispose of those offices which are subject to it, when vacant, on paying previously to the heirs of the possessors of them the price at which they should be valued. The mischiefs which the *droit annuel* at present occasions, do not proceed so much from any faults in the nature of it, as from the restrictions this great prince had subjected it to, having been imprudently taken off. If the edict had continued in the purity of its original insti-

“ tution, the value of offices would never have risen to that excessive height it now is at. It is, therefore, only necessary to reduce the edict for the *droit annuel*, to the bounds of its first form.”

These words fully justify the duke of Sully, against all the imputations that have been cast on him, on account of the counsel he gave Henry IV. touching the famous edict of the *droit annuel*. By virtue of this edict, the officers of justice were compelled to pay the sixtieth part of the produce of their offices, which continued to be done every ninth year till 1709, when they were obliged to buy off this charge. See le Journal de L'Étoile, anno 1605, when this edict was made, De Thou, Mezerai, &c. The excessive number of the officers of justice, &c. is the principal and the true cause of all the other mischiefs men of sense find to arise from this edict.

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to Brittany, a court of aids was to be created there, another at Bourdeaux, with a chamber of accounts, a third in Burgundy, and a fourth in Provence. At this the king shook his head, and said not a word. I shall not repeat here what I have already said in many parts of these Memoirs. The aversion which I have shewn, with regard to whatever is stiled luxury, will make it thought, that all mad and superfluous expences were heavily taxed, and so indeed they were; and I shall honestly declare, that if my credit had been sufficient, besides cutting off a great part of those expences, which are inconsistent with the pressing necessities of the state, I should have suppressed, likewise, coaches and other inventions of luxury, except in such conditions of life as should have gratified their vanity at a high price.

IF it is necessary to lay this check upon luxury, of which the contagion has seized insensibly on all parts of the community, it is yet of more importance to stop its fatal consequences in those to whom it is not merely an occasion of negligence and softness, but a cause of corruption and ruin of families. Against this, provision was made by another scheme, placed likewise among the pieces of the cabinet of state; nor was it one of the least misfortunes occasioned by the untimely death of the king, that it buried in the grave with him so many useful designs at the moment of their birth.

ACCORDING to another regulation, an edict would have passed to oblige the advocates and attornies-general of the parliament to prosecute and punish, in an exemplary manner, all those, who, by the example of their dissoluteness and prodigality, injured the public, themselves, or other people; and to this they were bound, under penalty of answering themselves, for all the disorders which their negligence or connivance might produce. The way by which this was to be put in their power, without rendering their offices burthenome beyond measure, was to join with them, in every jurisdiction, three persons publicly appointed under the title of censors or reformers, chosen from three years to three years in a public assembly, and authorised by their office, to which was joined every kind of exemption, not only to lay before the judges informations against all fathers, or children of families guilty of dishonourable dissoluteness, and of superfluous expences, to a degree beyond their fortune; but likewise to force the judges themselves to punish these excesses in the manner prescribed: or, on failure, to call them to an account, as partners of the crime. Every prosecution was to be preceded by two warnings; but, at the third, an action was
issued

issued out, by which the person accused was put under tutorage, and saw the management of his affairs consigned to other hands, who were to leave him only two thirds of his revenue, and apply the other part to the payment of his debts, and for the repairs of his estate: and this was to last till evident tokens were given of a real reformation, and a return to a more reasonable way of thinking and acting. From this law no condition was excepted; and it is likely that no member of the community would have escaped this judicature, because it was itself answerable to a higher tribunal, and even the officers were fixed down to their duty by the dread of punishment equivalent to disgrace.

It would have been decreed, at the same time, to destroy this mischief in its original, that no person, of whatever quality or condition, should be allowed to borrow a sum, which, compared with his estate, could be deemed considerable; and that no other should lend it him, on pain of losing it, unless it was, at the same time, declared in a contract or obligation, to what use the money so borrowed should be employed; what debts the borrower already had; to what persons, upon what security, and what revenue was still left him; as well to secure the debt as to maintain his family. With the same intention every father of a family, and every person who acted in the character of a father, were forbidden to give to one of their children, at settling them in the world, a larger fortune than justice allowed, upon a due consideration of their present means, and of the number of their children born or likely to be born, excepting only, that the authority of a father was secured, by allowing him to punish a vicious or unnatural son. But even in this case the offence was to be clearly proved, and this arbitrary disposition was to extend only to moveable goods, or their own acquisition*.

* These schemes of reformation bear such strong marks of the duke of Sully's genius and character, that it is unnecessary for him to name himself as the author of them. Without derogating from the merit of the gravity and austerity of his morals, and agreeing with him that it is of the utmost importance to prevent the corruption of manners, and the total decay of honour, I must, nevertheless, own, that his designs of reformation in the police, seem to me subject to the same defects with those of his party in the reformation of religion; that is, that they are ill founded and romantic.

That a few should be ruined by their own misconduct and folly may, in a moral view, appear a considerable evil; but politically will be little or none; since, in reality, the public is no sufferer by it; that which impoverishes some, enriches others. I only make an exception of the cases of bankruptcies. I refer, besides these, to the observations I have already made, to prove that this mischief is inevitable, in a nation of great extent, abounding in riches, and supported by an universal commerce.

Therefore the best that can be done in this respect, is to confer on the ministers of religion, the exercise of that censorial

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This regulation of domestic economy was but a piece of the general regulation with respect to the whole, and principally with respect to trials of causes, of which, I believe, the reader will be pleased with an account; for the interest which every one has in seeing the innumerable abuses of the courts amended, is great, general, and universally known. The design of Henry was to impart it, at first, to the presidents of the different courts of justice, and the king's council in the parliaments; not to be disputed, but that they might give intelligence, and advise upon the supposition, that, concurring in the same design, they might discover something useful for the contraction of process, and the destruction of the despicable art of chicanery. When these articles of regulation had been finally drawn up, according to the opinions which were thought best, his majesty was resolved to bring them into parliament, written with his own hand, to have them registered. The reader has already seen those which we had previously drawn up, which would probably have passed with little alteration.

In all suits between relations, counted nearly according to the canonical degrees of consanguinity and affinity, as well temporal as spiritual, the plaintiff was obliged, in the first place, to make an offer, from which he was not to depart, of referring all the differences to the arbitration of four persons, two chosen by each party, among their friends or relations; to name these two arbitrators on the spot, and to set down, in distinct articles, signed with his own hand, all his pretensions and demands, to which he was not allowed to make any additions.

office the author has endeavoured to re-establish on the plan of the old Roman censure. Were I to make any use of this idea for creating new public officers, it would be by applying it, as the author afterwards does, to the courts of justice, and the bar.

I leave it to the examination of men of a discerning and extensive genius, how far it would be practicable to accustom the people of this kingdom to refer their differences and disputes to the decision of a small number of grave and reverend old men, chosen on account of their abilities, and the reputation of their integrity, to perform the office of arbitrators in all the cities, towns, and other considerable places; and who would execute that office in such a manner,

that honour, distinction, veneration, the public respect, and, at the most, such advantages as the sovereign could, without expence to any one, add to these, should be to them in lieu of all profit and recompence. Examples are not wanting; nay it is even common to see persons whom the sole consideration of the interest of poor men sinking under the weight of the ruinous proceedings of law, induces to take on them this charitable office, and to exercise it without fee or reward. Happy are those who have such a mediator among them! The respect and love, attendant on this employment, cause many to embrace it with joy, and amply repays them for the labour they undergo in executing it.

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The same thing was to be done by the defendant, who had only a month allowed him to name his arbitrators. In another month the arbitrators were to be in possession of all the proofs and writings of both parties; another month was allowed the arbitrators to pronounce judgment; and a month after that was allowed to a superior arbitrator, to determine those points on which the voices had been equally divided: for all other points were to be considered as determined, and came not under the cognisance of the superior arbitrator. The same regulation took place with the judges: they could not call back the main cause before them, nor make any enquiry into the fundamental question; but only give sentence according to judgment, good or bad, of the arbitrators upon the pieces laid before them. The sovereign courts had, in this respect, no higher privileges than ordinary jurisdictions: they could neither appoint a new inquiry, nor receive new proofs; and they were allowed only a month or six weeks to make a decree, which, if they exceeded that time, became void, and the judges themselves were condemned to pay the losses and damages of both parties.

THE notaries were declared principal and competent judges of all contracts, transactions, obligations, transfers, grants, exchanges, sales, and leases; so that the opinion given by them, upon the sense of any contract brought before them, was provisionally established, notwithstanding any opposition or appeal; and the superior judges could not proceed, upon that sentence, in any other manner than as upon the sentence of a court of established judicature. The precaution, by which the knavery of the notaries was obviated, was, that first every act must have passed in the presence of two notaries, or of one notary, and two witnesses; in the second place, the contracting parties were obliged to bring each of them an advocate to the assistance of the notaries, whose advice the notaries were to take, and set down their names in the decisions. This act, and the sentence thus past, would never afterwards be falsified, if it was for a sum exceeding a hundred livres.

THE summons could not be brought before any other judge than that of the defendant, and, as I have said, it was to contain all the claims of the plaintiff, in a manner so general, that, after that, nothing was to be done besides making an answer to the allegations of the defendant, under a penalty upon the judges, advocates, and solicitors. These advocates and solicitors were immediately to put the cause into such a state, that it might be determined; and till it was in such a state,

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they were forbidden to plead it, or bring it into court. The most considerable causes, those in which they were to be many writings and much evidence, could not be delayed more than three months; and here, as in all other bills of importance, bills of review were not allowed, and the only recourse was to letters patents dispatched in the council of state, and sealed with the great seal.

THIS regulation extended, in its particulars, to every single point of law, or custom that required to be rectified; such as the rules, which are already made mention of, upon the bad œconomy of the inhabitants, upon the common right of possession between husband and wife, and others, which I do not mention, with respect to perquisites, salaries, vacations, and other charges; as well as of the different subtrefuges of chicanery, and all the abuses of the courts of justice; with respect to pleaders and writers, and many other things, of which every body hears loud complaints. The king could find nothing better to be done, than to refer all those particulars to the discretion and regulation of twelve men, picked out from amongst those who had most knowledge of business, and were men of the greatest wisdom and equity, who were to pursue the design in the following method: They were to write down, in the form of a memorial, all the formalities, generally absurd, without omitting any: in the next place, those which they thought the public good required to be left out: and lastly, that which they thought best to substitute in their place. This work being so far finished, was to be exposed to a careful examination of three of the king's principal ministers and counsellors, who were to give their opinion about it; after which the king was likewise to declare his sentiments, and to give it all the authority necessary to make the future practices of the courts invariable and uniform.

WHEN we had once begun to compose this general inventory of state, it became one of our most usual subjects of conversation, and the king appeared extremely impatient to have it made perfect. He sent one of the pages of his chamber for me one morning, when the weather was excessive hot; for, I think, it was in the month of June. I went directly to his closet; but I found he had just left it, and was already in the Tuilleries. I could not overtake him till he was got as far as the terrace, belonging to the capuchin friars, near a little door, through which he entered their chapel to hear mass. As soon as he saw me, at a distance followed by that croud of clients who seem to guess every place where ministers are likely to be; "Go, said he, and tell the capuchins, that
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“ they must delay maſs a little; for I muſt confer with M. de Sully, who is not a good maſs-man: if he would take my advice as to that affair, I ſhould love him ſtill more than I do, and there is nothing which he might not expect from my friendship: however, ſuch as he is, I have a tender affection for him, and receive great advantages from his ſervices.” His majeſty then took my hand, which he held in his; and during two hours that we walked together, he talked to me only of ſome new memorials, which he aſked me for, to add to his cabinet of ſtate. At parting, he bid me aloud to be as exact and diligent as poſſible in this work. “ Let there be few words, ſaid he, and much matter. However, all muſt be plain and clear; for I would communicate ſome part of it to two or three of my ſervants, whoſe names I will tell you.” I replied, that his majeſty muſt give me a little time to execute this taſk, ſince he required method, brevity, and clearneſs at once. “ Do it then as ſoon as you can, ſaid Henry; you know my ſtyle, and I know yours; they agree well together.”

I SENT a meſſage to the chancellor, to let him know that I ſhould not go to the council, and I ſhut myſelf up all the reſt of that day, and part of the night, looking over books and papers; nor did I even fit down to ſupper. At ſeven o’clock, the next morning, the king came to the arſenal, attended by thoſe perſons whom he had mentioned to me the day before. Theſe were Meſſieurs d’Ornano, de Boëſſe, Du-Bourg, de Liſle, de St. André, de Montpellier, de Pilles, de Fortia, de St. Canard, de La-Buiſſe, de La-Vieuville. There were likewiſe Meſſieurs de Vitry, de Vic, de Néreſtan, de St. Géran, La-Varenne, D’Eſcures, Erard, and Châtillon, engineers, (for part of ſome affairs, relating to their profeſſion, made the buſineſs) Bethune, my couſin; and, laſtly, ſome foreigners, ſent by Leſdiguières and the duke of Bouillon, and another, named Pucharnault, from La-Force. My cloſet was almoſt full. I had not been able to draw up the memorial in queſtion, and the reaſon I gave his majeſty for it, who had aſked for it immediatly, was, that I had received ſome diſpatches from La-Force, concerning a new diſturbance raiſed by the Spaniards in Bearn, and the Lower Navarre, which it was neceſſary to answer immediatly. I likewiſe writ to him, ſaid I, about my nephew, and my niece Biron, whom they want to get divorced, which will be a fine piece of work; for ſhe believes ſhe is with child; and ſhe really is ſo. “ This, replied his majeſty, is one of the ſtrangeſt caſes I ever knew, and the moſt ridiculous: I am deceived if ever you will be able to
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“bring these people to reason.” “Finish your dispatches,” added this prince, after telling me, in a low voice, something he had to communicate to me, “and finish likewise our papers as soon as possible, and do not go to the council to-day.” “That cannot be, Sire, I replied; for some affairs of consequence are to be laid before it, which were not examined yesterday on account of my absence.” “Well, do the best you can, said he, and adieu; for I am going to the Tuilleries.”

I LABOURED with so much industry at the memorial, that it was ready the next morning, when his majesty again sent for me to the Tuilleries. I gave my secretary these papers to carry, inclosed in a loose sheet of paper, and sealed. I found Sillery and Villeroi with the king, and we all four continued to walk, during almost two hours, discoursing upon the scheme of these memorials, with so much heat and action, that it was easily perceived by those at a distance, that we did not agree in our opinions. I was going away without taking notice of my packet to the king, when he called me back, and asked me for it. I shewed it to him in my secretary's hands, whom I afterwards ordered to present it to his majesty when he had an inclination to read it: but to take care that he brought it back with him sealed again, in the same manner it was now. What had passed in our conversation made it necessary for me to use this precaution, which my secretary afterwards excused himself for to Henry, by alledging the positive commands I had given him. He followed the king, who went to the capuchins to hear mass, and took this opportunity to go to breakfast; for it would not have been easy to have found another. The king seeing him when he came from mass, “Follow me, said he, to the Louvre, and do not go away from thence till I have spoken to you.” As soon as he came to his closet, he asked him for the packet. My secretary then told him the orders I had given him. “Well, said his majesty, be it so: but, again I tell you, do not leave the Louvre.” He then went into his library to leave the packet there while he dined. The court was not very full, because it was later than usual. The king hardly spoke to any one, and appeared to be in deep thought, often striking his knife upon his plate.

My secretary believed he was going to be dismissed, when he saw the king rise from table and return to his closet, and heard himself called for about half an hour afterwards: but some princes and lords of the court coming in that moment, with whom his majesty seemed to have entered into conversation, he withdrew into a corner with La Varenne

renne and Béringhen. The place where they stood was very dark, so that it was not easy to perceive them, especially if they took a little care to conceal themselves, which they did, tho' without any design. Some minutes afterwards they saw Henry advance, with two or three of the company whom he had separated from the rest, and came so near them that they could hear what he said, although he did not speak very loud; they redoubled their attention, and they heard him say these words: "I am fatigued with walking so long this morning; for I have been conversing more than two hours, upon matters of great importance, with three men whom I have found as contrary in their opinions, as they are in their tempers and inclinations. Any other than myself, perhaps, would find it difficult to employ them; but I am so well acquainted with their whims, that I even draw advantages from their debates and opposition, which serves to make all affairs they are engaged in so plain and clear, that it is easy for me to chuse that method which appears to be best. You know them well enough without my naming them."

His majesty continued to draw the pictures of his three ministers in the following manner. I shall be candid enough not to make the least alteration in his words, even where myself was concerned, and it was with me that he began. "Some persons, said Henry, complain, and indeed, I do myself sometimes, of his temper; they say he is harsh, impatient, and obstinate; he is accused of having too enterprising a mind, of presuming too much upon his own opinions, exaggerating the worth of his own actions, and lessening that of others; as likewise of eagerly aspiring after honours and riches. Now, although I am well convinced that part of these imputations are true, and that I am obliged to keep a high hand over him, when he offends me with those sallies of ill humour, yet I cannot cease to love him, esteem him, and employ him, in all affairs of consequence; because I am very sure, that he loves my person, that he takes an interest in my preservation, and that he is ardently solicitous for the honour, the glory, and grandeur of me and my kingdom. I know also that he has no malignity in his heart, that he is indefatigable in business, and fruitful in expedients; that he is a careful manager of my revenue, a man laborious and diligent, who endeavours to be ignorant of nothing, and to render himself capable of conducting all affairs, whether of peace or war; who writes and speaks in a style that pleases me, because it is, at once, that of a foldier and statesman. In a word, I confess to you, that, notwithstanding all his extravagancies,

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“and little transports of passion, I find no one so capable as he is of
“consoling me under every uneasiness.” I shall not here expatiate upon the praise or blame which is conveyed in these words; but candidly confess, that both the one and the other I may deserve. The part of an honest man, upon such an occasion, is to profit of both, that he may daily rectify his heart and his manners.

“THE second,” pursued Henry, speaking of the chancellor Sillery, “is of a compliant disposition, not easily offended, wonderfully insinuating in his behaviour, and cautious in his actions; he has a good understanding, is well versed in science, and the business of his profession; nor is he ignorant of others: he speaks well, with method, and clearness; he is not capable of forming any black designs against others; yet he is extremely solicitous to accumulate wealth and titles: he is never without news or persons in his pay, to make discoveries for him: he is not of a humour to hazard, lightly, either his person or fortune for others. His virtues and his faults being thus ballanced, it is easy for me to use the former advantage-ously for myself, and guard against the bad consequences of the latter*.

“As to the third,” continuing the king, speaking of Villeroi, “he has been long practised in business; is thoroughly acquainted with the transactions of his own times: he has, from his earliest youth, been employed in state affairs more than the two others: he observes great order and regularity in the execution of his office, and judgment in distributing those papers which belong to his employment: he is generous, and his abilities appear by his modesty and silence, and his reluctance to speak in public †; yet he is obstinate, and cannot bear to have his opinions contradicted, which, he thinks,

* This chancellor did the state three signal services; by employing part of his wealth in retaining the Swits in our alliance; at the peace of Vervins; and in negotiating the king's marriage. “The chancellor de Sillery was a man of no learning. Henry IV. used to say of him, and the constable, Henry de Montmorency, that with his chancellor, who did not understand Latin, and his constable, who could neither read nor write, he could execute the most difficult af-

“fairs.” Amelot de La-Houffaye, note 1. on the 195th letter of cardinal D'Osstat.

† Of all the places in these Memoirs, where M. de Villeroi is mentioned, we ought to fix on this as the principal one, to give us a proper insight into the character of that minister, and chiefly from the opinion Henry IV. had of it. One single original account, like this, deserves more credit than all uncertain reports, or such as are dictated by prejudice, aversion, or a spirit of party.

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“ought to serve for good reasons: yet he will temporise a while, and wait with patience till the faults of others have proved him to be in the right, which I have sometimes found my advantage in.” This discourse of his majesty was addressed to persons of the first quality, who although they had probably inclination enough to answer it, yet continued silent: and the king, some moments afterwards, perceiving my secretary, ordered my papers to be given him, which he brought back to me sealed, as I had desired.

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BEFORE we leave these general affairs of the finances, it is necessary to see what there is particular on this article for the present year. Denis Feydeau and his associates had got the general farm of the aids adjudged to themselves, by offering two hundred thousand livres a-year more than the former farmers. I foresaw, what really happened, that Feydeau would not be able to get in his money. Accordingly he presented a petition to his majesty, praying to be discharged of these two hundred thousand livres. I thought these farmers suffered no more than what they justly deserved, since no unforeseen accident had happened, nor had any obstacle been raised to their quiet possession: and what increased my anger was, that the imprudence of these new-comers had deprived us of farmers, who were able to pay, to substitute others in their room who were insolvent. However, I prevailed upon his majesty to agree to this diminution under the title of a grant, without which they would be exposed to a bankruptcy, and the additional trouble of setting the aids again to sale. I judged only, that it ought not to take place till the 1st of January 1610, or, at least, till the 1st of October this year, that his majesty might not lose, all at once, the sum of four hundred thousand francs.

I CAUSED Ferrand, first serjeant of the chamber of accounts of Paris, to be prosecuted. He was deprived of all the offices and commissions he exercised in this court, which his majesty, even before judgment was given, bestowed upon La-Font, who has been mentioned in these Memoirs: he was already intendant, and the king, as a farther reward for his fidelity, made him a present of the furniture of the conciergerie. M. the count of Soissons, and the other officers of the king's household, presented likewise a petition against the treasurer Pajot, which was sent to me. Puget, another treasurer of the exchequer, having, the year before, by the orders of his majesty, given a favourable declaration for Placin, formerly his clerk, which the king was guaranty for, and was deposited in my hands, his majesty wrote to

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me to give this paper to Puget, as he himself had engaged should be done, in case the suit, which was between these two financiers, could not be terminated without it.

His majesty, after first asking my advice, ordered a brevet to be granted to Mortier Choisy, by which he was declared released from the residue of his farm for fifty thousand livres; half to be paid immediately, and the other half in six months. He likewise ordered to be delivered to Zamet the acquittances of the two offices of arrears in Normandy, amounting to five thousand crowns, with the writings necessary for the payment, likewise of the sum of forty-nine thousand nine hundred and odd livres, for which he had given an assignment, the last year, upon the two sols and six deniers upon each measure of salt for a like sum, which Zamet had advanced him. Henry likewise gave twelve thousand livres to Montigny, six thousand to D'Escures, and two thousand four hundred livres to different pensionaries in Burgundy, which were delivered to them by M. Le-Grand, and paid the president Tambonneau his pension for the last year. These circumstances I collect from letters his majesty writ to me with his own hand.

I RECEIVED also some letters from the queen, one of which related to her releasing certain rights which had been made over to her, and were charged on lands belonging to queen Margaret, to whom they had been granted by brevet. In another she desired that I would pay the wife of Conchini twenty thousand crowns, which the king, to oblige the queen, had given her upon the presidents established in the office of finances. Leonora, having so great interest in the affair, had performed her part so well, that the money, as the queen told me, was ready to be paid.

THE sums, the principal ones at least, which I carried to the account of Henry's private expences, are, first, twenty-two thousand pistoles, which on the 18th of January, he sent to tell me that he had lost at play; a hundred thousand livres at one time, and fifty-one thousand at another, which he lost likewise at play to Edouard Fernandes, a Portuguese. He ordered me to take up this last sum, of fifty-one thousand livres, upon sixty thousand which was to return to him upon the office of advocate-general at Rouen, after the death of Marguerit, to whose children he gave the nine thousand remaining, in consideration of the good service he had received from their father in this parliament, and he gave the office to Des-Yveteaux, a relation of the deceased; for play a thousand

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and pistoles more. Henry, at first, sent only for five hundred; but Beringhen came afterwards for the other five hundred. I carried him a thousand pistoles for play likewise, when I went with the chancellor to wait on him at Fontainebleau, where he was taking physic after the Easter holidays: my journey thither was occasioned by some dispatches which Préaux had brought from Jeannin. The king, beginning to reflect more seriously upon the excess to which he carried his passion for play, became sensible of the necessity there was to correct it, and often afterwards promised me that he would moderate it, if he could do no more. He continued to lay out great sums upon buildings, and sent Zamet * from Fontainebleau to inspect them, when he could not go himself. I find likewise, in my accounts for this year, an acquittance from Marcadé for four thousand seven hundred and forty livres, for eleven hundred and sixteen pearls which Henry had made a present of to Mademoiselle de Vendôme, his daughter; another of three thousand to Mademoiselle Des Essarts: and another of three hundred livres to Saubion, her servant.

THE chancellor and I were directed to name commissioners to treat with those of the duke of Lorrain, about settling the limits of the country of Messin, which every day gave rise to some new contests. I sent the comptroller of the fortifications to Calais, with a sum of money to repair the damage which had been lately done by the sea to the Risbank. I was informed of it by vice admiral De-Vic, who could have wished that the government had been at a more considerable expence for this town, and who formed several schemes, as well for its conveniency and security, as to prevent the inundations to which this place and the neighbouring parts were exposed.

THERE never was a more useful law made, than that which appeared this year against the fraudulent bankrupts: it declared, that such bankrupts should be punished with death, as being robbers of the public; that all donations, grants, sales, and assignments made by them, to their children, heirs, friends, and supposititious creditors, should be annulled, and those that accepted of them punished as their accomplices,

Merc. Franc.
and other his-
torians. Anno
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* This rich officer, at that time, took the titles of baron of Murat and Billy, counsellor of the king in all the councils, governor of Fontainebleau, and comptroller of the queen's household. He died at Paris in 1614, aged about 65, leaving one son, a camp-marshal, who was killed at the siege of Montpellier; and another, bishop of Langres; he had those sons by Magdalen Le-Clerk Du-Tremblai, and got them legitimated.

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if it should appear to the judges that all this was done with an intention to defraud the true creditors. By this regulation all persons were forbid, on pain of being prosecuted as accomplices likewise, to give a retreat to these bankrupts, their securities, clerks, or factors; as also to receive any of their goods, papers, or effects; or to afford them the least assistance: all persons were permitted to detain them without a warrant, and to bring them to justice, notwithstanding any arret and custom to the contrary: and, lastly, the true creditors of the bankrupts were forbid to make any agreements or contracts with them, or any persons acting for them, upon pain of losing their debts, and even of having a criminal prosecution commenced against them. An action at law was the only way left open to them. This appeared to me to be almost all that could be done to secure the public trade and tranquility, both equally interested in an abuse which was now become very common.

THIS edict was followed by another against duels, which I had long earnestly solicited for. An extraordinary council being assembled for this purpose in the first gallery at Fontainebleau, his majesty, who was resolved to examine into this matter thoroughly, desired to know the origin of the different forms and customs used in duelling. His counsellors gave him no cause to compliment them upon their erudition: all remained silent, and myself, as well as the others; but with such expression in my looks, as made the king easily perceive that I only wanted his command to speak. His majesty then turned towards me, and said, "Grand master, by your looks, I guess you know more than you pretend to know: I entreat; nay, I command you to tell us your thoughts." I still refused through respect; but being again prest to declare my sentiments, I made a speech, which I shall not repeat here, since it contained nothing more than what I formerly said in these Memoirs, when I treated that subject. I took care to send the edict against duels * immediately into my government, and to have it observed there with the utmost strictness.

To this account of the affairs of the government, it will not be improper to add some intrigues of the court. Upon the advices I have mentioned of certain factions in several provinces, the king resolved to

* This edict, which obliges those who have been offended in point of honour to have recourse to the marshals of France, or their lieutenants, for reparation, inflicts

very severe penalties; infamy, loss of nobility, and even death. P. Matthieu, Vol. II. book iv.

send thither some person in his name, and N----- was the man he pitched upon for this purpose, one who would neither be pleased nor offended at seeing himself mentioned here. I could not approve of this choice, knowing that the hatred he bore to several persons there, would induce him to lay crimes to their charge they never had the least intentions of committing. I, therefore, told his majesty, that, if N----- was the person employed by him, I would send no one thither from myself, because I did not chuse to act with such an associate. N-----, disappointed of this employment, resolved to revenge himself on me by every method he could think of, and offered those courtiers, whom he knew to be my enemies, to serve them as the instrument of all their designs against me.

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ACCORDINGLY he went one day to the marquis de Coeuvres, and after obliging him to secrecy, it being, he said, his zeal only which induced him to make the discovery, he affirmed, that I was gone to the parliament under pretence of having some business there; but, in reality, to withdraw from the register's office the letters of legitimation of M. de Vendôme, which had been carried thither to be registered in parliament. De Coeuvres went immediately to make this report to the person whom it most concerned, and M. de Vendôme went also as hastily to complain of it to the king. His majesty asked him the name of the person who had given him this information; but M. de Vendôme, without discovering the impostor, answered for the truth of this report in such a manner, that the king could no longer doubt of it; and when he saw me the next morning, asked me what business I had at the parliament. I replied, (which was true) That I had gone thither to take copies of some papers in the registers, for which I had occasion. "Was it for any thing that concerned my son de Vendôme?" returned Henry. "No, Sire," said I; and, surprised at the manner in which he spoke to me, "Why should you think M. de Vendôme was concerned in it?" "I know why," replied this prince coldly. Two or three other words, equally mysterious, which escaped his majesty, gave me to understand, that he had some suspicion in his mind. I entreated him to tell me what it was, which he did: and I soon convinced him that calumny had here played its usual part.

That same day, in the afternoon, the king being at the house of the countess of Moret, a little boy came there with a packet, which he delivered to the first footman he met. Madame de Moret, to whom it was brought, found a billet, in which the same informations were given
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her, concerning her children, as De Coeuvres had received with regard to M. de Vendôme. She began to weep; and the king desiring to know the reason, she gave him the billet to read. Henry asked for the boy who had brought it; but he was not to be found. "Madam," said he to the countess, with a thoughtful and gloomy air, "there is some malice here on one side or the other." He then endeavoured to make some discoveries concerning the author of these stories. The boy was soon found out; and, by what he said, the king guessed that N----- was the person: for having in vain desired De Coeuvres to name him, he named him himself; and De Coeuvres, in his surprise, could not deny he was the man. However, he gave immediate notice to N----- of what had happened. N-----, who saw that this affair was likely to become very serious, went to Villeroi, and, throwing himself at his feet, entreated him to support him against the effects of my resentment. Villeroi, who thought there might be some danger in defending him, at least if he did it openly, would not make him any promise; but contented himself with hazarding, when an opportunity offered, a few favourable words for N-----, which his majesty received with such an air, as made him repent of his complaisance for that impostor.

HENRY had just then discovered two other instances of this man's malignant disposition, which shewed that he was capable of failing in respect to majesty itself: one was, that he had had the imprudence to propagate publicly a feigned tale of an amour between Henry and a certain girl, whom he named, and the malice to inform the queen of it; and the other that he had encouraged father Gonthier, a jesuit, to continue his outrageous manner of preaching, which had already made some noise, by assuring him, that one of his sermons, which he quoted, and which was one of the most furious, had been generally admired and praised by the lords of the court, naming in particular, the marshals de Brisfac and D'Ornano*. This lie was

* "Father Gonthier, a jesuit, in the presence of the king, who attended his sermons in St. Gervase's church, on Friday, Christmas-day, Saturday, and Sunday, made continual declamations against the huguenots, whom he several times called *vermin*, *scoundrels*:" and speaking of the new articles of their confession, in which they call the pope antichrist; "If it is true, Sire, says he, that

"the pope is antichrist, on what footing stands your marriage? Where is the dispensation for it? What will become of M. the Dauphin?" Marshal D'Ornano said one day to the king; "If any jesuit had dared to preach before me at Bourdeaux, as father Gonthier did in your majesty's presence, I would have ordered him to be thrown into the river the moment he came out of the pulpit."

unfortunate enough for N-----; for these two gentlemen being present at the reprimand the king gave father Gonthier, they likewise spoke to the father, and charged with insolence and falshood, the person who had dared to say, they had approved of a discourse so full of impertinence. All this so irritated Henry against the impostor, that when I went the next day to desire he would do me justice, "I have discovered the whole mystery, said he to me; it is the malicious wit of N----- that has invented all these stories; but, for your sake, I banish him from the court:" and the order was accordingly signified to him. This affair was much talked of, as may be well imagined: I confess I was ten whole days in perplexity and uneasiness about it.

This, however, was a trifle compared with the confusion which the prince of Condé occasioned. The marriage of this prince with Mademoiselle de Montmorency, was so far from stifling the reports at court of an intrigue between Henry and the princess, that it did but the more increase them, as I had always apprehended it would. Two thousand crowns given by his majesty for wedding cloaths for the young lady; jewels to the value of eighteen thousand livres, purchased for her, by Madame D'Angoulême, of Messier a jeweller, who lived upon the bridge Au-change, and whose receipt, of the 29th of May, was publicly known; a great number of other presents and gratuities in money given to the prince of Condé on account of this marriage, were considered as so many proofs of the correspondence between the king and princess, although, to speak candidly, there was nothing in all this

Mem. Histoire de France, anno 1609.

All the sermons of those times are filled with expressions, whose boldness and singularity, not to call them by a worse name, would be extremely shocking to us at present. The heretics were outrageous in their satyrs, and too often the preachers, in their sermons, launched out into the most extravagant declamations. A cotemporary historian, Peter Matthieu, book iii. nevertheless, gives this testimony of the jesuits: "That there was more regularity, modesty, gravity, and moderation, in their sermons, than in many others." Sauval also speaking of father Gonthier's preaching, greatly commends his eloquence and apostolic zeal. He relates, that Henry IV. being one day at the same church of St. Gervase, when father Gonthier was preach-

ing; that preacher, justly scandalized at the irreverence with which he saw the marchioness of Verneuil, and other ladies of her company, talk, laugh, and endeavour to make his majesty laugh, turned towards that prince, and said to him; "Sire, will you never leave off coming, accompanied by a seraglio, to hear the word of God, and of giving so unedifying an example in this holy place?" That the king, instead of sending their preacher to the Bastile, as all those ladies begged of him to do, went again the next day to hear him preach; and that meeting with him as he was going into the pulpit, he told him he was obliged to him for his correction; and that he had nothing to fear: but only desired he would not reprove him again in public.

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which might not be justified. But as I would avoid, likewise, falling into the other extreme with the flatterers of this prince, who affected to maintain in public, that he had not the least regard for the young princess, I continue firm in my first sentiments. This, indeed, was a medium between both, which very few persons kept. The queen and the prince of Condé, who were most concerned in the affair, being inflamed with rage at all these reports continually whispered in their ears, soon put the whole court into an uproar. All my endeavours to calm the queen were fruitless: she was quite furious, and the prince, who did not restrain himself from shewing his discontent publicly, meditated from that moment the imprudent step which he took some time afterwards.

HENRY received the first notice of his design, in a billet which was sent him to Fontainebleau, whither he went to pass the Easter-holidays, and he dispatched it immediately to me at Paris. This was the purport of the billet: That the prince, accompanied by his physician, had left Fontainebleau the day after Easter, and came to lodge at Paris in the house of a Spanish pensionary; that all the night had been passed in deliberating, with great agitation on the prince's side, whether he should not make his retreat instantly to Spain, which his host had prevented him from doing, by making him sensible of the fatal consequences that would attend such an action; that the next morning a purse of one thousand doubloons was brought to the prince, who still lay concealed at that house, with an assurance that the remainder, which was apparently solicited by his physician, should be sent him in a little time. This man has been accused of managing the whole affair, because he had already laboured to get the marriage broken off, and make up a match between the prince and Mademoiselle de Maienne. He was likewise, it was said, connected with another physician, a Genoese, who had been with Don John, and six weeks before was gone to the count Spinola, at the Hague, from whence he was to go to England. This billet agreed with another, which had been sent to Beringhen, already mentioned, where it was said, that the prince of Condé had obtained letters from the king of England, to the States of Holland.

ALL these informations, which Henry was entreated by the authors to keep very secret, could not make him believe the prince was capable of committing so great an error. His majesty came to Paris at the beginning of May, and, after a short stay, returned to Fontainebleau, whither

ther M. the prince followed him. It is certain, that his behaviour, and his discourse in public, gave room to believe that he only went to brave his majesty. "My friend," said Henry in a letter to me, dated June the 12th, "M. the prince is here; but he acts like a man possessed: you will be angry and ashamed at the things he says of me: I shall lose all patience with him at last, and I am resolved to talk to him with severity." The king, to punish him, ordered me not to pay him the April quarter of his pension, and to give refusals to his purveyor and all his creditors, who, knowing the gratuities which his majesty had bestowed upon this prince on occasion of his marriage, addressed themselves to me as to the dispenser of them. "If this does not keep him within bounds, said his majesty, we must think of some other method; for he says the most injurious things of me. We will consider together what is to be done, when you come hither*."

Monseigneur the prince fixed upon me to impart his grievances to: but in what quality is not easy for me to declare; since, if I may flatter myself that my advice was not indifferent to him, yet, on the other hand, I may have reason to suspect, that, in those assurances of respect and attachment, with which, to a person of his rank, one would soften the freedom of disapproving his conduct, he sought for a pretence to advance afterwards with some appearance of probability, that I did not oppose his design of leaving the kingdom. It is this which obliges me to give an account of the conversation I had with this prince at my house, whither he came one Wednesday afternoon, when he knew I was not gone to the council.

HE entered my closet, bearing in his countenance all the marks of the disturbance of his mind. I was not surpris'd that, without any other prelude, he began to talk to me of the reasons he had to complain

* The Memoirs for the History of France speak of this in the following manner: "The king being desperately in love with the princess of Condé, set every body at work, even her husband's mother." The prince complained of this, and desired leave of his majesty to retire with his wife, to one of his country houses. The king refused his request in a rude manner, and went so far as to affront and threaten him. It is said, the prince made a haughty reply, and made use of the word *tyranny*; that the king laying hold of that word, said: "I never in my life was guilty of an act of

"tyranny; but when I caused you to be received for what you were not." The prince was in a passion with his mother for suffering herself to be employed as an instrument to corrupt the chastity of his wife. It was said, that the marchioness of Verneuil, who commonly spoke to the king not as to her master, but as she would to her footman, bantering on this subject, said to him: "Are not you a sad wretch, who want to lie with your son's wife? for you know you have told me he is your son."

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of the king. In my answer, I reminded him of the many obligations his family in general owed to the king; and added, that himself in particular had received favours from his majesty, which not only deserved that he should sacrifice to them a little resentment, conceived upon a mere suspicion and an imaginary wrong, but also a just discontent. The prince, who could not relish my arguments, entertained me with I know not how many designs, he supposed, Henry had formed against him, all which I attributed to the inquietude of his mind, and to suspicions carried too far: and these I thought to dissipate, by representing to him, in such a manner as left him no room to doubt of my sincerity, that his majesty was so far from having a design to proceed to any extremities with him, that he would reflect that he was his near kinsman, only to add to that natural sweetness with which he treated every body, a particular friendship and distinguishing respect for him. And I remember, that instead of allowing, through complaisance for the prince, that Henry was capable of oppressing an innocent person, words which indeed were often repeated to me, I told him plainly, that it was commonly those who were most guilty that abused the word innocence, notwithstanding which they could not avoid meeting with the punishment they merited.

M. the prince, who, after so free a speech, ought to have been upon his guard against me, did not scruple to declare that he was resolved to leave France. These imprudent words appeared to me as the effects only of an inconsiderate rage; and, if I opposed him with firmness, it was because I thought, that, on these occasions, firmness ought to accompany the advice which is given. I told him, that I could not believe he was capable of betraying, in such a manner, his king, his country, his honour, and his duty; that the kingdom, and even the court, was the only fit residence for princes of the blood; that every where else their grandeur sullied their reputation; that it was even imputed to them as a crime to remain too long in any other place, without having obtained his majesty's permission for it. The prince replying that such a restraint suited neither with his birth nor rank, I answered, that the laws of the state obliged the children and brothers of the king to as great, or, perhaps, greater strictness of conduct, than the meanest of his subjects: and this I proved to him by examples drawn from the History of Lewis XI. the late duke of Anjou, and of Henry himself. It was not in this manner that the prince wished to hear me speak. I perceived that his intention was now, by giving a new turn to his words, to convince me that I had brought him over

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to my opinion; but, from so sudden an alteration, I drew the most certain proof, that he had really taken that very resolution which his last words would have persuaded me he had absolutely given up.

I HAD so little doubt of it, that when I was informed the prince, after he quitted me, appeared to be wholly calmed; that he had even complained to the queen of the report that was spread of his having a design to quit the court, and assured this princess that he had not the least intention to do so, adding these words, "I am very well contented with his majesty;" and spoke in the same manner almost publicly; I would not defer a moment waiting on the king, whom I assured, after faithfully relating all that had passed between the prince and myself, that he would not be in France eight days longer. Henry was ready to treat me as a madman, there was so little appearance, he said, that he could live in a foreign country like a prince without the assistance he received from him; since it was impossible he should be able to carry away any of his effects so privately, but that he might be easily prevented. To these reasons his majesty added what the prince had just said to the queen. All that you tell me, Sire, replied I, cannot make me alter my opinion; but rather confirms me in it the more: you may be angry with me, and accuse me of obstinacy; but time and the event will shew you that I am not mistaken. I see several persons, pursued I, who are in the secret, and who deceive you, although they are more obliged to you than the prince: but this ought not to seem surprising, since you help to deceive yourself. "You do not name any person," said his majesty, supposing that it was the queen's domestics of whom I spoke, "but I know whom you mean." This was not very difficult to discover. There were more, beside the king and I, who saw that the cabal played a strange part here; for they not only spread a thousand false stories about the king and the princess of Condé through the court, affirming them to be absolutely true, which was indeed the effect of their ordinary malice; but to these they added that detestable artifice, not easy to be described, by which they made these falsehoods serve to render the king in the highest degree hateful to the queen, and forced this princess to abandon herself entirely to their conduct: hence proceeded those plots to which, without her knowledge, they dared to give the authority of her name; hence the motives of a thousand new instances, not to defer the ceremony of the coronation any longer.

THERE was but an interval of four days between the conversation I had with the king, on the subject of the prince of Condé, and the

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fight of that prince. On the 29th of August *, at eleven o'clock at night, Praslin entered my chamber just as I was going to bed; he told me, that the king wanted me, and that I must attend him immediately. "What can the king mean, cousin?" said I, in the first emotions of my anger, and without giving him time to explain himself, "par-dieu, he torments me to death: I cannot live; I cannot sleep. I must," pursued I, with great impatience, supposing this summons was upon an account which, for very good reasons, I might dispense with myself from obeying, "I must rise at three o'clock to-morrow morning to read letters and accounts, which I have received, and must be answered immediately: I must make a memorandum of all that I am to do to-morrow, of what is to be transacted by the council, of what I am to say to the king, what directions I am to give my clerks, my secretaries, and all those who have any offices under me: I cannot get all this done before eight o'clock in the morning, at which hour I go to the council; judge then whether I have any time to lose, and if I can go now to the Louvre, from whence I know it will be impossible for me to return till two or three hours after midnight: I shall have no leisure for employing myself in my closet; for the whole day will be taken up in giving audience, and in conferences with the clerks of accounts and other officers, who have business with me." "I know all this, said Praslin, nor is the king ignorant of it; for he said aloud, before all the company, that I should make

* The last of November, not the 29th of August, as these Memoirs erroneously say, "The prince, says marshal de Bassompierre, left the court and went to Muret, which he quitted, accompanied by Rochefort and Touray, a valet de chambre, who carried the princess's wife behind him on horseback, Mademoiselle Du Certeau, and a chambermaid called Philipette, and went to Landrecy. The king was at play in his little closet when first D'Elbene, and afterwards the chevalier Du-Guet, brought him the news of it. I was nearest to him. He said to me, in a whisper, my friend Bassompierre, I am undone: this man has carried his wife into a wood, I do not know whether with design to kill her, or to carry her out of France: take care of my money and go on with the game, whilst I go to

learn more particular news. Every body gave over play, and I took an opportunity of returning the king his money, which he had left on the table. I went to him, and never in my life saw any one so distracted, or in so violent a passion." Bassompierre afterwards relates what passed in the queen's chamber, and the advice M. de Sully gave the king, in the same manner these Memoirs do. Henry IV. gave such violent signs of grief and despair on the princess of Condé's being thus carried away, that some ill-informed writers, such as the author of l'Histoire de la Mere & du Fils, have advanced, that the war he was going to enter upon in Flanders, when he was assassinated, was partly intended to oblige the archduke to deliver up that princess to him. See also Mezerai and other historians.

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“ you angry by coming for you at such an unseasonable hour, and at
 “ the only time when you have leisure to take any rest to relieve both
 “ your body and mind: but there is no help for it, monsieur, you
 “ must come: this is an affair that concerns him nearly, and he is
 “ persuaded, that, if there is any remedy for the evil, it is you only
 “ who can discover it. The man you know of, is fled, as, the king
 “ said, you foretold; and, what is worse, has taken the lady along
 “ with him.” “ Oh, replied I, is this the business then for which he
 “ has sent for me; truly there will be a little anger on his side: for,
 “ I doubt, we shall not agree in our opinions.” “ I know, added I,
 “ that Mars and Venus are often in very good intelligence; yet, if we
 “ would have good success in affairs that depend upon the former, the
 “ latter must sometimes yield to him; and this possibly may furnish us
 “ with some good reason for hastening our business: therefore let us
 “ go, cousin; I am ready.”

WHEN I came to the Louvre, I found the king in the queen's chamber, walking backwards and forwards, with his head reclined, and his hands folded behind his back: with the queen were present Messieurs de Sillery, de Villeroi, de Gèvres, de La-Force, La-Varenne, and some others, leaning against the hangings, and at such a distance from each other, that they could not converse but aloud. “ Well,” said Henry, taking my hand as soon as I entered, “ our man is gone, and has carried all with him: what say you to this?” “ I say, Sire, replied I, “ that I am not surprised to hear it; and, after what he said to me at “ the arsenal, I expected this flight, which you might have prevented if “ you would have believed me.” “ I knew you would say this, replied “ the king; but we must not speak of things that are past; let us “ think only of the future, and let us consider what is to be done “ now: give me your advice; for I have yet applied to no other person.” “ Sire, returned I, I am not yet sufficiently well informed of “ all the circumstances relating to this affair, and have not reflected as “ much upon it as is necessary I should: I entreat you to let me sleep “ upon it, and to-morrow I will attend you, and will endeavour to “ give you the best advice I can: but, if you press me now, I shall say “ nothing to the purpose; for my judgment is not very clear at present.” “ No, interrupted his majesty, this is not true; I know you too well: “ tell me your thoughts immediately.” “ It is impossible, Sire, said “ I; and, if you persist in pressing me so earnestly, I repeat it again, I “ shall say nothing to the purpose: I beseech you excuse me till to-morrow.” “ Indeed I will not, said Henry; you must speak now: “ therefore

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“therefore tell me what I should do.” “Nothing at all,” Sire, I replied; for I was obliged to speak. “How! nothing?” exclaimed he, “this is not advice.” “Pardon me, Sire, resumed I, it is, and the best that you can follow: there are maladies which require time rather than remedies, and I believe this to be of such a nature.” “This declamation is unseasonable, said Henry with the same impatience; I must have reasons. Are these yours?” “I have no good ones, Sire, answered I, if these are contrary to your inclinations.” “In my opinion, however, the affair does not admit of much doubt about what should be done: it is necessary to wait for further particulars, before any thing is undertaken, that you may fix upon the best expedients, and till then, I think, it ought to be talked of as little as possible; nor should it appear of any consequence to you, or capable of giving you the least uneasiness.”

I SUPPORTED this opinion by a reflection which seemed to me absolutely just; and this was, that the good or bad reception which the Spaniards would give the prince, depended upon the impression his flight made upon the king; so that it was not impossible but that they would receive the prince with contempt, to spare the expences they would otherways be obliged to, especially if we could make them entertain a suspicion that this flight of the prince of Condé's was a thing concerted between his majesty and him. “What,” said the king shaking his head, “would you that I should suffer a petty prince, my neighbour, to give a retreat contrary to my inclinations to the first prince of my blood, without showing any resentment of it? This is fine advice indeed! I shall not follow it; Praslin shall set out *, in

* “Praslin actually went; but the archduke made answer, that he had never violated the law of nations on any occasion whatever; and that he would, on no consideration, begin in the case of the first prince of the blood-royal of France: and soon after sent the prince a sum of money, and an escort to conduct him to Brussels.” *Mém. pour l'Histoire de France*, anno 1609.

The Marshal de Bassompierre in his Memoirs says, the archduke was so much staggered with M. de Praslin's declaration, that he sent to desire the prince would only pass through his dominions, without making any stay in them, though he had before promised to receive him; but that

afterwards he again changed his resolution, by the advice of the marquis Spinola, and treated the prince with the highest honours. *Bassompierre's Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 28.

Father Daniel, in his History of France, in 4to. Vol. X. p. 437, has thrown new lights on this incident, from the letters in the library of the Abbé d'Estrées, by which it appears, that Henry IV. secretly sent the marquis de Cœuvres to Brussels to endeavour to carry off the princess of Condé; and that the attempt miscarried only by the king having discovered this design to the queen, who immediately dispatched a courier to inform the marquis Spinola of it; on which the princess of Conde was removed into an apartment in the archduke's palace.

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“ a few days, to signify my intentions.” “ I told you, Sire, said I, that not having considered this affair, I should say nothing to your satisfaction. Another thought has just occurred, which will not be any prejudice to what you propose to do; but I cannot tell it you till two days hence: however, I am sure you will be better satisfied with it than my first proposal. His majesty consented to this delay, and, embracing me, said, return home and go to bed; sleep till eight o'clock; for I had rather the council should not be held to-morrow, and my ordinary affairs be postponed one day, than your health should suffer the smallest prejudice.”

I WAS not deceived in my conjecture that the other proposal I had to make to his majesty, concerning the prince's retreat into Flanders, would please him better than the former. He came to the arsenal three days afterwards to know it. We continued shut up an hour in my closet; but it is not proper to reveal what passed there on the subject. The king, at parting, said aloud, “ Adieu, my friend; stay at home and finish my business: but above all labour for the success of the proposal you have made me; for I approve of it much more than the advice you gave me in my wife's chamber at the Louvre.”

THE prince of Condé, thinking it necessary to justify his late action, sent a letter* some days afterwards to the king. He likewise sent ano-

* “ The prince wrote to the king, that it was with the utmost regret, and in order to preserve his life and honour only, that he had retired from the court, and not with any intention ever to be otherwise than his majesty's humble relation, faithful subject, and servant. He adds, I will never engage in any thing contrary to your majesty's service, unless I am compelled to it; and beg you will not take it amiss, if I refuse to see, or receive, any letters which shall be wrote to me from court, by any one whatever, except those your majesty may be pleased to honour me with.” Mem. for the Hist. of France, anno 1610. Siri, who gives a very minute account of this retreat of the prince of Condé, in the Mem. recond. Vol. II. p. 82, & seq. adds many other particulars to those here mentioned; but the greatest part of them, in my opinion, deserve little credit; as where he rashly

asserts, on the foundation of popular report, that the only motive that induced Henry IV. to undertake the war against the Spaniards, was to oblige them to send back the princess of Condé; and that finding them, in spite of his menaces, persist in refusing so to do, he repented of having pushed matters so far. He adds a reflection on the honour of that princess, as if she had been a party concerned in this design against her husband, whom she disliked on account of a natural or acquired infirmity, which would have been sufficient to annul their marriage: that she was extremely desirous to return to France; that, during her residence at Brussels, she continued to receive letters of gallantry from Henry IV. that the prince of Condé was so well acquainted with her disposition in regard to him, that he could not conceal his resentment at it; and that on his return, he talked publicly of obtaining a divorce from her. The

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ther, at the same time, to M. de Thou, much fuller and more circumstantial, in which, among other things, he insinuated, that I was the cause of his leaving France. "He ought to accuse his own malice, and that of many other persons who advised him to it, said the king, and not you. I desire you will write to him, and give him a fair representation of all that has passed; and that you will tell him, with the respect due to his quality, not to his person, the plain truth, and the misery he will infallibly expose himself to, if he does not return to his duty." "I will go home then, Sire, said I (for we were then at the constable's house) and draw up the heads of my letter, and will bring it to you." "No, no, replied his majesty, you must write here; I will make them bring you ink and paper." "But, Sire, resumed I, this letter is of consequence: it is necessary I should reflect well upon it, and examine it attentively before I send it; for, if I write what will satisfy you, I must also consider what suits with the prince's quality and my own, that no person, either in France or elsewhere, nor himself, who you see seeks for occasions to accuse and blame me, may find any thing there to authorise him. I am not prepared to write so suddenly." Notwithstanding all I could alledge in my excuse, I was obliged to write this letter instantly in his majesty's presence; and at one end of the table, near which we were sitting. This letter, tho' writ so hastily, was approved of by the king; and here follow the contents.

I BEGAN with complaining to the prince, that, having believed he had respect enough for me not to make me a visit with any other intention than to ask my advice, yet he gave me occasion now to suspect that visit was only to draw me into the commission of some error or imprudence. As to the rest, he knew better than any one else how much in vain he had laid that snare for me; and here I related, less for him than the public, all that had passed in the conversation we had together at the arsenal, which the reader has already seen. After this I owned to him, without any disguise, that having, notwithstanding all his art, penetrated into his design, I had informed the king of it, who might have prevented him from executing it, if he had believed me, or been less good and indulgent. I made no apologies to the prince for the advice

greatest truth Siri speaks on this subject, is, that the king obstinately rejected all the rational advice given him on this occasion by the nuncio, some of his counsellors, and particularly the duke of Sully, whom he also commends for his resolute and free manner of speaking and writing to the prince of Conde.

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I had given to his majesty against him, since it was for the good of the state, for the king's advantage, and for his own, however little he might attend to it. I laid before his eyes the consequences of the imprudent step he had taken: I asked him, what he had to expect from the archdukes and the Spaniards, who, considering him as an useless burden upon them, would insult him by their haughty and insolent behaviour, and secretly applaud themselves for it? I conjured him to reflect on what he owed to the consideration of his honour, his virtue, his birth, and duty; and exhorted him to implore the king's pardon as soon as possible. To these intreaties, I added offers of service, which would prove to him my zeal for his interest, and attachment to his person.

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It will be easily granted, that such a letter was very extraordinary from a man who, in the supposition of having connived at his flight, might have been struck dumb with a single word in answer from one of so high a rank as first prince of the blood. Yet I went farther: I told the prince, that the civilities, praises, and acknowledgments, with which he had loaded me at the arsenal, were, to my great regret, but ill repaid by the necessity his letter had reduced me to, of declaring the truth in such a manner as perhaps he might think inconsistent with the respect I owed him: that he ought, in his own mind, to render me the justice I deserved; but that he would now be convinced, that the first step any man takes contrary to his duty, by a necessary consequence makes him violate all the laws of sincerity: lastly, that whatever his intention might be in thus endeavouring to involve me in his crime, I had always held it my glory and my honour to be thus treated by the enemies of the king and the state; and implored heaven to inspire the prince with such sentiments as might efface all remembrance of a fault which had, with too much justice, deserved those two epithets. This letter * was published; but it produced no answer, which entirely destroyed, even in the opinions of my enemies themselves, all suspicions arising from the prince's insinuation.

A DISPUTE arose between Villeroi and De-Fresne, on account of the letters † which the king ordered to be sent into the provinces, two days

* "The prince of *** refused to receive the letters the duke of Sully wrote to him, telling those who brought them, that he would receive nothing that came from him." L'Etoile, *ibid.*

† In Vol. 9772 of the Royal MSS. we find the summons delivered to the prince of Condé at Brussels, in the month of February 1610, by Mess. de Berny and Manicamp, in the king's name, requiring him to return to France, under the pe-

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after the flight of the prince, to signify his intentions concerning this event. Villeroi composed a form for these letters, which he would have had all the other secretaries of state to have followed. De-Fresne thought the expressions he used unworthy of the dignity of him from whom they were supposed to proceed, which indeed was true; and, as he was generally allowed to write quite as well as his brother secretary, he was afraid of some cavils by sending this letter, as written by himself to those persons, with whom, by his office, he was connected. He imparted his perplexity to me, and entreated me to extricate him out of it.

I HAVE nothing to say concerning the affairs of the protestant body, except that they supported themselves happily against all the calumnies which were invented against them, and which they brought even to his majesty's ear, by advices and discourses of all kinds. A letter was addressed to the king, dated the 31st of July, supposed to be written from Rochelle, in a counterfeit hand, and falsely signed Emanuel de La-Faye, in which he was informed, that, in an assembly held at St. Maixant, the minister of Blois, who was called Viguier, had presented a book, entitled Antichrist displayed *, scandalous, it was said, and outrageous to the last degree: that, in this assembly, it was resolved the book should be printed, after it had been examined by the academy of Saumur: and that this book was then actually in the press, notwithstanding his majesty's public prohibition.

This letter † is filled with so many minute particulars, and passion and prejudice appear every where so strongly in it, that the reader will not, I believe, be displeas'd at my suppressing it. The author certainly flattered himself, that he should make it be believed that the Rochellers fortified their city, upon a supposition that they should soon have a siege

nalty of becoming guilty of high treason; and the prince's refusal to obey it. The parliament pass'd an arret against him, by which he was condemn'd to undergo whatever punishment his majesty should think fit to inflict on him. Henry IV. went in person to parliament, to solicit the passing of this arret; and, as a mark of his grief, he went without state or train: he sat down in the chief president's place without canopy or footstool, the hall being only guarded by the ushers of the parliament,

instead of the king's officers.

* The supplement to the Journal of Henry IV. printed in 1736, takes notice of this book, and says, that father Gonther, in a sermon he preach'd before the king, having made violent invectives, on this account, against the huguenots, the king reprimand'd him, and order'd the book to be suppress'd, which, in reality, has never appear'd since. Anno 1609.

† It is to be seen in Sully's Memoirs, Vol. IV. p. 335.

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to sustain; and that an assembly was held at Marseilles, to oblige the king to call a convocation of the states of the kingdom. Du-Plessis was, as they alledged, the author of these plots, all absolutely without foundation, except indeed some murmurs against the gabelle in Mirebalais and Loudunois, in which, however, a very small number of protestants had any part. With regard to Du-Plessis, he was the very man who sent the first information of it to his majesty; and I thought myself obliged in honour, tho' my enemy, as till then he had shewn himself to be, to give testimony to his innocence, when I convinced the king, who insisted upon my taking a journey into Poitou to repress the rebellious designs of the protestants, that his real enemies endeavoured to keep themselves concealed by branding those with that guilt who did not deserve it. Du-Plessis thanked me in a long letter, which contained a justification, in form, against all the heads of the accusation.

THE following information, which was given me by a gentleman of unquestioned honour, appeared to me more circumstantial, and more worthy of attention. In one of the streets of La-Fleche called Des Quatre Vents, and near an inn, with a sign of the same name, there had lodged, for some months, a man, whose name was Médor, a native of Avranche, with a widow, called Jane Huberson, who boarded scholars of reputable families, that were under the care of Médor. A niece of this widow's, about twenty-six years of age, named Rachael Renaud, who lived with her aunt, and a cousin called Huberson likewise, going one day into Médor's study, found a book there which excited her curiosity: it was finely gilt, and tied very neatly with blue and carnation ribbons, and very thick. She opened it, and saw that half of it was written, partly with ink, and partly with blood: that it was full of signatures, almost all in blood, among which, surprised as she was, she distinguished that of Médor, of a man named Du-Noyer, who lived in a village in the neighbourhood of Paris, near Villeroi, and of another man named Du-Crois, from Billon in Auvergne, who had formerly belonged to the duke de Mercœur. These two men she knew, because they had often come to visit their lodger.

As she was going out of the closet, with an intention to carry this book to her aunt, she met Médor, who snatching it out of her hands, asked her, in a rage, what she was going to do with it. She told him ingenuously, that it was so pretty she was desirous her aunt should see it; and then asked him the meaning of those signatures of blood, which she had seen in it. Médor, fearing that she had carried her curiosity so far

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as to examine the writing, at the end of which were those names subscribed, and which contained an association of conspirators against the king's person, told her, that it was an oath, which, for the interest of their religion, a great many zealous catholics had taken to continue faithfully attached to the Pope. This answer did not hinder the girl from speaking of the book to her aunt and cousin, who were the only protestants in the house. They thought the discovery of such consequence, that, after getting all the information they could from the girl of what she had seen, they related it to the person who gave me notice of it, with all the circumstances necessary to make a fuller discovery*.

THE book was immediately taken out of Médor's chamber, and carried, as Huberson and the girl believed, to Du-Crofs, whose direction they gave. He lodged with a man named Druillet, who lived in a house without the city, near the gate of St. Germain, on the right side. With this Druillet several children of quality boarded, and particularly of the province of Brittany; because he likewise had been in the duke of Mercœur's service. Du-Crofs was the soul of this cabal. An assembly at the jesuits college, in which he held one of the chief places, and where he was often employed to deliver public discourses, gave him all

* Neither L'Etoile, nor the continuator of M. De Thou, nor father Chalons, nor even D'Aubigné, nor, in short, any of the historians of those times, the most avowed enemies of the jesuits, excepting Mezerai alone, have ever mentioned, and consequently never believed any thing of this conspiracy against the king, or this plot for forming a new league; for one cannot tell in which light to consider this relation, which, being unsupported by evidence, may signify whatever one pleases, or rather nothing at all. Mezerai himself, who is of opinion that a new league was intended, whilst, from the same words, the duke of Sully concludes it was to be an attempt on the king's life; Mezerai, I say, speaks of it, Abr. chr. & hist. in folio, printed at Paris in 1667, Vol. III. p. 1443, in such a manner, that it is evident he only copies Sully's Memoirs. Now as these Memoirs, the only source of this accusation, have rested it on no other foundation than the

single evidence of a young girl, and have left it as a mere conjecture only; every man of sense will be cautious in drawing so ill-natured a conclusion from hence, as that either the league was intended to be renewed, a mad and chimerical design, or the assassination of Henry IV. intended; the perpetrator of which no where appears to have had any connection at La-Flèche. But should we even allow the reality of this pretended plot, it does not appear the jesuits were any ways concerned in it; the girl, on whose evidence the proof of it rests, did not alledge any thing against them. The love of truth has led me to make this observation, because we see but too many, whose naturally warm imagination, heated to a still greater degree by prejudice and passion, want only the least shadow of conjecture, or an unguarded expression, to determine their judgment on matters whose importance make such groundless determinations still more blameable.

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the opportunities he could desire, to associate a great number of persons into his black designs: and here it was that he became acquainted with Médor and Du-Noyer.

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To these informations were added all those that I was able to get myself. The morning after I received the billet, which was on October 19th, I sent a person, on whom I could securely depend, to search the bottom of this affair: but although all his discoveries served to confirm what had been wrote to me, and that the girl herself offered to maintain her deposition before any person who should chuse to hear her, and even in his majesty's presence, the credit and artifice of those who were concerned in this accusation were exerted with such success, that an affair, which certainly merited a further examination, was buried in silence. Domestic dissensions, and intestine plots, were the two evils which pursued Henry, after he had extricated himself from the dangers of war, till the last moment of his life. The count of Auvergne continued still imprisoned in the Bastile: he obtained permission of his majesty to be removed for a change of air, on account of his indisposition, and he was carried to a pavilion on the water, which was at the end of the gardens belonging to the arsenal; but guards were placed upon him during the whole time he staid there. He also obtained leave to speak to the sieur de Châteaumorand.

HENRY'S health was this year only interrupted with some slight fits of the gout. He did not drink the waters, because they were of no use to him. M. the Dauphin, and all the children of France, enjoyed likewise a good state of health. Henry made as long a stay as usual at Fontainebleau: he passed the whole autumn there, after a short excursion to Monceaux, and returned to Paris at the beginning of winter.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XXVII.

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ALL that remains for me to say of the transactions of this year relates to foreign affairs, which I shall begin with those of the United Provinces. The king granted them, in the month of April the sum of three hundred thousand livres. Préaux was sent to the States with this agreeable news, and I received orders from his majesty to send the money to Dieppe, where it was to be shipped on board a vessel belonging to the Republic. Henry thought himself obliged to reward, by this last instance of his bounty, the respect the council of the United Provinces had shewn for him, in giving him the principal part in their accommodation with Spain; for in this year was at length concluded the truce *, which had been so long in agitation, and equally desired by all, even by those who had at first appeared most against it: and the prince of Orange himself at last agreed to it.

I SHALL not here transcribe the treaty, which was drawn up at the Hague, the usual place for holding the conferences; but only that of

* It will be proper, as well on the negotiations of this famous truce, as on all the affairs of Flanders mentioned in these Memoirs, to consult the volumes of the king's MSS. marked 9759, 9981, 9005, Le Merc. Franç. Matthieu, Vittorio Siri, and the particular histories of that republic.

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the intervention of the kings of France and England as guarantees for the execution of it. This piece is dated June 27, 1609, and was signed as the former, at the Hague, in the presence of messire Peter Jeannin, chevalier, baron of Changy and Montreu, one of the counsellors of his most christian majesty in his council of state, and his ambassador extraordinary to the States; and of messire Elie de La-Place, chevalier, lord of Ruisy, viscount of Machaut, member of the king's council of state, gentleman in ordinary of his bed chamber, and his ambassador in ordinary; both of them in the name, and has having authority from the most high, most powerful, and most excellent prince Henry IV. &c. Afterward followed the names of his Britannic majesty's two ministers, with the same titles of ambassadors in ordinary and extraordinary; and after them the names of the counsellors and ministers of the several provinces of the Low-Countries, with a reciprocal obligation to cause the contents of the said treaty to be ratified, within two months, by the respective parties.

THE intervention and guarantee are expressed in the following manner: That the two kings, notwithstanding all their endeavours, having been unable to procure a firm and solid peace between the two warring powers, had at length proposed to them a long truce, to which likewise many obstacles were raised, which would probably have blasted the scheme, if their majesties, for the good of the parties, and the security of their states, had not consented to have been guarantees and securities for it; and therefore that they promised, and engaged themselves, to assist the United Provinces with all their forces, not only in case of any infraction of the truce by Spain, but also if their trade to the Indies should be interrupted, or suffer the least injury, either from his catholic majesty, the archdukes, their officers, or subjects. This extended as well to those whom the States thought proper to associate with them in this trade, as to the countries where it was carried on; provided, however, that the republic did not pretend to be judges themselves of the injuries they received in this respect, but left them to the decision of their majesties in a common council, wherein they were to be allowed a vote: in case the judgment should be too long delayed, they were to give orders in the mean time for the security of their subjects. That, in consequence of which, the contracting parties should renew and confirm the private treaties made the preceding year, one on the 23^d of January, between France and the United Provinces; and another, on the 26th of June, between England and the same Provinces, by applying to the truce the same agreements, promises, and obligations, which

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which these treaties expressed during the continuance of a peace, which was then believed to be upon the point of concluding. That, in acknowledgment for the guarantee of the two mediating kings, and for the assistance which the States-General had received from them, they engaged to make no treaty or agreement with the archdukes during the twelve years of the truce, without the advice and consent of their majesties, who promised, on their side, not to enter into any alliance prejudicial to the liberty and safety of their friends and allies: for these were the titles given by the two princes to the States.

THE archdukes, that they might not give offence to the king of Spain, refused their consent to its being mentioned in the treaty for a truce, that the Dutch should be secured in their trade to the Indies: they only undertook, of their own accord, acting under his catholic majesty, to allow the exercise of it: therefore the Republic, who sought a security against a new breach of faith from the Spaniards, had it, at last, made one of the positive articles of the treaty for the mediation of the kings of France and England. Henry was not sorry since the war between Spain and Flanders was to end, it should end in this manner.

I THOUGHT not to omit mentioning an obligation, which, on this occasion, I received, rather indeed from Henry, than the council of the United Provinces, which regarded my nephews D'Epinoÿ. His majesty, who had often listened to my complaints of the injustice which these children had suffered from the count and countess of Ligne, and who, from the time that they were brought to me in France, had given them many proofs of his kindness, which I believe I have mentioned somewhere or other in these Memoirs, was desirous of doing something more for them. Jeannin * had orders to confer with the archduke Albert upon their affairs, to endeavour to engage him in their interest, and to do them justice. Either he or Caumartin delivered to this prince a memorial which I had drawn up, and which explained the claims the family of Epinoÿ had to the succession of that of Melun. The archduke's answer, which he sent the king in the year 1601, gave me reason to hope for success. Accordingly this prince, finding that

* There is a letter in the cabinet of the present duke of Sully, from the late duke to the president Jeannin, in which, after taking notice of the then present state of the affairs of the United Provinces, and these

of Cleves, he recommends the interest of his nephew, the prince of Epinoÿ, to him. This letter is too long to be here transcribed: it is dated at Fontainebleau, the 15th of June, 1609.

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his majesty interested himself in the affair, took so much part in it, that by a provisional agreement my nephew D'Epinoy *, who by the death of his brother was the sole heir, obtained a restitution of great part of those effects which had been forfeited by his father. This agreement, which, through the interest of the king and the archduke, became a writing of great importance, was afterwards the best the princess of Ligne † could make use of, to prove that all the rest of this estate, which she had not been deprived of, had been granted to her.

I THOUGHT of an expedient to put an end to these evasions and artifices, which was to obtain the consent of the council of the United Provinces to insert, in their treaty of truce, an article by which this question was decided in favour of the young D'Epinoy. My request, which I made privately, was granted with great willingness; the article was inserted and expressed that upon the refusal, which the princess of Ligne had given to the council of the United Provinces, to make a restitution of the estates of the house of Epinoy, which she unjustly enjoyed, two arbitrators should be named for his most christian majesty, and two for the archdukes, who should meet at Vervins to give a definitive judgment: that, if the votes were divided, they should appoint an umpire; and, if they could not agree upon the choice, his most christian majesty should be this umpire, to whose sentence the princess of Ligne and all the other respective heirs should submit; and the archdukes, of whom these estates were held, should permit the execution of it: and that, in the mean time, the estates of the house of Vassenard, and all others belonging to the prince of Epinoy, within the extent of the Dutch provinces, should be restored to him.

THE princess of Ligne used her utmost endeavours to elude the decision. This last clause depriving her of all hope, she appealed to the agreement before mentioned. She alledged, that part of those estates which were required of her, being in the province of Holland, had been charged with heavy taxes; for which she demanded compensation. When she found herself pressed, she affected to abate of her obstinacy, and only requested that the affair might be terminated by any

* William de Melun, prince of Epinoy, &c. He had many other brothers who either died young or without issue. He has been spoke of before.

† Mary de Melun, lady of Roubais, D'Antoing, &c. wife of Lamoral, the first prince of Ligne, governor of Artois, knight of the golden fleece.

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other method than a rigorous judgment, and proposed several herself, especially when she perceived that her nephew was inclined to purchase an agreement with her by the sacrifice of some of his just claims. The archduke seemed to enter with her into all the expedients that could be thought on to make me desist; for I was the person whom, on this occasion, they looked upon to be the real adversary. A marriage was proposed between my nephew and the princess of Ligne's second daughter. This expedient was happily enough imagined, if the mother had been a reasonable woman: but she would not give this daughter a portion equal to that she had given with the eldest. I left it to her choice, either to resign twenty-five thousand livres a year to D'Epinoy, as a portion for her daughter, or to make him a restitution of his whole estate, though my nephew by this offer lost considerably: yet it was rejected with disdain. The remainder of the year was passed in making and refusing propositions, which all amounted to nothing.

THERE was again a necessity that his majesty should interpose, which he had the goodness to do, by writing a letter, dated October 19, to the archduke, in which he complained of the princess of Ligne's proceedings, and of the little sollicitude he himself shewed for the fulfilling that article of the treaty relating to the prince of Epinoy. As to the agreement which madame de Ligne laid such stress upon, the king observed, that, besides that nothing can be opposed to a determination recorded in a treaty made between sovereigns, it was the opinion of his council, and conformable to the laws of his kingdom, that the authority of any prince which is added to a contract, should not hinder the subject who is injured by it from claiming his right. He desired him to hear what * Berny and Préaux had to say, whom he had ordered to acquaint him with every circumstance of the affair; and, repeating his instances in favour of Epinoy, he declared that he would answer for the fidelity and obedience of his new vassal. He owned that D'Epinoy was willing to purchase an agreement and union with his aunt, at the expence of a small part of his estate; but that himself had been one of the first to advise him not to listen to her while she continued to be so unreasonable in her demands. This letter was more in the style of a friend than a king; and in almost all those which Villeroi and Jeannin wrote by his order to the States, the affair of Epinoy was mentioned with great warmth. I likewise urged it on in the letters I writ

* Matthew Brulart, lord of Berny, Hector de Préaux, a calvinist gentleman, the king's president at the court of the governor of Châtelleraut. archduke.

to Préaux, from whom, upon this occasion, I received services which I promised him should not go unrewarded.

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THIS year the duke of Bouillon obtained letters of naturalization for his children born at Sedan. The king did not observe, that in these letters, and in the petition presented on this occasion to the chamber of accounts, Bouillon had assumed the title of sovereign of Sedan; and therefore made no opposition to it by his attorney-general. But his majesty repaired this failure, by ordering Jérôme L'Huillier, the attorney-general, to demand an act, by which it was allowed, that his compliance with this petition, and his silence with respect to the titles there assumed, should not injure his rights if he should be able, at any time, by his papers, claims, or records of the treasury of archives, to make appear that Sedan was anciently a fief depending on that of Mouson, which was part of the crown lands. This act, of the 11th of April, is inserted in the registers of the chamber of accounts.

HIS majesty sent the duke of Lunebourg-Brunswick's deputy to me for the payment of seven thousand crowns, which the king ordered me to give him, without making farther enquiry into, as the sum was so moderate. I obeyed his commands, and, at the same time, treated him with the utmost degree of politeness. Henry, by such instances of kindness and respect, endeavoured to attach the German princes still more to his interest. I likewise rendered some services to the duke of Savoy, which produced a letter from this prince to me, and a visit of thanks from M. de Jacop his ambassador. This deference, added to the visits I was obliged to pay to the duke of Savoy's ambassador in return, appeared to my enemies at court a sufficient foundation for suggesting to the king, that the duke of Savoy made the same use of me as he had done of marshal Biron. Henry took care not to tell them that he was acquainted with all my proceedings, and approved of them; but thanked them for their information, and wrote me an account of all they had said, desiring me, at the same time, to bring him the last letters I had received from Turin the next time I attended him.

ANOTHER attempt was made upon the city of Geneva this year, under the direction of Du-Terrail*, the same who has been so often

* Lewis de Comboursier, lord of Terrail, a gentleman of Dauphiny, and a relation of Lesdiguières. The Memoirs for the history of France speak of him as Sully's do. "The king, say they, whose natural subject he was, had granted him four

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mentioned in these Memoirs. He succeeded so ill in it, that he was taken prisoner there, and without any form of trial put to death. He was a man of great understanding and courage; but giddy with ambition, and absorbed in vice: therefore the king was not concerned that justice had overtaken him. As soon as it was known that he was imprisoned, the king was wearied with solicitations in his favour: but the news of his death followed that of his detention so close, that he was not long embarrassed. "We have a happy riddance of him, said this prince to me; he was a dangerous man: ever since I observed that he had left off visiting you, and haunting you as usual; and after that murder* he committed in the view of us both, as we stood together upon the balcony, I lost all hope of him."

THE duke of Florence, after the death of the duke his father †, having sent an ambassador extraordinary to Rome to pay his obedience to the pope, he, either by his master's orders or from his own inclination, or perhaps through contempt, visited the Spanish ambassador before ours. Henry, when he was informed of this affront, resolved to take vengeance for it, and began by revoking an order, which, upon the representations made him by the chevalier Guidi, he had given for the payment of a hundred thousand livres, which were still due to the

"several pardons; but he had no sooner got a pardon in one pocket, as the king said, but he had a sceme for a plot ready in another."—The pardon the king would have granted him would not have saved his life. He and La-Bastide, a gentleman of Bourdel, who was taken with him, were beheaded at Geneva on the 29th of April.

* "On Tuesday the 8th of August, Le-Terrail, in the king's fight, before the windows of the gallery of the Louvre, killed Mazancy, a brave Gascon officer, whom his majesty had just been speaking to. The king was so much affected with seeing this action, that he was obliged, as it was said, to change his shirt twice upon it." Mem. for the Hist. of France, anno 1606.

Du-Terrail was obliged to leave the kingdom after this assassination.

† Ferdinand de Médicis, grand duke of Tuscany, who, in 1587, succeeded his

brother Francis Maria de Médicis, died the year before. "The king," says L'Etoile, or the author of the Supplement to his Journal, "in order to acquaint the queen with his death, without surprising her, told her, as he was getting up, he had dreamed he saw the grand duke dead. The queen at first was struck with it; but recollecting herself, she said it was only a dream. But, Madam, replied the king, I am afraid my dream is true; we are all mortal. He is dead then? Yes, added the king; here is the letter that informs me of his death."—This death occasioned a suspension of the usual diversion of the carnival, &c. It was this Ferdinand who made answer to our ambassador, when remonstrating to him on account of his connections with Spain; "Had the king had forty gallees at Marseilles, I would not have done what I have." Como II. de Médicis his son, is the person here in question.

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grand duke. Jouanini, this prince's agent, who foresaw all the consequences of this affair, assembled his friends and partisans to consult together upon the methods they should use to prevent the reparation we had a right to exact, from extending to any insult upon Spain; and as I was thought to be him, who of all the counsellors was most capable of inspiring the king with a firm resolution on this head, they agreed that it would be proper for Jouanini to apply to me, and endeavour to soften me.

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I READILY complied with his entreaties, not to speak or act upon this occasion any otherways than merely to execute the king's orders. There was no necessity for urging Henry to support his just claims, and this Jouanini knew as well as myself. I told him, however, that I was much surpris'd that a petty prince, such as his master, should presume to regulate the rank of the kings of France and Spain. Jouanini received these words as any other ambassador would have done upon the like occasion, and, to shew me that I ought to treat his master with more respect, he entered into a discourse upon his great qualities and his genealogy, making him allied to the house of Austria, whose eulogium he was going to begin. I interrupted him, saying, that every other person was as capable as himself of settling the true degree of grandeur of the duke of Florence, since it had commenced in our own times; and as for what regarded the house of Austria, I had no occasion for any informations; I who reckoned amongst my ancestors a daughter of that house *, who died a hundred and fifty years ago; but that it was impossible to make any comparison between that family and the august house of France.

THIS affair gave rise to much artful management at court, in which the queen seem'd to carry too far her tendernefs for her relations. The

* John de Béthune, Lord of Vandeuil, Locres, &c. first of that branch from which the duke of Sully was descended, married Jane de Coucy, allied to the house of Austria. Enguerrand VI. of Coufay, or, to speak more properly, of Guienes, bearing the name and arms of the house of Coucy, which was extinct, married Catherine of Austria, daughter of Leopold, who is the lady here meant by M. de Sully. He would have spoke more correctly had he said she came into the family

of Coucy, to which his became allied. He has also made another mistake in point of chronology; for instead of saying a hundred and fifty, he should have said two hundred and fifty years; this Enguerrand de Coucy, the husband of Catherine of Austria, having been killed at the battle of Crecy in 1346. See the MSS. of S. Marthe, Du-Chefne, Anselme, and other genealogists. See also our foregoing remarks on the house of Austria.

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king reproached her several times for it with some severity, and she made me sensible that she accused no other than myself for it. However, this affair produced no worse consequences. The duke of Florence, upon the first complaint the king made to him, protested that he had no part in this imprudent procedure of his ambassador; and declared, that he was willing to make any reparation for it which his majesty should require. He recalled his ambassador, without waiting for the king's request, and commanded him, before his departure, to make an authentic acknowledgment of the fault he had committed, which was published in Rome and in France. Henry was satisfied with this apology, and, to convince the grand duke that he had forget every thing, he assured him that he would preserve the same sentiments of friendship and esteem for him as for the deceased duke, and gave him the first proof of them by sending to congratulate him upon his advancement to the throne, as all the other princes of Europe had done.

SPAIN had chosen cardinal Zapata to perform this ceremony, and Henry thought proper to make use of a cardinal likewise, that he might avoid an affront like the former: for it is well known what personal prerogatives cardinals enjoy at the courts of Italian princes. I named the abbe de La-Rochefoucault to him, who was going to Rome to take possession of that dignity; but his majesty for that very reason did not approve of him, as he was apprehensive that this abbe, who they were sensible was not yet named a cardinal, nor would leave France expressly for this embassy, would not be as well received at Florence as an antient cardinal: therefore cardinal Delfin was pitched upon by his majesty, who gave him two thousand crowns for his expences, his eminence not being very rich. Conchini had aspired to this honour, and would have obtained it through the queen's interest; but for the considerations before mentioned, he would not have acquitted himself of this commission at so small an expence: Henry, therefore, was pleased at his disappointment, as well on account of his hatred of the man, as from a principle of frugality.

POLICY, and the interest of his great designs, had perhaps more part in the king's complaisance to the duke of Florence, than the consideration of his alliance with him. Those two motives were sufficient to prevent him from ill treating, or even neglecting the most inconsiderable prince. The hundred thousand livres was again ordered to be paid to the chevalier Guidi, the king only requiring that, in the grand duke's receipts, some considerable sums should be deducted, which he had advanced

advanced to Don John de Medicis. With this money, Guidi carried to Florence a gold chain, valued at six hundred crowns, which I presented him with in his majesty's name. Henry, likewise, shewed many other civilities to this Italian; for, whether he remained beyond the Alps, or was again sent to France by his master, the king thought it necessary to gain his friendship.

DE REFUGE continued still among the Swifs and Grifons in the quality of our agent; but executed this employment so ill, that I thought myself obliged to reproach him by Villeroi for his inattention to the business he was sent to transact. He durst not answer me himself; but to Villeroi he excused his neglect, in not sending the account of the distribution he had made of the money, which was the first complaint I had against him, by alledging that these accounts should have been sent to me by the two clerks, through whose hands the two former distributions had passed, besides those more particular ones, which the treasurers of the Leagues were to furnish me with; and that I should certainly receive from them those of the next distribution. With regard to the redemption of debts, which was my second charge against him, he, without coming to particulars, told Villeroi, in his answer, that he had discharged some at different times; nor did he give more satisfactory replies to the other reprimands he received.

AFTER Villeroi had shewn me his letter, I wrote to him myself, as I believed the place I filled gave me a right, and even obliged me to do. I told him, that I had not received the four accounts from the clerks he mentioned to Villeroi; but that, if I had, such accounts were not sufficient; but that, since the ordinances for payment came only from him, it belonged to him likewise to draw up accounts, wherein every sum of money should be specified separately, and authenticated by him: that he was obliged to answer for the exactness of the treasurers, and to inform me if they had any blanks in their accounts, which was what was always done by Caumartin, his predecessor: and, likewise, that he should not fail to send me, every quarter, the accounts of the receipts given by the treasurers of the Leagues, with that of the distribution he had made, divided into chapters. He was continually proposing new methods for discharging of debts, for managing his majesty's money, and for confining his employment solely to the finances, in consequence of which he demanded an exact correspondence with the superintendent. It was not possible for him to find an excuse for the silence he affected with me; nor were his excuses for having not paid any debts during his administration

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nistration any better. The thing was not more difficult for him, than the person whom he had succeeded. I desired him, therefore, to satisfy me as soon as possible, not by using many words and justifications, that had no force, and which, in affairs relating to money, could not be received, but by just reasons and good effects; otherways I could not dispense with myself from representing him to his majesty as a man unworthy of the trust he had confided to him.

IT was suggested to the grand signior to have a resident at Marseilles for the convenience of the Granadines who passed through that city. The grand vizier mentioned it, by his order, to our ambassador at the Porte, and consulted the aga of Cairo, named Aga Ibrahim-Mustapha, upon this establishment, a man who, in a very short space of time, had acquired great authority, and many dignities at the Porte, and mentioned me to him as the only person at the court of France to whom it would be proper to address himself. The Aga Mustapha was directed to ask this favour of the king, in the name of Sultan Achmet, by a letter, to which was added one from Salignac to me, and both were brought by a Granadine, whom the grand vizier chose for this employment. Salignac gave me information of all that had passed at the Porte upon this subject; and added, that the grand signior would think himself highly obliged to the king for the grant of this favour, which could be productive of no inconvenience to him; and that he could not dispose of the place to any one more fit for it than the bearer, whose probity and good sense were well known to him, and who had formerly passed some time at Marseilles.

ONE of the most remarkable and interesting events that happened this year in Europe, was the death of the duke of Cleves, who died about the beginning of it; the news of which no sooner reached the ears of Henry, than he came to the arsenal, where, having barely enquired for me in the first court, he passed on to the garden, without entering my apartment. When he was answered, that I was writing in my cabinet, he turned to Roquelaure and Zamet, and said to them, smiling, "Did not you imagine, that they were going to tell me, that he was either hunting, dressing, or with the ladies? Go, Zamet," said this prince, after having given such praise to my diligence as does not become me to repeat, "go, tell him that I am gone up the great walk, and desire him to follow me immediately to the large balcony, where we are not wont to be silent; I have much to say to him: for I have heard," continued his majesty openly, "that

“ that the duke of Cleves is dead ; he has left all the world his heirs ; the emperor and all the princes of Germany claiming the succession.” Zamet met me coming out of my closet, having been already told that the king had passed by. The news of the day, and every consequential incident, afforded matter for above an hour’s entertainment in the balcony. His majesty thought it a subject well worth my pains to compose, upon what I had to say on this head, a memoir, which I shall here insert, with the addition of such informations as I received a few days after from Bongars, who at that time had a particular charge to be strictly watchful of our interest in Germany. I shewed it all to Henry ; nor do I believe the reader will be displeas’d to find an event which all Europe, attentive to his majesty’s designs, looked upon as a signal of a general war, treated with that perspicuity it deserves, both with respect to its justice and expediency.

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BUT it is first necessary to explain how this little state, made at the last duke’s death out of four or five great fiefs, all having the titles of principality, was formed. A count of Juliers, who lived about the year 1130, united this county to that of Berg, by marrying an only daughter of a count of that name. The county of Gueldres was afterwards united to it in the year 1350, by the marriage of Reynold, or Renould, first duke of Gueldres, with the heiress of William, first duke of Juliers. About the same time, one Adolphus de La-Mark resigned the archbishopric of Cologne, and the bishopric of Munster, to support his pretensions, as heir of Mary his mother, countess of Cleves, against his cousins, D’Erkel and Perweis, who were also sons of Cleves, but on the female side ; and succeeded in his claims, either by purchasing the right of the second son, who was nearer of kin by one degree than him, or by the assistance of the emperor Charles IV. and the states of the country.

THE duchy of Cleves having thus passed into the house of La-Mark, those of Juliers and Berg were afterwards re-united to it in the person of John duke of Cleves, count de La-Mark, who, in 1406, married the daughter of William duke of Juliers and Berg. The duchy of Gueldres was at that time dismembered, because that Arnold D’Egmont, who possessed it in right of his mother, Mary D’Erkel, daughter to N----- D’Erkel and Jane of Juliers and Gueldres, had sold it, in 1472, to Charles of Burgundy, with whose daughter it went to the house of Austria ; a disposition that was vainly contested by William of Juliers, to whom it was left by will by Charles D’Egmont, grand-

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son of Arnold, the house of Austria maintaining itself in possession of the duchy by force of arms. This custom of feminine fiefs, received in all the cantons, supports the opinions of those who believe that the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, which fell into the house of Austria, by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy with Maximilian, are not the only female fiefs.

THE emperor would not allow that Cleves, Juliers, Berg, La-Mark, Ravensburg, and Ravestein, of which John-William died possessed, were female fiefs; on the contrary, the claims, which he pretended to these fiefs, were founded only upon proofs, which he was said to have had, of their being all masculine fiefs. This contest was not a point absolutely new. The contradiction of the dispositions of the different sovereigns of this little territory, which at different times had been received by their subjects, to the declaration of some of the emperors upon this head, had long made it a disputed point, the entire decision of which had been by both parties referred to the death of the last male heir of that house, which at length happened. To canvass this point of right more properly, it is necessary to search into the archives of that principality, by which means we shall be acquainted with the state of the last duke's family, and find out with what truth Henry said, that the duke of Cleves's succession belonged to almost all Germany.

THE arguments urged in this affair, by the interested princes against the emperor, were drawn from the many testamentary and matrimonial papers, as well as several other writings, both public and private, which received their authority from the solemn acceptance of the states of the country, the chief of which were these: First, an ordinance of Adolphus the first duke of Cleves, count de La-Mark, &c. received in all his towns, anno 1418, whereby the principality was given to the duke's eldest son, and to him only, his brothers being excluded from any share in it; and, in default of male issue in him, to his eldest daughter, exclusive of other daughters. There was a like edict of William duke of Juliers and Berg, count de Ravensburg, John duke of Cleves, count de La-Mark, in 1496, on account of the union of their territories, by the marriage of Mary, only daughter of the first of these princes, with John son of the second. There was another ordinance of the said John of Cleves, and Mary of Juliers, in 1526, about which time there was a marriage between their eldest daughter Sibylla to John Frederic, count, and since elector of Saxony,

to

to which disposition William himself, son of John and Mary, subscribed in 1542. In the year 1572, William duke of Juliers and Cleves, &c. father of the last duke, accomplished a match between his eldest daughter Maria Eleonora and Albert Frederic of Brandenburg, duke of Prussia; and he, in the marriage articles, reserved the entire succession to her in the same form, in case of the extinction of the male line in his family. Two years after, Ann, sister of Maria Eleonora, espoused duke Philip Lewis, the count Palatine at Newburg, with the same respect to the rights of elderhip in the female line. The contract was concluded at Deux-ponts, and signed by the count Lewis, afterwards elector palatine, by William, landgrave of Hesse, and duke John, count palatine. The same contract was ratified a second time in 1575, by the same prince William; at which time, duke Philip Lewis complaining that two hundred thousand florins, which was the portion of the younger sisters, was too slight a recompence for renouncing such a succession, his kinsman, the duke of Cleves, insisted upon an augmentation of one hundred thousand for each of them, on which condition Ann of Juliers made a solemn renunciation of it the same year. Duke John count Palatine, de Deux-ponts, about four years afterwards married Magdalen, the third daughter of William of Juliers, making the same renunciation in favour of the eldest of his three sisters as duke Philip Lewis, his eldest brother, had done: Lewis, elector Palatine, William, landgrave of Hesse, Philip Lewis, count Palatine of Newburg, also agreed thereto. This was the fourth renunciation of the duke of Newburg. Lastly, Sibylla, the fourth of these princesses, married Charles of Austria, marquis of Burgaw; upon which occasion it was natural to suppose, that the prince their brother would not have forgot to insist upon the Austrian prince's making the same renunciation with his other three brothers-in-law: nevertheless, partly it appeared, that because this prince, who had no children, was become a valetudinarian; partly, that the portion money was not ready; and, lastly, because the government was managed very strangely; the duke of Cleves died, before his fourth brother in-law had made the same renunciation as the rest. Such were the rights of the four princes, the duke of Brandenburg and Prussia, the count Palatine of Newburg, the count Palatine de Deux-ponts, and the marquis of Burgaw.

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He died in
1592.He died at
the age of
forty-seven.

THE emperor alledged the following examples in his favour: In the year 1483, imagining the duchies of Juliers and Berg were, by the death of duke William, fallen to the empire, he bestowed them, by his own absolute will, on Albert duke of Saxony, to reward him for

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his services. Maximilian, the first son of Frederic, ratified and extended this donation to the person of Ernest, elector of Saxony, brother of Albert, in the year 1486. He confirmed it again in 1495, as at that time he stood in need of the princes of Saxony: but this consideration no longer subsisting, in the year 1508, the emperor left William of Juliers at liberty to dispose of his own estate, either to Mary, or such other of his daughters as he liked best. William dying in the year 1511, the elector of Saxony intended to take advantage of the emperor's donation, and deprive the duke of Cleves, who had married the heiress of it, of Juliers: but when he endeavoured to fix Maximilian on his side, that emperor, who feared nothing so much as the duke of Cleves, throwing himself into the arms of France, refused to interfere, and advised the elector to patience, giving him only general promises that he should lose nothing thereby. Moreover, when John Frederic, elector of Saxony, married Sibylla, daughter of John duke of Cleves and Juliers, in the year 1526, Charles V. expressly confirmed the right of that princess, and acted in pursuance thereof: for when in 1546, he made peace with duke William of Juliers, whom he had vanquished, on condition, that the duke should marry Mary of Austria, daughter of Ferdinand, king of the Romans and Hungary, he allowed in the marriage contract of this princess, who was his niece, that her daughter should succeed to the duchies of Juliers, &c. in case she should have no sons; which was also admitted after him by Maximilian II. in 1566. It is true that the reigning emperor, tho' strongly solicited, in 1602, by the duke of Newburg, to confirm that constitution of his predecessors, constantly refused it; and the only reason he gave for such refusal was, that he could not pretend to prejudice any person's right.

AFTER this, the reader will easily discern a very distinguishing difference between the justice of the pretensions of the two parties, much to the advantage of the lawful heir, but very unfavourable to the Austrians; the former grounded their claim on a series of regulations unanimously and uniformly received; the latter only producing grants of pure power, which do little honour to the Aulic council, and moreover, by their variation and contradiction, so unstable as scarcely to found any right.

HOWEVER, the duke of Cleves was no sooner dead, than each party began to think seriously of maintaining its right. The emperor Rodolphus gave the investiture of Juliers and Cleves to the archduke Leopold

opold of Austria, a step he would not have taken, had it not been to be beforehand with his most christian majesty. This step was made in the name of Leopold, who declared by deputy to the king, that his intention in entering upon Cleves, was neither to do any thing that could be in the least prejudicial to his majesty's interest, nor yet to treat the princes, his competitors, with rigour; that he should be contented, provided they behaved to his imperial majesty as they ought upon this occasion, and entreated the king not to enter into a discussion of an affair in which he himself was alone concerned with them.

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HENRY's answer to this deputy was in very general terms. He was surpris'd, that all this time he had heard nothing of the other princes, who ought to have been the first to address him; nor was he less so at the information received from Hottoman, that none of them thought of levying troops, as if they could hope to obtain any thing otherwise than by force of arms; but they soon saw what part they had to take: and if it was true that his majesty, in slightly reproaching them for their silence, took the first step, they followed it so well, that, having invited Boissise, Bongars, and the king's other agents to their council, they appointed an ambassador to entreat his majesty, in their name, to support them against the archduke, or rather against the emperor, which ambassador had good reason to be satisfied with the success of his commission. But, before we give a detail of ensuing facts, let us make some reflections upon the real political interest of France at this juncture.

THESE six cantons or small provinces, Cleves, Juliers, Berg, La-Mark, Ravensburg, and Ravestein, were so far from being indifferent to France, that she was rather interested in them in a very peculiar manner, for several reasons, of which their strength and riches were not the least. They lay upon our frontiers; the competitors for them were not only near, but formidable neighbours; at least the emperor was so. This was reason sufficient not to let them fall into every hand. The war, rais'd for their possession, may become general throughout Europe, consequently reach us against our will. This would certainly be the case, were the United Provinces, whom they particularly and necessarily influence, only concerned; their connection being so evident, that giving these disputed provinces to our friends, is, as it were, taking all Flanders from our enemies; as, on the contrary, leaving them open to the invasion of the house of Austria, were to expose the whole United Provinces to destruction: for I know not how otherways to call
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the necessity to which they would be reduced, had they none but enemies for their neighbours, whose favour they must court by repeated sacrifices, which must terminate absolutely in their ruin. The truth of this was never more fully proved than from the disadvantages under which the States laboured, when the duke of Cleves, even but privately, supported the Spaniards. Is it prudent to suffer so useful and so expensive a work to be destroyed, when about to be completed? and let me add with sincerity, a work which, in spite of all our efforts, has, by the last treaty between Spain and the States, been not a little shocked.

If from this point of view we pass to his most christian majesty's vast designs upon all Europe, what better means is there of engaging in them those powers, who could not be otherwise reconciled to them? This is the surest way of attaching to us all the princes of the empire, of restoring the liberty and dignity of the Germanic body, giving a mortal blow to the imperial authority, and striking the whole house of Austria with consternation: and this advantage, which France, for her own private interest, ought at any rate to have purchased, she shall enjoy, as the effect of disinterested generosity towards persecuted princes, without either jealousy or envy.

To this it may be objected, that these princes have hitherto shewn themselves very averse to entertaining these notions of us, if we may judge from their evident unwillingness to be obliged to us; even when forced to allow that, without our assistance, they can do nothing: but after all, this is no more than what unavoidably happens in the beginning of a difficult complicated affair, wherein many persons are concerned; for, in such schemes, their first consideration is to weigh their interest with their powers. Even when we know what is to be done, we are not agreed with respect to the manner of doing it; especially in confederacies, where opinions multiply in proportion to the number of parties concerned: besides, I insist, that this irresolution of the German princes, from whatever motives it proceeds, ought not to prevent his majesty from taking part with them. I lay it down as a maxim, that in all important affairs, which tend to the general good, it is to the cause only, and not to the persons we must be attached; for the former presents but one single view, and that always the same; whereas the latter is so subject to change, and presents such a variety of hateful objects, that, closely to consider them, would give us a disinclination to the most useful and necessary enterprises. Politically speaking, we ought always to be content with having removed obstacles, without being deterred.

tered from proceeding, by any difficulties that may remain, and time of itself will remove: but with this restriction, that I speak of designs whereof the contrivers need not be ashamed; such as was ours in supporting the heir to the duke of Cleves, and settling the ballance of Europe. We have then only to begin; each moment will furnish us with fresh resources: the princes now so backward and irresolute, will acquire courage from time and the flush of success; and the ardour of war will inspire them with those sentiments of our generosity, which they are to be condemned for not having at first entertained.

BEHOLD a motive in favour of those who, tho' they approve of our generosity, yet are reduced perhaps to wish that it may not be merely gratuitous on our side. Whatever success our arms may have in conjunction with those princes who form pretensions on the succession of Cleves, yet still these princes have certain fears that, one day or other, they shall be divested of all their possessions by the emperor, whenever the situation of things come to change. Is it a rash conclusion to imagine, that this fear, joined to the reflections they made, on the difficulty of preserving provinces divided amongst them into so many fragments, so little conducive to their respective utility, so desirably tempting to their enemies, especially to a king of France of an enterprising nature, should not induce them, one day or other, to enter into an accommodation with his most christian majesty, whether they received the value of these territories in ready money, or in some equivalent in tracts of land, for example, in the heart of France, as in Berry, Bourbon Marche, and Auvergne? Now, supposing this to happen, what advantages must accrue to France in this double connection of interest and dependency, which will unite part of Germany with her for ever? And what cannot be denied, is, that the present succours, which his majesty shall grant to these princes, will be a pledge to them to demand them for the future, in order to preserve themselves in their new acquisitions, a request which the king can pay on demand. Many people may think, that what I have been saying is purely chimerical; and perhaps I may surprize several, by informing them, that the thing, far from being absolutely impossible, as has been imagined, had been long in agitation by third persons; and that on the day it produced itself, by the concurrence of causes so favourable, was on the point of being proposed to the princes concerned, and might very probably have been accepted by them.

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BUT to leave these public and private considerations, let us consider the thing more simply. The king of France had already engaged himself to undertake the support of those princes; had neglected nothing to attach them to him; had offered them his assistance at all times; had declared in terms sufficiently high, that he would allow no one to use them ill; and had also ordered his troops to advance to the frontiers; so that it was a point of honour and justice of long continuance, and it was inconsistent with his character to recede. Our kings have been rarely insensible to this impulse of generosity, which induces them to support unfortunate princes. This was not precisely the present case. The persons in question had rendered real services to his majesty, and shewn on all occasions, that nothing but want of power hindered them from performing greater. It became Henry, therefore, as a friend, and as one obliged, to recollect all that they had done for him in his days of distress. When Francis I. aided Philip landgrave of Hesse, uncle to the present, to restore duke Ulric to the possession of the duchy of Wirtenburg; when Henry II. joined Maurice, elector of Saxony, to deliver the German princes oppressed by Charles V. their personal honour only, and that of their crown, induced them to take these steps under very considerable inconveniences. They had fewer inducements than Henry the Great, the motive of affection and gratitude only, more powerful indeed than any others.

AND here I may positively contradict those who complain of involving his majesty, out of pure gallantry, in a war with Spain, capable of inflaming all Christendom, merely on account of some foreign interest, which might be adjudged without drawing the sword. These are equally ignorant of the nature of the thing, and the consequences of the undertaking. They will at length allow, that, in the present conjuncture, the enterprize, which has for its object the assurance of the succession of Cleves to the true heirs, is an affair of so prompt execution, that the public will hardly know of it, but by the effects: that Spain, by making peace with her proper subjects, a peace by which, such is their ruinous situation, they are bettered in no respect, hath afforded us a proof of such a political weakness, and exhausted condition, that she must submit to the laws of an imposed neutrality: that the emperor is no longer in a condition to dispute with us, he being defrauded of his succours from one part of Germany; and we, on the other hand, having more means to act than we had for a considerable time. In short, it is a scheme which ought to cost France little more than

than to say she will execute it. The event hath justified all this beyond contradiction.

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THIS therefore is properly an affair of no consequence, if we consider it as respecting only the business of Cleves, and they who talk in another manner, do it certainly only for this reason, that, speaking according to the rules of politics, it is only an introduction to another more illustrious and extensive, which Europe has observed to be formed by his majesty, for the depression of the house of Austria. I am so sincere, as readily to allow that business must be done at once, and such was the advice I gave to my master, who was of the same opinion with myself. Of this I can only convince those, who, like me, will examine the affair without passion or prejudice, and of those men I hold myself certain, because their opinion will be the result of every reflection that can be made upon the different schemes by which this design may be carried on. I will give an account of them, such as they rose in my own mind, when I was most deeply engaged in those considerations.

THE first opinion, and the least plausible, is to sit quiet and see the parties concerned, fight out their quarrel, or at least assist our friends only with our councils. As policy will always direct us not to stand unarmed to look upon those that are at war, it would be necessary to keep a body of troops upon the frontier, if for no other purpose than to take advantage of every change which any moment might produce. By taking this side, therefore, we make no alteration in our expences, but that we are obliged to continue them longer than if, by engaging vigorously, we should put an end to it at a blow.

I SAY the same thing of the second scheme, which appears on the first view sufficiently specious, that is, to support the princes against the house of Austria; not openly, but by secret means, as we have already done in the war of Flanders. The peace subsisting in other respects among all the other powers of Europe, there was reason to fear, lest these private succours should be too weak to enable our allies to resist the two branches of the house of Austria united against them, which is the end to be kept always in view, as is generally agreed; and, in this case, we should have been obliged to keep at all the three points of land where their contested country borders upon France and Flanders, a body of forces consisting at least of four thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, advantageously posted upon our own ground, or in the neutral country, where, however, they were to have performed

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no act of hostility, but only have guarded the passages, kept the enemy at a distance, and prevented the total ruin of those in whose favour we engaged: in this case the expence would have been great, and its consequence only the protraction of that war, which, by taking it vigorously in hand, might be finished at a blow. It is said in a political proverb; "He that gives soon, gives twice:" to which I shall add another; "He that gives only half gives twice, and gives nothing." Of this we have a late example in the revolt of the United Provinces, that this manner of supporting an ally, which upon the whole is equally chargeable with a quick and powerful assistance, has no other effect than to force them soon or late upon an accommodation, when we might have withdrawn them all at once from the dominion of Spain. If this be all the advantage which our alliance will procure to the princes of Germany, we oblige them but little, or not at all, there being this difference between them and Holland, that under whatever pretensions a treaty is offered them, it can only be intended as a lure, by which the emperor will draw them within his power, and destroy them; and who can tell that we shall not ourselves feel the consequences? It was a just expression of Bongars, "That Leopold in Juliers, is a ferret in a warren." This scheme therefore is of no other use than to save the king a little personal trouble, who at most would be under no necessity to go farther than Chalons or Rheims.

BETWEEN this plan and that of a general combination against the house of Austria, another has been contrived of a middle kind, of which the last Savoy expedition may be given as an instance. In this it is laid down, as a supposition, that the allies on each part, act as if they had agreed amongst themselves to support the cause only so far as may be necessary to gain the point openly debated, and without pretending to infringe what they had promised for themselves in the treaty of Verbins. If this is not a mere supposition, it appears at least to be a scheme of measures that would be long, expensive, and perplexing, which must begin by a discussion of the proportion of troops, which each of the allies must furnish; and then an enquiry after funds that may support these troops for two years at least, of which the first year, and the three first months of the next, will be spent in going and coming, and settling operations. The winter is rough in that country where the war is to be carried on; and, that the army may not be ruined, the cold must be at an end before any action commences. In an enterprise where the king will not be at the head as chief of the army, it will be sufficient for him to put the troops designed against Cleves under a prince, or a marshal of France; but he must, nevertheless, make
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the proper preparations, and advance the necessary money, of which the greater sums will be required, as he will have the appearance, however he may endeavour to avoid it, of supporting all this burden alone, or nearly alone. He will be likewise obliged to keep three thousand men in Dauphiné, and the same number in Provence, in Languedoc, and in Guienne. I can then see nothing better to be done, than to chuse a certain number of places so situated as to be able to defend one another, and to serve as a chain to join the country of Cleves with France and the United Provinces; and to fortify these cities, which will again be a considerable expence.

THUS all these reflections bring us back to the first expedient, as the most efficacious, to keep measures no longer with Spain; to treat the house of Austria as the general enemy of Europe; to raise it rivals and adversaries on every side; to pour strong armies upon it; to claim back the country of Cleves; and, when we have made the demand, to do ourselves justice, by seizing upon it, and upon all the places which shall be judged sufficient for the common cause, upon the side of Luxemburg, Limburg, Aix, &c. at the same instant to extend our forces, and cover the frontiers of the Alps and Pyrenees: in a word, to set up the standard, and show to all the world that the day is at last come, for which the king of France has been preparing so many years, and with so much care; that this prince will show himself now proceeding under the direction of honour, armed to revenge one part of the world, for the attacks of an unjust and haughty power; and who then will refuse to follow him? We are assured by our correspondents of almost all Italy and Germany; we take along with us the United Provinces, shewing them their enemy by our power removed from their frontiers; we shall untie the hands and the tongues of those powers who are now restrained by fear; and, if our endeavours are not equally supported on all sides, the general resentment, which we may now make use of, will secure us from being thwarted by more than a very small number.

IT must be expected that the house of Austria will put heaven and earth into commotion to put aside, or to sustain a blow that threatens her ruin; but when an exact view is taken of all the support which she can be supposed to have, either from herself or her allies, if it be generally confessed that Europe is in a state of agitation from which it cannot be set free, but by long and cruel wars, which will perhaps restore its liberty, and perhaps take it away for ever; can she chuse a better time for the determination of her fate than this, when the hazard is least, and the success most likely? This is what I have now to say,

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It was the partisans of Spain, the supporters of the Old League, the enemies of the protestants, and the disaffected French, jealous of the king's glory, and the kingdom's prosperity, who used their utmost endeavours to dissuade his majesty from engaging in those great designs, which he had formed; but, finding that all their efforts had proved ineffectual, and that he was upon the point of carrying them into execution, they exerted all the arts which yet remained. They took advantage of Henry's propensity to pleasure, and sought to raise a conflict in his mind, between his desire of fame, and those inclinations which made a soft and voluptuous life too alluring. Again they endeavoured to fill him with suspicions of the whole body of protestants in general, and of me in particular: they placed before his eyes his kingdom torn to pieces by factions, who eagerly expected a war, at a time when they might act their treasons with impunity; and the princes his associates, as artful deceivers, who laughed at his vain projects. There were some moments when Henry, tho' upon his guard against this sort of artifice, suffered himself to be shaken by it; and I myself perhaps contributed to discourage him without knowing it, by representing to him, that a prince, who had expanded his heart to entertain designs so noble, ought to begin the execution of them, by shutting out all fondness for trifling amusements and expences, which had only mere convenience in view: that, on a like occasion, Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, and several of our own kings, had lessened the expences of their household; as likewise those of the queen. In a word, I told him, that he ought no more to think of pleasure, but in vanquishing his enemies; or, at least, till victory was his own.

It happened very fortunately to fix the wavering mind of Henry, that the German princes, of their own accord, and in opposition to the emperor, held an assembly at Hall, in Suabia, to deliberate upon the means of restoring the circles to their former liberty. They met there on the day appointed, to the number of eighteen or twenty*. The Venetians, the prince of Orange, the States of Holland, and the duke of Savoy, who had at last taken a resolution to engage in the

* See the names of these princes, M. MSS. R--- Mem. d'etat de Villeroi, Vol. de Boissise's speech, the manner and resolutions of this assembly, in Vol. 9765, III. p. 230, & seq.---Merc. Franc. anno 1610. Siri, ib. Vol IV. p. 68.

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common cause, sent deputies thither to represent them; the manifestos, which were carefully circulated, joined to the public discourse; and what was privately intimated by Boiffise, and other agents of his majesty, had so good an effect, that it was publicly deliberated to stop the progress of the house of Austria; and it was resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to his most christian majesty, in the name of the assembled powers, to offer him all their forces, and to demand a promise of his, when required. These ambassadors were appointed, and set out directly.

HENRY had just given them their first audience, when he came to the arsenal to tell me all they had said and offered, and to consult with me upon the answer he should give to their proposals. He desired me to consider the matter attentively, while he went to dine at Zamet's; adding, that he would return, and pass part of the afternoon with me in my garden, where he appointed me to meet him.

WE met there accordingly, and Henry, taking my hand, ordered every one to retire, and went to the terrace, which was the place where we usually held our most serious conversations. "Well, said his majesty, what do you think of our affairs; for some are of one opinion, and some of another." This appearing to me a favourable opportunity to confirm him in his resolution, I shewed him plainly, that those who opposed it were doubtless excited to do so by secret motives, which I seemed to be ignorant of: since, if we examined things in three principal points of view, namely, with regard to his own person, the state of affairs within his kingdom, and of those without, there were no difficulties to be comprehended; for, without flattery, he was, in the opinion of the French nation, superior to the greatest warriors and statesmen of his age; and that such a school could not fail of producing men excellent in both capacities, as it had already done, which would assist him in bearing the weight of a new burden he was preparing for himself and them. With regard to the affairs at home, there were neither princes, grandees, nor cities in his kingdom, which were in a condition, who were disposed, or had the means of retarding his enterprise, much less presume to attack him, when they saw him at the head of all the forces of Europe: and, besides this, he was going to open a theatre where those braggarts would find occasions of signalizing themselves much more gloriously than in dark plots, where nothing was to be gained but infamy: and, lastly, as to the affairs without the kingdom, the difficulty of uniting so many powers,

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powers in the same design, which had hitherto been considered as the only one to be feared, would be happily removed in a very short time.

“AND NOW, Sire, said I, all that remains to be considered, is, whether you have the means of continuing the war as long as it is necessary upon the same foot as you are going to begin it: for I see plainly, that France is the hinge upon which all must turn: therefore, pursued I, I think it fit to tell your majesty, that with regard to the chief point, which is money, provided your war continues only three years, and that you have not occasion for more than forty thousand men, I will supply you with money sufficient for them, without laying any new tax upon your people; and as for other things, such as provisions, ammunition, and artillery, I will shew you such a quantity of them, that you shall acknowledge there is enough; and then, I believe, we shall make war in such a manner, that of the three standards, white, black, and red *, we shall not need to display any but the first, and that once for all: the fate of those who first resist, will be a lesson for all the rest.” “But not to interrupt you,” said his majesty to me, “pray how much money have I? for I never yet knew exactly.” “How much do you think you have, Sire?” replied I. “Have I twelve millions?” said he. “A little more,” said I. “How! fourteen?” resumed he, going on, still augmenting it two millions more each time, because my constant answer was a little more, till he came to thirty millions. “Oh! I ask no more,” cried he, embracing me in a transport of joy. “I have drawn up a paper, said I, by which your majesty will find that you may depend upon a new fund of forty millions extraordinary, without encroaching upon the usual expences of your household and the state, upon a supposition, however, that my œconomy is not traversed.” “And where is this paper?” said Henry precipitately. “I will give it you, Sire, I replied, whenever you please, written with my own hand.”

I AFTERWARDS shewed his majesty a way how to be assisted, both in men and money, by his allies, provided that he would continue fixed in this part of his designs, in pursuance of which, as we had

* By this expression, the author means, after their intention was once made, and that no prince or state would refuse to join after they had punished the first who should endeavour to oppose them.

agreed,

agreed, he would enrich them all with the conquests he gained from the house of Austria, without reserving any thing for himself. "How!" said Henry, would you have me expend sixty millions in conquering territories for others, and keep nothing for myself? And pray what is to become of Spain? you say nothing of her." "Spain, Sire," I replied, is to remain as she is: we must not take any thing from her king: she must serve to keep all those whom your liberalities have enriched under the shadow of your protection, a king of Spain being always powerful enough to oppress them separately; when no longer supported by you, they will never fail in the gratitude and respect they owe you." I likewise, without having recourse to that general maxim, that too great extent of territory rather weakens than strengthens a government, easily brought Henry to acknowledge, that many inconveniencies would attend his appropriating the conquered countries to himself; that it would be a subject for eternal hatred and jealousy; and, all things considered, the greatest and most solid advantage he could acquire by his conquests, if he distributed them with equity, was, a right of being regarded as the sole benefactor and arbitrator of Europe.

WHAT I most earnestly recommended to him, was, to guard against every possible reverse of fortune; as, for example, if he should be abandoned or betrayed by his allies, to have it always in his power to bring back his armies into his own kingdom, not only without danger, but honour, to facilitate which, nothing was more necessary than to build forts at proper distances on the road of Cleves. To this piece of advice, I added another, which was to provide great plenty of provisions in the neighbourhood of those provinces; for, besides that it was not easy to carry them through a country so enclosed and crossed by rivers as that was, the whole canton was divided among several little princes, who had already gathered in the fruits of the present harvest, great part of it being pillaged before: that it would be scarce possible for an army to subsist there fifteen days, without being obliged to have recourse to the magazines of those princes, where every thing would be set at so high a price, that all his money would scarcely suffice to purchase what was wanted. I therefore told his majesty, that I would, if he consented to it, send for the merchants with whom I used formerly to treat, when I had any great enterprises in hand, and would agree with them for every thing we had occasion for at a reasonable price.

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THE king, at parting, collecting in one view all that I had said to him, told me, that he was going to consider of the resolution it was proper for him to take, and desired that I would not neglect to examine every thing with the deepest attention; that he would come very often and confer with me; and that I might begin to make all those preparations I had mentioned, by which I concluded that I had obtained part, at least, of what I desired.

I SENT for the merchants of Liege, Aix, Triers, and Cologne, with whom I made the following agreement: That they should furnish me, in the space of three months, with all sorts of ammunition, provisions, forage, and warlike stores, and send them to that part of the frontier near Cleves, which I should appoint. I had drawn up an exact list of every thing which was necessary for an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and five thousand horse, at the same price they bore in the present fair the month of October: that I, on my side, should advance them the sum of six hundred thousand crowns, which should remain in their hands a year at least, giving them at Paris a million for security of this sum, which was to indemnify them for the expences of purchase, selling at loss, waste, and other accidents.

Francis de Joyeuse.

THE king was so well pleased with my proceedings, that he ordered me to put the finishing hand to them, and, in the overflowings of his joy, recounted all to Sillery, Villeroi, and Jeannin, and afterwards to the count of Soissons, cardinal Joyeuse, the duke of Epernon, and several others, some of whom applied themselves with such malice and dexterity to make him believe that I had drawn him into my snares, by sending those magazines out of the kingdom, which I had long wished for an opportunity of doing, to appropriate them to myself, that this prince, tho' already prejudiced against every thing which came from them, at length swallowed the poison; and when he saw me, some days afterwards, asked me if the contract for provisions was signed. I replied it was not; because I thought it a thing of too much consequence to be done without a previous application to the council, which had not met since. Henry, who in this procedure ought to have found nothing but exactness, thought it had an appearance of falshood and artful precaution, which confirmed his suspicions, and therefore bid me not conclude the bargain till I had an order from him. "Sire," replied I, still ignorant of his meaning, "the merchants will not stay." "If they will not stay," resumed he, with the same dryness

and reserve, "they may go back again." This opened my eyes, and anger being now roused in my breast as well as his, "I begin to perceive, Sire, said I, that you have something in your thoughts which I am not to know: I shall send the merchants back, since you will have it so; but you will be pleased to remember this affair another time." Saying this we separated with great coldness on both sides.

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No more mention was made of the provisions till a long time after, when the king coming to the arsenal to confer with me upon other affairs, before some of his courtiers, as usual, took me aside, and said, "I have been informed that the States of Holland will send ambassadors to me in a few days, to settle all that we are to do: in the mean time, let us make the necessary preparations, that nothing may be wanting on our part." This was all he said then. The deputies arrived soon after with letters from the prince of Orange and the council of the States, for his majesty and for me. Henry opened them all, and finding that they assured him they would answer for the success of his enterprize, provided he would take the precaution to have all the necessary provisions upon the spot, giving him the same advice on this occasion as I myself had done, he began to be disabused, and, closing my letters again, gave them to L'Oserai to carry to me. I found out this artifice immediately, and thought it allowable to return it with another for as good a purpose. I sealed my letters, after I had read them as he had done, and agreed with L'Oserai that he should bring them to me, as if for the first time, when the king, who was to come in the afternoon to the arsenal, was with me.

HENRY came accordingly, and began the conversation, by asking me if I had received letters from Messieurs the States: "For I am informed, said he, that there are some for you." "I have not got them, Sire," replied I. "You will have them soon, resumed the king; for I have given orders to have them brought to you, and mine also: but, in the mean time, let us talk about the provisions; for we shall go at a time when there is none to be got." "I foresaw this long ago, Sire, said I, and I would have given proper orders for every thing that was necessary: you yourself not only approved of my dispatch, but even commanded it. However you have, by the malice of my enemies, been persuaded to alter your resolution, the inconveniency of which will, I am afraid, fall heavy upon you; for that which might have been had easily and at a mo-

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“derate price, at that time, which was the season of harvest, will be very dearly and with difficulty purchased now; and, what is still worse, I know not whether any one will be bold enough to undertake to furnish with provisions an army of more than an hundred and fifty thousand men, and thirty thousand horses.” “Who will undertake it?” replied Henry; why you, unless you have an inclination to offend me.” “I would rather die than offend you, Sire, said I; but you ought not to lay your commands upon me to do what is now become impossible, since you would not permit me to do it at a proper time.” “Let us speak no more of what is past, resumed the king; think only of the future. You must undertake this affair yourself, and, to your other posts and employments, add that of superintendant of provisions. I desire, as a friend, that you will accept of this office; for I know, if you act as you have always done, you will acquit yourself well in it.”

I REPRESENTED to his majesty very seriously, that I had already sufficient business upon my hands in the care of the artillery, which alone, and in the present conjuncture especially, might employ four persons; besides which, I had all the ordinary expences of the state to provide, those of his majesty's household, the queen's and their children; as likewise of the fortifications, buildings, and other public works; and, lastly, for all his troops, either at home or abroad. “How! interrupted Henry, do you really refuse then to grant a request, which I make you as one friend would another? If you continue thus obstinate, I shall believe that you no longer love me; and that you really nourish those designs, which, for a long time, endeavours have been used to persuade me you do.” “What, Sire,” said I hastily (taking advantage of the words which had escaped him) “am I then indeed so unhappy, that, when I sacrifice my life for your service, your honour, and your fame, you should still return, and, on the slightest suggestions, to suspicions of my fidelity. This, I confess, wounds me cruelly, deprives me of all courage to serve you; and will at length put an end to my life.” “Well,” resumed Henry, who had resolved to expose me to all kinds of assaults, “since you think in this manner, I shall easily find a remedy for all these difficulties: we must break off our journey, pass the time as well as we can, and live in peace with all the world; agree with all parties, and give them money to make them easy: for we have amassed a great quantity, and we will use it for that purpose.” “It is well resolved on, Sire, replied I; and, for myself, I declare, that I am satisfied,

“since

“since it will free me from many vexations, watchings, labours, reproaches, and dangers.”

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HENRY interrupted me here with an emotion of rage he was not able to restrain, and reproached me with being a dissembler. “I know, said he, that what you have said, is far from being your real thoughts or desires: it is you who would be most grieved if we do not make war, which you have so long and so earnestly pressed me to do.” “It is true, Sire, replied I, that I think fortune presents you with a favourable opportunity to acquire honour and fame, if you are disposed to improve it; but, if not, it is fit that your servants should pretend not to see it. I added, that his great designs not only turned upon his own person, but also depended so entirely upon himself, that, as he alone would secure the success, so likewise, by one single gesture, or word imprudently uttered, he might ruin them for ever.” At length, having endeavoured to hit upon a medium which might compose the difference between us, “If your majesty, said I, will be pleased to commit the superintendance of the provisions to Messieurs Jeannin and Caumartin, I promise to assist them with my advice, my labour, and my credit; and also with men and money, with a sollicitude as great as if my life depended upon it: but, if I undertake the office alone, you will never be persuaded to believe, that the difficulties which may arise have any other cause than my negligence or want of attachment to you.” “Well! replied Henry, I shall see what is to be done. However, if those persons will not engage in the affair without you, you must prepare to labour in conjunction with them, unless you resolve to see me break off my journey.” L’Oserai entering that moment with the letters, he received a severe reprimand from the king, for neglecting to bring them to me before.

FROM this time his majesty was continually employed in making preparations for his great enterprise. The councils which were held from thenceforwards were kept very secret, and most frequently met at the arsenal. The king always admitted M. de Vendôme to these councils; and laboured to instruct him, as well in all affairs of state, as of war. He perceived, that there was a little coldness between the prince and myself; and, being resolved to reconcile us, took the following method to effect it: “I have been informed,” said he to me one day, “that my son de Vendôme, and yours, are at variance with each other. I am desirous of reconciling them: send for your son to-morrow morn-

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“ing at eight o'clock into your closet; I will bring my son thither at that hour, and talk to them both.” Accordingly, when we were met, Henry took the young men, each by the hand, and said to them, “You see how greatly I love M. de Sully, and with what freedom I live with him. I would have you two on the same terms with each other, and follow our advice, we who are old and experienced, to the end, that your youth may support itself with the prop of our age. And you, my son, honour and respect the duke of Sully as myself; and often visit him, that you may learn from him the art of war, and method to be used in business of state: through his affection for me, he will communicate his knowledge to you as freely as to his own son, whom I desire you would love as your brother; and I command you both to bury in oblivion whatever may have occasioned any abatement of your former friendship.”

I SAW with pleasure some new obstacle removed every day. The alliance, which had been proposed to the duke of Savoy*, and which had been already mentioned, was eagerly accepted. The king of Sweden offered himself as an ally to France; and, to connect the interests of both crowns more securely, gave the king to understand, that it would be in France where he would seek for a wife for the prince his son, who, young as he was, courageously seconded all his brave resolutions. The kings of England and Denmark were already above half gained. The protestants of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and the Upper Austria, stimulated by our agents, and yet more determined by the cruelties which the emperor's ministers, excited by the jesuits, practised upon them, had lately assured us, that, as soon as the war should be declared, they would make a powerful diversion in those borders of Germany. We found by letters from Bongars, and the landgrave of Hesse, that the elector of Saxony would not be prevailed upon to take part against the emperor; but, to make amends for this bad news, the elector of Bavaria entered into an unlimited engagement with us, upon condition that he should be chosen to succeed the

* See the treaty concluded this year between France and Savoy, in Nevers's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 832, and the definitive treaty signed at Brusol, the 25th of April, in the year following; by which the king of France engages, amongst other things, to put the duke of Savoy in possession of the Milanese, *ib.* p. 880. This treaty is set forth, according to the Italian original,

by Vittorio Siri, *ib.* Vol. II. p. 236. But this writer contradicts himself, by saying, Vol. I. p. 512, that it was the duke of Sully who negotiated this agreement between France and Savoy; and asserting afterwards, p. 566, that it was the duke of Sully's intention the duke of Savoy should reap no other advantage from it, than only to obtain the protection of France.

emperor,

emperor, and actually named king of the Romans. The Swiss cantons appeared very favourably disposed towards us. In a word, none could resist the allurements of those conquests, which all were made to expect. The pope himself, the most difficult in appearance to be gained, shewed he was not insensible: upon my telling the nuncio one day, that I intended to make his master a king, he thanked me for this news, which, he said, was the best he could ever impart to his holiness.

BUT a resource still more certain, which we had begun to make use of, in case of refusal from the sovereign pontiff, and all the little states of Italy, as Florence, Mantua, Montferrat, Modena, Urbino, Genoa, and Lucca, was to march with an army into the Milanois, and force them all either to join or contribute, at least, some sums of money to the common armament. Lesdiguières had been commissioned to set on foot a body of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, with a train of artillery consisting of twelve pieces of cannon; and, while he was employed in making these levies, I set apart every month a fund of a hundred thousand crowns for their maintenance, the assignments for which were expediated and already sent. I expected that the duke of Savoy, the Venetians, who were the most zealous for, as indeed they were the most interested in this part of the scheme, and the pope, in case we could prevail upon him to declare himself, would each furnish as much.

THE storm began now to gather towards Germany. They had actually levied, for the great army which was destined for Cleves, twenty thousand foot, four thousand horse, and got ready a train of artillery consisting of no less than fifty cannons: the carriages, horses, mules, and all the rest of the baggage in proportion were alike well furnished, and in a fit condition for service. The levies finished, the army began to file off towards Cleves. Although the war was not yet declared, the company of two hundred men of arms, called the queen's, of which I was captain-lieutenant, received orders to be at Méziers, on the last day of July, complete and fully equipped.

THE king, who delayed to set up his standard till the next spring should afford a proper time to take the field, resolved to avoid every thing that might look like invasion till within ten days of his setting out. He wrote to the archduke acquainting him, that, being solicited by the lawful heirs of the duke of Cleves to assist them against certain persons, who, supported by several powerful princes, attempted to possess themselves

themselves

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themselves of their dominions, he could not refuse to aid them; and, as the road his army was to take lay through his territory, he entreated him to consent to his marching through as a friend; that he would commit no act of hostility, unless forced to it; and would keep his troops under exact discipline. The archduke's answer, which did not arrive till after his majesty's death, was to this effect:

“ My lord, it is in the quality of one of the humblest of your servants, that I entreat you will march through my territories: my gates shall be open to you, and provisions at your service, relying upon the assurance your majesty will, I hope, be pleased to give, that no act of hostility shall be committed during your march.”

SUCH was the state of affairs in France at the conclusion of the year 1609, the last months of which Henry had solely employed in bringing his scheme to perfection. The beginning of the following year produced no change in his resolutions, nor intermission to his labour: he was so entirely engrossed by them, that he often made very indiscreet confidences. On New-year's day, when I went to make him the usual compliments and presents, he was so well pleased with the device of the medals I brought him, that he put two of them in his pocket to shew to some of the courtiers. Upon these medals was represented the globe of the earth, self-balanced in the midst of an atmosphere, and assaulted, in vain, by winds and storms; with these words in Latin upon the exergue of the medal, “*Suo se pondere fulcit*,” altogether expressing the analogy between this emblem and the condition of our affairs, which, by the wise government of Henry, was capable of triumphing over all the efforts of our enemies. His majesty, at his rising from dinner, found the count of Soissons and the cardinals de Joyeuse and Du-Perron conversing together in his library: he shewed them the medals; and these gentlemen to please him, enlarged upon the praises he bestowed on me, saying, that I was so much the more worthy of them, as, that in men of quality, a taste for the belles lettres was seldom found united with the talents necessary to form a complete statesman and soldier.

I WAS present at this discourse, together with many other persons, who had followed the king into the library. He ordered all to retire, except M. de Vendôme, that he might converse with those I have first mentioned. La-Varenne and Béringhen staid likewise; but kept near the door. I was extremely uneasy when I heard his majesty be-
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gin to talk of his great project before several persons whom I knew were not all equally well affected to his interest; and my uneasiness increased upon his saying, that he would give Spain and the house of Austria such a blow, as would prevent them, for the future, from being considered as formidable enemies by France, whatever change might happen, either with regard to the royal family, or in the form of his government. These words were sufficiently imprudent; but he did not stop here, and was upon the point of betraying his secret, by discovering circumstances of greater importance. He no longer remembered what he had often said to me the year before, that he was beset with men who were continually laying snares for him, to penetrate into the bottom of his heart, and whose curiosity, on this occasion, could not but proceed from a very bad motive.

I took the liberty to pull him by the cloak, without any one's perceiving it, which he understood so well, that he stopped short as if he had forgot something; "My memory, said he, grows extremely bad: "I cannot recollect the names of persons, cities, and countries. I entreat you," pursued he, turning to me, "to draw up memorials of "all my own designs, their causes, and the expedients necessary for "effecting them: as likewise to give me in writing the substance of all "the conversations we have had together on these subjects, as far back "as you can recollect, that, when my memory is refreshed, I may "communicate all to such of my servants whom I judge most worthy "of my confidence." Thus did he extricate himself from the necessity he was under of saying more, since he had said so much. I replied, that I would not fail to give him those memorials he required; but that the work was not so short, nor so easy to be executed, as that I could promise to satisfy him, unless I had prepared those papers long before: notwithstanding which, I was apprehensive that they would be defective in many circumstances, which I could only know from his own mouth, and upon which we had only had short and interrupted conferences. The conversation ended in this manner.

THE king took part of the courtiers with him to hunt, and I went home to collect my papers, and put them in order. Some of those upon the affairs of the finances were of great importance: but did not directly relate to his majesty's vast designs. I set apart such as I judged most necessary, and six days afterwards carried them to his majesty, telling him, when I presented them, that those persons, who looked with an evil eye upon his project, would be much more mortified if they

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AMONG the papers I left with his majesty, those which related to his design were only general ones. When he had examined them, he came to the arsenal, and, shutting himself up with me in my closet, "I have read your memorials, said he, several times; there are many good things in them easily to be understood and executed; but there are others that require some consideration, and in which I do not think you will find your account." "I expected, Sire, replied I, to hear you speak thus; but, before you go any farther, I beg you will allow me to tell you, that I have two other papers to shew you, which, I am persuaded, will clear up all your doubts, and satisfy you entirely." "Oh, have you so? said the king: Well, give them to me; I will read them at my leisure, and then tell you my sentiments of them." In effect, these second memorials contained only some explanations of the former, and satisfactory answers to the doubts which might be raised, or difficulties that might be alledged. In these, likewise, the king found how great a number of soldiers it was necessary to raise for the execution of his vast designs, and what money it would require to maintain them.

THE king was eager to see these other papers, and came himself for them to the arsenal. He took his reading glass, which lay upon a table in my closet, and read them quite through with great attention, declaring afterwards, that the memorials I had given him, eight days before, were sufficiently explained by these; and that he now began to entertain hopes of success, seeing that such vast sums were at present amassed, or might be very easily. "For, provided we have money," said he, I know I shall not want soldiers, courage, or diligence. "I am sure of it, Sire, said I; and there is nothing too great for you to perform, or above what I expect from you. But here," added I, shewing him a little paper written and signed with my own hand, "is something which will remove all your doubts." Henry looking upon it, and perceiving that it was an account of what sums were then actually in his coffers, which amounted to thirty-six millions, embraced me eagerly three times; then, folding it up carefully and rising, "These
"two

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“two papers, said he, have given me great pleasure. I see there is a secure fund for my expences.” “You must not think, Sire,” replied I, as we came out of the closet, “that this is all I am able to do; no, in a case of extreme necessity, I may perhaps find the means of producing you as much more: your kingdom is so fertile and opulent, that it cannot be drained, provided good management be used; and that the money destined for the war be not applied to other purposes.” I shall not give the reader the trouble of examining all these accounts in this place, as I propose to insert them exactly, in the exposition I shall shortly make of Henry’s great designs.

His majesty went again to Fontainebleau at the beginning of March, but he staid there only fifteen days: and, by the letters I received from him during that time, it was plain he never lost sight of his project. They all turned upon circumstances relating to the war: in one, he mentions recruiting the five companies of the regiment of Piedmont to two hundred men each: in another, a company of light horse, which he had commanded Soubise to raise, giving him twelve thousand livres for that purpose; and ordered me to carry it to account immediately: in another, he directed me to confer with the chancellor Villeroi and Jeannin about all that was necessary for furnishing his troops with provisions, and to chuse the magazines along the Maes preferably to all others: in another of his letters he laid down the order that was to be observed in levying his soldiers, their march to the place of rendezvous, their enrolment, and many other details of the same kind. This letter was addressed more particularly to me, because it related to the levies which were to be made in my government.

I SHALL suppress, as usual, several other letters like those of the former years, which turned wholly upon small payments, and affairs of the finances; and shall transcribe only one, which the king thought proper to send me, in answer to some words that had escaped me, concerning the pleasure he took in hunting and in residing at Fontainebleau. “My friend, I have heard what you said upon my hunting, and my stay here; but do not imagine, that the pleasure I find in either shall lessen my attention to make the necessary preparations for our journey, or the raising my army, in all that depends upon me: do you only take care to provide money and artillery, that nothing may be wanting; but more especially provisions: for, according to the account you have given me of the ambassadors necessary to be sent to the foreign courts, the presidents Jeannin and Caumartin

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“ must be of the number. The others I leave to your choice; for to
 “ you I shall apply on every occasion. I have often considered what
 “ you said to me concerning my wife and another person, and the
 “ promises you exact from me. I shall speak to you more fully on this
 “ subject when I see you, which will be in two days. Adieu, my
 “ friend. Fontainebleau, March 15.”

HENRY, at his return from Fontainebleau, employed the remainder of March, and all April entirely, in putting the finishing hand to every thing that still remained to be done for opening the campaign, which he was resolved to do as soon as possible. He came frequently to the arsenal, and remained many hours shut up with me alone. The time passed away very swiftly while we discoursed upon the accomplishment of his great designs; and a thousand considerations, which, at the eve of so important an enterprize, presented themselves to his mind, both with respect to foreign affairs and the necessary disposition of those at home, that no inconvenience and disorder might attend his absence. For this purpose, the king ordered me to compose a long memorial upon war and affairs of state, which, after we had together examined every particular, he took pleasure in correcting with his own hand.

His majesty appointed the following persons to reside in the quality of ambassadors in the several courts of Europe, while he was employed in the execution of his great design: my brother was to be sent to Rome, and the other principalities and republics of Italy, who had not yet declared for the confederacy; Bullion to the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy; Caumartin to the Swiss cantons, Grifons, and their allies; Schomberg to the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Brunswick, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the other princes and cities of Germany, which had not yet entered into the alliance; Bongars to Hungary, Bohemia, and Transilvania; Boissife to Denmark, Sweden, and the cities situated upon the Baltick; Jeannin to Great Britain and the United Provinces, and the heirs of the principality of Cleves; Ancel to Vienna and Poland, Préaux to the archdukes, and Montglat to Constantinople.

THE government at home was destined for the queen, with the title of regent, assisted by a council, without which she could not conclude any thing; and which his majesty composed of the cardinals de Joyeuse and Du-Perron; the dukes of Maïenne, Montmorency, and Montbazon; the

the marshals Briffac and Fervaques, Messieurs de Châteauneuf, keeper of the seal of the regency, de Harlay, de Nicolai, de Châteauneuf, de Liancourt, de Pont-carré, de Gévres, de Villemontée, and de Maupcou. This council was not only obliged to act conformably to the instructions which were given them, but were also tied up from determining any thing upon affairs of great consequence, till they had first informed and consulted his majesty upon them. This great council had under it fourteen smaller ones, composed each of five persons chosen out of the clergy, the noblesse, the lawyers, financiers, and the magistrates of the city of Paris. The number of these little councils was regulated by that of the provinces, or governments into which the kingdom was divided, in the following order: The isle of France, Brittany, Normandy, Picardy, Champaign, Burgundy, Bresse, Lyonois, Forez, Beaujolis; and Auvergne, Dauphiné, Guyenne, Poitou, Aunis, Xaintonge, Angoumois; and Limosin, Orleans, Anjou; and Touraine, Maine, Perche, Berry, Bourbon, Nivernois, and La-Marche.

ABOUT this time, preparations of a very different nature were making in Paris, which Henry beheld with a deep regret; I mean, the ceremony of the queen's coronation. He had so strong a reluctance to it, that no motive, less powerful than his complaisance for the queen, could have forced him to consent to it. That princess, as soon as she had obtained an order for this ceremony, hurried on the preparations with the utmost eagerness. I have already mentioned the reasons her creatures urged for her speedy coronation; reasons which must appear very extravagant, or highly criminal. Henry proposed to leave Paris immediately after the ceremony; and, as this could not occasion a longer delay than fifteen days, orders were issued for all the troops, both horse and foot, to begin their march directly to Champaign. The six thousand Swiss, which the king had caused to be levied, were conducted to Mouson by the duke of Rohan, who had gone to the frontier to receive them. I sent away all the ordnance. Never before had France seen a train of artillery so complete and so well furnished; and perhaps never will again. My son put himself at the head of it, by virtue of his post of grand master, which his majesty had been so good to give him the surivance of. I prepared to follow soon after with eight millions of money.

AT length the king gave the signal of his departure to the foreign powers, by the letter he wrote to the archduke; and here it follows,

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such as it was, composed by me, and such as the duke received, if Villeroi, through whose hands it passed, as secretary of state, did not alter it, which he had a great inclination to do.

“ BROTHER,

“ SINCE I cannot refuse, to my best allies and confederates, the assistance they require of me, against those who dispute with them the succession to the duchies and earldoms of Cleves, Juliers, La-Mark, Bergh, Ravensburg, and Ravestein, I am preparing to march thither with my whole army; and, because my road lies through your territories, I am willing to give you notice of it, and know of you whether I am to enter your country as a friend or an enemy; so, in expectation of your answer, I beseech God, &c.

I KNOW not what judgment ought to be formed of a report which prevailed at that time, and was confirmed to the king, at Fontainebleau, by Girard, who arrived at Brussels on the 7th of March, that in the court and dominions of the archduke, people were persuaded the king of France pretended to have great designs, only with a view to strike terror into his enemies; and they were so certain that this was the sole aim of his armament, that they made not the least preparations for opposing him. The latter part of this news might be true, as in effect it was; yet the archduke was not so easy as he pretended to appear, otherways he would have thought very differently from every other person who had an interest in Spain and the house of Austria. Their consternation was inexpressible; for, while their adversary's party, which at the foreign courts was called the French faction, wore an air of joy and triumph, which seemed to arise from an assurance of success, the Austrian party was silent, dejected, and inactive; the objects of the public detestation, and trembled lest they should soon be the public victims likewise. No possibility appeared of avoiding the thunder, which was preparing to burst upon their heads: but, alas! why do I exult thus unseasonably? they had but too many resources*; it was not by

* “ It is out of doubt, says Perefze, that there were many conspiracies against the life of this good king; since he had notice of it from different quarters; since printed accounts of his death were published at Spain and at Milan; since a courier passed through the city of Leige, eight days before he was assassinated, who said he was going with news, to

“ the princes of Germany, of his being killed; and since, at Montargis, a note was found on the altar, containing a prediction of his approaching death, by a method determined upon, &c.” p. 409.

The archbishop of Embrun, Honorius Du-Laurens, brother of the king's first physician, being in company with other prelates, said, at the very time the king

entreaties,

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entreaties, nor a noble despair, with which they were inclined to oppose a prince whom Europe had chosen to defend and avenge her. The head, which gave motion to this great body, must be laid low, and that by a murder. Never had treachery, poisoning, assassination, gained a triumph so infamously great; a triumph so shameful, so detested, that no words can express all its horror. With grief I proceed to acquaint the reader with the particulars of that fatal accident, the remembrance of which still draws tears of blood from my heart.

WHAT shall we think of those black presages, which, it is but too certain, this miserable prince had of his cruel destiny? they were indeed dreadful, and surprising to the last degree*. I have already related with what reluctance he permitted the ceremony of the queen's coro-

was murdered; "it is impossible but some mischief must happen to the king from the present situation of affairs: perhaps at this very time we are talking of him, some disaster happens to him." Ist letter of Nicholas Pasquier. "A priest of Douay said, at the moment of his assassination, they were murdering the greatest monarch on earth.---The sister of Villars-Houdan, governor of Dieppe, a nun at St. Paul in Picardy, said to her abbess; Madam, order prayers to be said for the king, for they are murdering him: and, a moment after; Alas! he is killed." Matthieu, ib. pa. 835. Pasquier says further, in the same letter, that La-Font, provost of Bayonne, in 1608, came to the king to give him notice that there was a design formed against his person; and that, two or three days before this prince was stabbed, the same La-Font again told the chancellor, that he who was to kill the king was actually in Paris; that it had been revealed to him, &c. This fact is the same mentioned by Du-Pleix, p. 411, under the name of a gentleman of Bearn. Pasquier adds, that a merchant of Douay, writing, fifteen days before this murder happened, to a merchant at Rouen, asked if it was true that the king was killed. One of the principal inhabitants of Cambrai said, eight days before, "This old man has great designs, but he will not go much farther; and many other circumstances

of the like kind. There are also some particulars mentioned in the first volume of the life of Mary de Medicis, p. 68; and in many other writings.

* Marshal Bassompierre speaks of it in his Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 292. & seq. in the following manner: "He said to me, a little before that time, I do not know, Bassompierre, what is the matter with me; but I cannot persuade myself I shall ever go to Germany; nor can I believe thou wilt go into Italy. He often said to me and others, I believe I shall die soon.---The queen had a violent inclination to be crowned before the king's departure for Germany; but the king was no way desirous of it, as well to avoid the expence, as because he was not at all fond of such great festivals." It is highly probable this prince carefully concealed from every one but M. de Sully, the true motives which induced him to be against this ceremony. "Nevertheless," continues this writer, as he was the best husband in the world, he consented to it, and deferred his journey to Germany, till after she should have made her public entry into Paris. The coronation of the queen was performed with the utmost magnificence it was capable of. The king was unusually gay during the ceremony. The king said to her, the duke of Guise, and to me also; You none of you know me tho-

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nation to go forward; the nearer the moment approached, the more his terrors increased. In this state of overwhelming horror, which at first I thought an unpardonable weakness, he opened his whole heart to me: his own words will be more affecting than all I can say: "Oh! my friend, said he, this coronation does not please me: I know not what is the meaning of it; but, my heart tells me, some fatal accident will happen." He sat down, as he spoke these words, upon a low chair, which I had caused to be made on purpose for him, and which was kept always in my closet, and, resigning himself up to all the horror of his melancholy apprehensions, he grasped the case of his reading-glass hard between his fingers, and continued in a profound reverie; then, suddenly starting up, and striking his hands together, he ex-

"roughly: but I shall die one of these days; and, when you have lost me, you will find what I really was, and the difference between me and other men. I said to him; Good God, Sire, will you always disquiet yourself thus, and continually talk of your dying soon? These expressions are not proper. You will still live, please God, many happy years. There is no happiness comparable to yours: you are in the flower of your age, in perfect health and strength of body; more laden with honours than any other mortal; enjoying, with the greatest tranquility, the most flourishing kingdom in the world; loved and even adored by your subjects; possessed of great estates, and money in abundance; fine houses; a beautiful wife; handsome children, growing up apace. What can you wish for more? He, sighing, answered, My friend, I must lose them all soon, &c."

"It was observed, say L'Etoile's Memoirs, that, on throwing gold and silver medals among the people, according to custom, there was no cry of *God save the king*, or *God save the queen*." "I shall pass over, continues this writer, the dreams it was reported, both his majesty and the queen had that night, of a house falling on him in the street called La-Ferronnerie, &c. It is an indisputable fact, that, about six months ago, the king being at Zamet's, and

having dined there, he retired alone into a room, saying he would lie down; and sent for Thomassin, who was esteemed the most celebrated astrologer of that time, and it was even said he dealt with the devil, to come to him there: and his majesty having put several questions to him, on different matters, relating to his person and kingdom, Thomassin told him, he must take care of himself in May 1610; and even pointed out to him the day and hour in which he would be killed. But the king making a jest of him and his astrology, sometimes pulling him by the hair, and sometimes by the beard, made him take two or three turns round the room, and sent him away in this manner. He deserves to be commended for this; and much more, had he not listened to him at all, and banished all such peits from his court and kingdom." Anno 1610. See also in Mezerai's History, in 4to. Paris anno 1667, Vol. III. p. 1447, the different prognostications of this prince's death, which came to the knowledge of the public at that time, and since.

P. Matthieu observes, that the queen waking in the night, in great fright and agitation, said to the king, who inquired the cause of it; "I was dreaming some body stabbed you with a knife, on the stair-case." "Thank God, replied the king, it is only a dream." The same writer, to these predictions, adds several

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claimed; "Pardieu, I shall die in this city; they will murder me here; I see plainly that they have made my death their only resource. Oh! this cursed coronation, it will be the cause of my death." "My God, Sir," said I to him one day, "what a thought have you entertained; if you persist in it, it is my opinion, that you ought to break off this coronation, your journey, and your war; if you wish it should be so, it is not difficult to satisfy you." "Yes," said he at length, after I had several times made the same proposal to him, "yes, break off this coronation, and let me never hear more of it; my mind will then be freed from those apprehensions which the advices I have received have given rise to: I shall then leave this city, and have nothing to fear."

"I would not yield to your solicitations, added he, but that it has been foretold to me I should be murdered at a public ceremony, and in a coach; and hence proceed my fears." "You never mentioned this to me, Sir, replied I; and I have been often surprised to hear you cry out when in a coach, and seem so much alarmed at a danger so inconsiderable; you whom I have often beheld unmoved in all the rage of war, amidst volleys of cannon and musquet shots, and environed by swords and pikes. However, since this notion affects you to such a degree, I would advise you, Sir, to depart to-morrow: let the coronation be performed without you, or defer it till some other time; and let it be long e'er you return to Paris, or get into a coach. Shall I send directly to Notre Dame and St. Denis, to put a stop to the preparations, and send back the workmen?" "I would consent to it willingly, said the king; but what will my wife, who has this coronation strangely in her head, say to it?" "Let

expressions of Henry IV. as so many instances of that secret preface which arises in the mind on the approach of some inevitable catastrophe, or what at least is deemed so, after the event has happened; such are those he made use of to the queen: "My dear, if this is not done on Thursday, after Friday is once past you will see me no more; no, on Friday I shall bid you adieu." Another time, "Go on, go on, queen regent." To the same, retiring to her devotions; "My dear, make confession for yourself and me too." To the courtiers, shewing

them the dauphin; "This is your king." Speaking of the queen's public entry; "I have nothing to do with it; I shall not see it."—"Let us not laugh so much on Friday, for we shall weep on Sunday, &c." Vol. II. book iv. p. 810, & seq. Morizot observes, that, at the queen's coronation, the painter, instead of enamelling her coat of arms argent, which the house of Medicis bears, through ignorance painted it chefnut, the colour of widows; and, instead of palms, he encircled it with twisted cords, another mark of widowhood. Hen. Mag. p. 51.

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“her say what she will,” resumed I, finding my proposal had greatly pleased the king: “however, I cannot believe that she will continue obstinate, when she knows what apprehensions you have of some disaster happening.”

I DID not wait for any other order, but sent immediately to put a stop to the preparations for the coronation. It is with much regret, that I am obliged to confess, that, notwithstanding all my endeavours, the queen would not give her husband this satisfaction. I shall pass over in silence, the prayers, entreaties, and arguments, with which, for three whole days, I endeavoured to move her*. It was Henry's part to yield; and, as in certain moments he was the first to condemn himself for his fears, he left off speaking to me of the coronation; or by me to the queen. The preparations again went forward, and again his apprehensions returned. It was in these words, which he had perpetually in his mouth, that he expressed those apprehensions: “Ah! my friend, I shall never go out of this city: they will murder me here: this cursed coronation will be the cause of my death.” I shall never forget those sad words.

In this affair, there are some private circumstances, which I think it my duty to suppress. I would carry my silence still further, if I did not think it needless, in things which my domestics and other persons had some knowledge of. The following fact is of that number: Schomberg, who lived with me in so great a degree of intimacy that he seemed one of the family, had a billet brought to him by a page, as he sat at table one day, which I observed, as it was slid into his hand very mysteriously. I rallied him upon the billet, alledging that it came from a mistress. He answered, that he would assure me, without reading it, that it was not what I imagined, and promised to shew me the contents, of what nature soever they were. As soon as he rose from table, he went to a window to read his letter: it was very short; he put it into my hands, saying that it came from Mademoiselle De Gournai; a name that would remove all suspicions of gallantry: adding, that she intreated him to come to her immediately, having something of the utmost consequence to impart to him. He promised to return directly, and acquaint me with the affair; and accordingly he came back in half an hour.

* This overthrows Matthieu's assertion, in opposition to all other historians, that the queen was not at all desirous of being crowned. *Ibid* 804.

THIS lady had been informed by a woman, who had belonged to the marchioness de Verneuil *, that there was actually a conspiracy formed against the king's person; and, enquiring who were the persons concerned in it, the woman named the marchioness de Verneuil, herself, Monsieur N-----, and some others; upon which Mademoiselle de Gournai resolved to give the king notice of the plot, by informing the

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* The author means Jacqueline Le-Voyer, of the village of Orlin, betwixt Epernon and Ablis, wife of Isaac de Varennes, Esq; Lord of Coman, D'Escoman or Escouman: she is most known by the first name: her history is an incident, in the process against Ravailiac, of too much importance to be passed over in silence: we shall have occasion to recur to it more than once. "She made a declaration in writing," say the Memoirs for the Hist. of France, p. 357, "which contains a very circumstantial account of Ravailiac's conspiracy and designs, and named the duke of Epernon, and the marchioness of Verneuil, as the contrivers of them. Neither the king, the queen, or any of those she addressed herself to, in order to make a discovery of what she knew, would listen to her; but treated her as a mad woman. On Tuesday the 25th of January 1611, for this prosecution was not determined before the following year was far advanced, the chambers of the parliament met for the examination of La-Coman, when several persons were ordered to be taken into custody, and others to attend in person. La-Villiers-Hotman, the wife of the president St. André, and Charlotte Du-Tillet her sister, appeared. La-Coman spoke well and sensibly, with great resolution and firmness, and without varying in her answers and accusations; she confirmed what she said with such powerful reasons, and strong proofs, that her judges were astonished at them. She had formerly been in the service of queen Margaret, to whom she applied with intent to make a discovery to her of this important conspiracy and design; whercof the queen regent being inform-

ed, she called her a wicked woman, who accused every body; and said, she did not know but she might at last accuse even her. The reflections she and Du-Fillet cast on one another on being confronted, on account of their irregularities, were diverting enough. Had La-Coman stopt there, she had been safe enough; but to go such lengths as she did is too dangerous: for those who accuse the great, often lose both their estates and life in the attempt, which puts me in fear for her." There is this note in the margin on this Du-Tillet: "Charlotte Du-Tillet, a woman of intrigue, and confidant of the marchioness de Verneuil, was the person who informed madame D'Escoman of Ravailiac's designs."

"On Sunday the 30th of January, the Marchioness de Verneuil, on the depositions of La-Coman, was examined by the chief president at his own house, where I had ordered her to be summoned to attend for that purpose, which examination lasted from one o'clock 'till five in the afternoon." Another marginal note on this place says, "She was accused by madame D'Escoman, and was only ordered to attend to be examined, though the matter in question was no less than the assassination of the king, and the highest kind of treason."

"On Saturday the 5th of March, the court sat on the case of La-Coman, and the other prisoners accused by her of being concerned in the assassination of the king, when an arret was made, which was said to be like the sentence of the Areopagites, who, when they found a cause too full of difficulties to be determined by them, put off the giving judg-

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queen of it, through one of the women of her chamber, named Catherine de Selvage. Mademoiselle de Gournai, after further reflection, thought not this sufficient, and cast her eyes upon M. de Schomberg as a man who might mention the affair directly to his majesty. M. de

ment on it for a hundred years: thus the court, finding no small difficulty in this case, ordered it to stand over for judgment till a more convenient time; in the interim, opening the doors of the prison to the accused, and keeping La-Coman alone there, who in appearance ought to have been set at liberty before any of the rest; but the times would not permit it: and the chief president himself, who was present when this order was made, was of this opinion, out of respect for the parties accused, who nevertheless were not acquitted by this arret; which was no small matter of disquiet both to them and the state." There is this note in the margin: "This arret ordains, that a further information should be taken in this matter; and that, in the mean time, Stephen Sauvage, valet de chambre to Monf. D'Entragues the elder, and James Gaudin, accused and prisoners in the Conciergerie, should be set at liberty. A definitive sentence was given, on the 31st of July following, whereby the marchioness de Verneuil, madame Du-Tillet, Gaudin, and Sauvage, are declared innocent, and acquitted of assassinating the king; and mademoiselle D'Escoman is condemned, as guilty of false accusation, to be imprisoned for life, all her goods, chattels, and estates, to be seized and confiscated, without restitution. It is further ordered, that all other prosecutions on this account shall cease. This punishment, if D'Escoman's accusation was groundless, is very gentle." *Ib.* p. 361. This sentence against her, was under the consideration of the court ever since Saturday the 23d; and the judges were divided in opinion, nine against nine. P. 377.

The account the Merc. Franç. anno 1611, p. 14. & seq. gives of this affair of D'Escoman's, is directly contrary to

L'Etoile's; and, as that account is supported by an unquestionable evidence, one cannot refuse giving credit to it. It is there proved, that this woman, on account of her infamous manner of life, having been shut up in the Hôtel Dieu, and being afterwards imprisoned in the Châtelier, where even sentence of death was pronounced on her, in order to obtain her liberty, and procure herself an interest in queen Margaret, she invented this calumny; that having accused the marchioness of Verneuil of sending Ravaillac to her with a letter, desiring her to procure him an interview with mademoiselle Du-Tillet, and charging Du-Tillet with having admitted that assassin into her room when she herself was present; she was convicted of having been guilty of many falsehoods in the relation of these facts; and, amongst others, that she had never seen, and did not even know Ravaillac; that she had not indeed so much as heard his name before he was brought to the Conciergerie, which is proved from this woman's own words; that Gaudin, on being confronted with her, absolutely confounded her; and, in short, that there was not one of all those that were confronted with her, but proved her guilty of falsehood, imposition, and slander.

The author of *L'Histoire de la Mere & du Fils*, in justification of the arret of the parliament, which appears so blame-worthy to L'Etoile, says, "That august body would have condemned her to be publicly burnt, had the false accusation, of which she was found guilty, been of any other nature; but in cases where the life of kings is in question, the fear of shutting the door against such discoveries as may be made, causes the rigour of the laws to be dispensed with." Vol. I. p. 154. See a paper reprinted in the 4th Vol. of L'Etoile's new Memoirs, p. 256, entitled, Interrogations for the Examination

Schomberg,

Schomberg, after he had acquainted me with these circumstances, confessed to me that he was greatly perplexed in what manner to act, and desired I would give him my advice. The thing was too important to be concealed, and too dangerous to be despised: but, on the other hand, by disclosing it to the king, we exposed him to the necessity of making implacable enemies of all those who were involved in the accusation; for we knew this prince would not fail to mention them publicly. My wife alone was present at our consultation.

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WE agreed, at length, that Schomberg should mention it to the king, but with all possible circumspection; and, if his majesty should desire to know who the accomplices were, he was to refer him to the two women already named, as best able to inform him. No one is unacquainted with the event. The woman, from whom Mademoiselle de Gournai heard all that she had related to M. de Schomberg, being interrogated, firmly maintained her deposition, and persisted in it to her death. This is a circumstance which will never be forgot by those who endeavoured to draw some inferences from the great care that was taken to suppress all the papers * relating to the trial of the horrid parricide.

of madame de Coman, and her Answer thereto; in which this letter to mademoiselle de Gournai and count de Schomberg is mentioned: "she knew so well how to manage her discourse, and supported her accusations in so resolute a manner, that they did not find sufficient grounds to put her to death." Mem. de la Reg. de M. de Médicis, Vol. I. p. 74.

* This suppression of the proceedings in the trial of Ravaillac, by the parliament of Paris, is a fact universally known. To the reflections thrown on his judges on this account, it has been further added, that none, or, at least, a very small and slight examination, was made by them into the manner of the death of several persons confined, on this account, in the prisons, which to many appeared to be unnatural; that they neglected to summon and interrogate many other persons, who were capable of giving great lights into this matter; such as the mother of the murderer, who knew very well that he left Augoulême on

Easter-day, before he had performed the devotions of that festival; many of his relations, whom he had named in the course of his examination; the parish priest of St. Severin; father St. Mary Magdalen, of the order of the Bernardines; the capuchins of Angoulême, who had given him a heart made of cost-mary root in a reliquary, with some wood of the true cross, at least they made him believe so; and which, they told him, would cure him of a fever he had then got; that they also had not examined the sieur Guillebaut, a canon of Angoulême; father Gilles Olieres, ancient visitor of the order of cordeliers at Paris; Le Fèvre, another young cordelier; several of the cardinal Du-Perron's almoners, whom Ravaillac said he knew very well by sight, but whose names he did not know; certain persons called Béliard, Bréteau, Colletet, Du-Bois, de Limoges, &c. It was also complained of, that Ravaillac had been so carelessly guarded in prison, that, during the thirteen days he continued there, all who had a mind were admitted to see

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THE ceremony of the queen's coronation was performed, in the mean time, with all the magnificence usual upon such extraordinary occasions. It was to last several days, and to be terminated by the most splendid shew of all on Sunday the 16th of May.* The king had so much complaisance for the queen as to assist at a ceremony, which pierced him to the heart; but, when it was over, he thought he should have nothing more to keep him: and Monday, May 17, was the day appointed for his departure. I should not have staid at Paris so long; but a violent pain which I felt in my neck and throat, occasioned by a wound I had received there many years before, obliged me to have recourse to my physicians, who ordered me to bathe three mornings suc-

and talk with him. Another complaint of still greater weight, if the fact be true, is, that at the first pull of the horse at his execution, Ravaillac having desired some one would take his confession as of a dying man, the clerk Voisin, who took it, wrote it so ill, that, though it is still in being, (as it is said) no sworn notary or scrivener has yet been found skilful enough to decypher a single word of it.

All these considerations make an infinite number of people conclude, that the parliament acted in this manner out of fear, that in case the truth had been discovered and made public, they would have been necessitated to proceed with the utmost rigour against too many, and those too powerful persons. It would be labour lost to endeavour to persuade all those people of the contrary. But after all, since, by the suppression of the proceedings in this affair, there do not at present remain sufficient lights whereon, with certainty, to form any judgment of the truth, which, even at that time, could never be cleared up, it must be owned, that one cannot, without rashness, pretend to determine any thing in this matter at the distance of an hundred and thirty years, which have since elapsed; and God forbid I should expose myself to such a reproach. If, in obedience to the laws prescribed to every author of memoirs, I have submitted to join to my text here, and at the end of this book, whatever I could recollect, from the most credible

historians, relating to this particular fact, as I have constantly done in respect to every historical relation given in this work, my justification, supposing any to be necessary in so plain a case, will be, that I have stated both sides of the question with equal impartiality: and, on the other side, in answer to those who may complain that, after all that has been said, nothing is clearly decided, I would say, it is no fault of mine that nothing but conjectures can be come at in this matter, and that even those conjectures should frequently destroy one another.

* The ceremony of the coronation was performed at St. Denis on Thursday the 13th of May, le Merc. Franc. Matth. the 9361st Vol. of the MSS. royaux, and other historians give a detail of the magnificence and manner of it. Preparations were made for the queen to make her public entry on the Sunday following, with a pomp surpassing even that of the coronation. Henry IV. said on Tuesday; "I will lie at St. Denis on Wednesday; I will return from thence on Thursday; I will put my affairs in order on Friday; on Saturday I will run at the ring; on Sunday my wife shall make her entry; on Monday my daughter Vendôme shall be married; on Tuesday we will keep the marriage feast; and on Wednesday to horse and away." Matth. ib. p. 804. This historian, speaking of the ceremony of the coronation at St. Denis, says; "Henry

cessively

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cessively in my chamber. I did not envy the happiness of those who, having protracted their departure out of curiosity to see the ceremony of the queen's coronation, ran eagerly to the show: the deep concern it gave to Henry rendered it almost as odious to me as to him. The count of Soissons alledged, that there was some failure in the ceremonial with respect to him; and made use of this pretence to quit the court in disgust*.

THE ceremony for some reason or other being suspended, on Wednesday May the 17th, that most miserable day for France, the unfortunate king had destined part of it to be spent in conference with me, as it was the last interview we were likely to have before his departure. I was not ignorant of what he had to say to me. A malicious report had been spread, that, while in appearance he was preparing to fall upon the house of Austria with such formidable forces, he had privately entered into an agreement with them; not only to proceed no farther, but also to betray all his allies, provided they would consent that he should keep Cleves for himself, and the entire succession, which had been the occasion of the armament. To this his enemies added another condition, which they said he demanded; namely, that Spain should put the prince and the princefs of Condé into his hands †. Henry

“ IV. was surpris'd at the Spanish ambassa-
 “ dor's not taking off his hat in the church.
 “ Cicogne told him, that the late king of
 “ Spain only just took off his hat at the
 “ elevation of the host, and immediately
 “ put it on again, as if he had been saluting
 “ a gentleman of five hundred livres a year.
 “ On which the king said, if we had
 “ those sentiments of religion we ought
 “ to have, we should show still greater re-
 “ verence to those mysteries than we do;
 “ for we ought to believe that, after the
 “ words of consecration are pronounced,
 “ till the communion, Jesus Christ is al-
 “ ways present on the altar.”

* “ This retreat was differently spoke
 “ of by different persons: nevertheless, it
 “ is certain that his majesty, after hav-
 “ ing granted him every thing he desired,
 “ against his own inclinations, sent him
 “ word, that whatever he had promised
 “ him he would perform; but he might be
 “ assured, at the same time, that he would
 “ no longer hold any place in his favour;

“ and that, having compelled him to grant
 “ what he did not approve of, he should
 “ never see him again with pleasure;
 “ which message being delivered to the
 “ count, he immediately mounted his
 “ horse, and, taking the princefs his wife
 “ with him, retired to one of his country
 “ seats.” Mem. pour servir à l'Hist. de
 France, anno 1610.

† “ The nuncio finding himself at last
 “ closely urged by his majesty, who was
 “ enquiring of him what was thought at
 “ Rome and in Italy of the war he was
 “ going to undertake, answered, that those
 “ who had the best information were of
 “ opinion, that the principal subject of that
 “ war was the princefs of Condé, whom
 “ he wanted to have back. When the
 “ king in violent anger, and swearing, not
 “ *ventre saint gris*, as usual, but by—,
 “ cry'd out, Yes, most certainly I do want
 “ to have her back, and I will have her
 “ back; no one can or shall hinder it, not
 “ even God's lieutenant on earth.” Mem.

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was desirous of convincing me that this report, so injurious to his reputation, was absolutely false. It had been likewise insinuated to him, that the reluctance I discovered to take upon me the charge of furnishing the provisions, was because I had flattered myself that he would, of his own accord, and without my sollicitation, erect the post of marshal-general of the camps and armies into a great office of the crown, and invest me with this high dignity: however, I solemnly declare, that I never entertained such a thought. The friendship this great king expressed for me, and the confidence he placed in me, which towards the close of his life was greater than it had ever been, makes it no presumption in me to declare, that I believe, if such had been my desire, he would not have refused me a favour which, great as it was, was still less considerable than others he had offered me; nor will I scruple to assert, that he thought me very capable of such an employment: all that I am doubtful of is, whether he really had any such intentions with regard to me, and whether he was not dissuaded from them by the artful insinuations of my enemies, who affirmed, that I had resolved to quit the care of his finances, as soon as I was raised to this eminent dignity.

It was therefore, I presume, to make me some new instances with respect to furnishing the provisions, that Henry sent La-Varenne, on Wednesday morning, to tell me I must meet him in the Tuilleries, where he had a desire to walk with me alone. La-Varenne found me bathing, and perceiving that I was preparing, notwithstanding, to obey his majesty's orders, he prevented me, saying, he was very sure that the king would come himself to the arsenal, when he knew I was indisposed; and that he would be very angry with me, if I exposed myself to any danger by going out, when there was no necessity for it. "Only stay, added he, till I have spoke to him, and I will return immediately and tell you what he says." Accordingly he came back in half an hour. "Monsieur, says he, the king desires that you will finish your bathing, and forbids you to go abroad to-day: for M. Du-Laurens assures him, that your health will suffer if you do. "His majesty is going into the city, for which he will tell you his

pour l'Hist. de France, anno 1610. These words ought not to prevent us from considering, as a calumny, the report to which some writers have too lightly given credit, that the chief inducement Henry IV. had to commence so important a war, was to oblige Spain to deliver the prince, or rather

the princefs of Condé, up to him; which seems to me not to stand in need of any proof. No less unjust and malicious is this other charge, that this prince had agreed with the court of Spain not to push his design any further, on condition it would give up the states in contest to him.

“ reason to-morrow morning * at five o’clock, when he will be, with-
 “ out fail, at the arsenal to settle all affairs with you ; for he is resolved
 “ to set out on Monday at any rate. He says, that what you said to
 “ him concerning his passage, and every other part of his design, is
 “ just ; and that nothing shall have power to alter his intentions, but
 “ some misfortune either to your person or his own. (those were his very
 “ words) And he commands you, continued La-Varenne, to receive
 “ him to-morrow in your night-gown and night-cap, that you may
 “ not suffer any inconvenience from your bathing : he declares, if
 “ he finds you dressed, he will be very angry.” La-Varenne, after he
 had thus delivered the king’s message, added from himself, that his
 majesty had taken my advice, and sent away the letter which had been
 written to the archduke, tho’ he thought it an useless piece of formality.
 “ For I am resolved, said this prince, to make myself be believed one
 “ way or other.” My servants have since told me, that, when La-Va-
 renne quitted my apartment, they observed an unusual sadness upon his
 countenance, the cause of which they could not comprehend ; nor in-
 deed could he himself account for it.

At four o’clock in the afternoon, as I had just entered my ward-
 robe, I heard Castenet, and afterwards my wife, utter a great cry, and
 that instant my whole house resounded with this mournful exclamation :
 “ Ah ! my God, all is lost ! France is undone !” I went out precipitately,
 undressed as I was. “ Ah ! Monsieur,” cried they on all sides, “ the
 king has just been dangerously wounded in his side with a “ knife.” It
 was not possible for me to doubt a moment whether the dreadful news
 was true. St. Michel † entered immediately : he had been a witness almost
 of the blow, and brought the knife with which it was given, still reeking
 with blood. “ Oh !” cried I, raising my hands and eyes to heaven, in
 a distraction no words can describe, “ this is what

* Henry IV. in reality did not intend to go to the arsenal till the next morning ; but he unfortunately changed that intention in the afternoon.

† St. Michel was one of his majesty’s gentlemen in ordinary, who had followed him. He had drawn his sword to kill the assassin, when the duke of Epernon called out to him, and to the footmen, who had the same design, to stop at the peril of their lives : to secure his person, but to take care not to do any thing more. “ The duke

“ recollected,” says the historian of his life, “ the displeasure he had conceived at, “ and the fault that had been found with “ those who killed James Clement, &c.” p. 238. P. Matthieu adds, “ That St. Michel only snatched the knife out of Ra- “ vaillac’s hands : that count de Curson “ struck him on the throat with the pom- “ mel of his sword ; and that La-Pierre, “ exempt of the guards, seized him, and “ put him into the hands of the footmen, “ who delivered him up to Montigny.”

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“ this poor prince always apprehended : Oh ! my God, have pity upon
 “ him, upon us, and the state : 'tis done ; he is murdered---God
 “ would not have permitted so cruel an accident, but to let loose all
 “ his wrath upon France, and to deliver her into foreign hands *.”

* One would imagine, that upon a fact so public and so recent as the assassination of Henry IV. there would be found a perfect conformity in the histories and memoirs of that time ; yet many of the contemporary writers do not agree either as to the number of the persons who were in the coach with this prince when he was assassinated, the wounds he received, nor many other circumstances no less essential. In order therefore to make this recital in a manner equally faithful and complete, it is necessary to collect and join together what has been said on this subject by Messieurs de Péréfixe, Matthieu, L'Étoile, the continuator of De Thou, and the French Mercury for the year 1610.

“ The night before this most unhappy day
 “ his majesty could take no rest, and was in
 “ continual uneasiness. In the morning
 “ he told those about him, that he had
 “ not slept, and that he was very much
 “ disordered. Thereupon M. de Vendôme
 “ entreated his majesty to take care
 “ of himself that day, and not to go out ;
 “ for that day was fatal to him.” “ I see,
 “ answered the king, that you have con-
 “ sulted the almanac, and have heard of
 “ the prediction of La-Brosse, from my
 “ cousin the count of Soissons : he is an
 “ old fool, and you, who are young, have
 “ still less wisdom.” The duke of Ven-
 “ dôme then went to the queen, who like-
 “ wise begged the king not to go out of the
 “ Louvre that day ; but he made her the
 “ same answer.” P. de L'Étoile.

“ His majesty afterwards went to hear
 “ mass at the convent of the Bernardine
 “ monks, whither the infamous parricide
 “ followed him with an intention to murder
 “ him ; and, as he has since confessed,
 “ would have given him the stroke in the
 “ chapel, but M. de Vendôme coming
 “ unexpectedly between, he was prevent-
 “ ed.” Ibid.

“ It was observed, that the king was

“ more fervent than usual in his devotions,
 “ and continued longer in prayer that very
 “ day than he was accustomed to do :
 “ Even in the night preceding it, when
 “ his attendants thought he was asleep, he
 “ was upon his knees in bed at prayer ;
 “ and, as soon as he rose, retiring to his
 “ closet for the same purpose, they, think-
 “ ing he staid longer than usual, inter-
 “ rupted him, he was angry. “ Why
 “ will these men, said he, always oppose
 “ what is for my good ?” Ibid.

“ After dinner the king laid down upon
 “ his bed, to try if he could sleep ; but not
 “ being able to rest, he got up again,
 “ pensive, melancholy, and disturbed. He
 “ walked a little about his chamber, and
 “ again threw himself upon his bed ; still
 “ restless and unquiet, he rose and asked
 “ the exempt of the guard what hour of
 “ the day it was. The exempt told him
 “ the clock had struck four ; and added,
 “ Sire, I perceive your majesty is pensive
 “ and uneasy : you would be better if you
 “ would take the air.” The king seemed
 “ pleased at this motion, and replied “ You
 “ have advised well : order my coach to
 “ be got ready : I will go to the arsenal
 “ to see the duke of Sully, who is indis-
 “ posed, and bathes to-day.” Ibid.

Matthieu recounting his discourse, both before and after dinner, adds, “ He could
 “ not stay one moment in any place, nor
 “ conceal his irresolution and disorder : and
 “ in the midst of those agitations, he
 “ said to the queen, “ I know not what
 “ to do : I have no great inclination to
 “ go to the arsenal, because I shall put
 “ myself into a passion.” “ Do not go
 “ then, Monsieur, said the queen ; send
 “ some other thither ; you are now in a
 “ good humour, why should you go to
 “ make yourself uneasy ?” He went to-
 “ wards the window, and, striking his
 “ forehead with his hand, “ My God,
 “ said he, there is something here which
 “ strangely

“strangely troubles me: I know not what is the matter; I cannot go from hence.” “Ravaillac, hearing that he enquired if his coach was ready, muttered to himself; *I have thee, thou art lost.*” P. Matthieu.

“As he was going into his coach, M. de Vitry approached, and asked his majesty if it was his pleasure that he should attend him. “No, replied the king; but go whither I have ordered you.” “Permit me, Sire, said Vitry, to send the guards with your majesty.” “No, returned the king, I will neither have you nor your guards: I will have none about me.” Then entering his coach, and reflecting, as it is supposed, upon the fatal predictions of the day, which they had put into his head, he asked what day of the month it was. “Sire, said one, it is the 13th.” “No, said another, it is the 14th.” “You are right, said the king; you know your almanack better than him;” and laughing, “Between the 13th and 14th,” said he; and then ordered the coach to go on.” L’Etoile.

“He said to the coachman, carry me but from hence. When he came over against the Hôtel de Longueville, he sent back all his attendants; and, being asked where the coach should go, he said to the Croix-du-Tiroir; and, when there, he ordered it to drive to the church-yard of St. Innocent. Ravaillac staid a long time at the Louvre, sitting upon the stones at the gate, where the footmen wait for their masters. He designed to have given the blow between the two gates, the place where he stood affording him some advantage: but he found the duke of Epernon on that side where he expected the king would have been.” Matthieu.

This prince was seated on the back part of the coach, and unfortunately (the weather being very fine) would have all the curtains drawn up, that he might see, as he passed, the preparations which were making all over the city for the queen’s pub-

lic entry. On his right hand sat the duke of Epernon: the marshals de Lavardin and Roquelaure were near the right boot of the coach; the duke of Montbazon and the marquis de La-Force on his left hand; and near the left boot, opposite to him, sat the marquis de Mirebeau, and Du Pleffis-Liancourt, his first master of the horse. Vitry, the captain of his guards, was, by the king’s order, gone to the palace to hasten the preparations for the queen’s entry, and had left all the guards at the Louvre; so that his majesty was attended only by a small number of gentlemen on horseback, and some of his footmen. Percéfixe, Matthieu, L’Etoile, N. Rigault, *ibid.*

The coach turned from the street St. Honoré into that called Feronnerie, which was then very narrow, and made more so by the little shops erected against the wall of the church-yard of St. Innocent. A little embarrassment was occasioned by the meeting of two carts, one laden with wine, the other with hay; so that the coach was obliged to stop in a corner of the street, over against the study of a certain notary, whose name was Poutrain. The footmen took a nearer way, that they might with less difficulty come up with the coach at the end of the street; so that there were only two which followed the coach, and one of these went to make way for it to go on, while the other in the mean time took that opportunity to fasten his garter. *Ibid.*

Ravaillac, who had followed the coach from the Louvre, perceiving that it stopped, and that there was no person near it, advanced to that side where he observed the king sit. His cloak being wrapt round his left arm served to conceal the knife, which he held in his hand; and sliding between the shops and the coach, as if he was attempting to pass by, like others, he supported one foot upon one of the spokes of the wheel, and the other upon a stone, and, drawing a knife edged on both sides, gave the king a wound a little above the heart, between the third and fourth rib. His majesty had just then turned towards the duke of Epernon, and was reading a

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letter; or, as others say, leaning towards the marshal Lavardin, to whom he was whispering. Henry, feeling himself struck, cried out, "I am wounded;" and in the same instant, the assassin perceiving that the point of his knife had been stopped by a rib, he repeated the blow with such quickness, that not one of those, who were in the coach, had time to oppose, nor even to perceive it. Henry, by raising his arm, gave a fairer aim for the second blow, which, according to Péréfixe and L'Etoile, went directly to his heart; and, according to Rigault and the French Mercury, near the auricle of the heart; so that the blood gushing out of his mouth, and from his wound, the unhappy prince expired, breathing a deep sigh; or, as Matthieu asserts, pronouncing with a faint and dying voice, these words: "It is nothing." The murderer aimed a third stroke at him, which the duke of Epernon received in his sleeve. Ibid.

It is the opinion of the author of the French Mercury, that Henry IV. died at the first blow, "Which, said he, entering between the fifth and sixth rib, pierced the vein within, round the auricle of the heart, and reached to the vena cava, which, being cut, that great prince was in an instant deprived of speech and life. The second stroke only grazed the skin, and made no impression." French Mercury.

The writer who has given us the life of the duke of Epernon, thinks, it must be confessed, in a manner very singular. He asserts, but without any proof to support his assertion, that the duke of Epernon, who saw the second blow aimed at the king, raised his arm to parry it, and received it, in part, upon the sleeve of his coat, which was cut. He doubtless meant to exalt his hero by relating this circumstance; but certainly he judged ill to add, that the assassin, after this second blow, had time to strike a third, more dangerous than the second; and that the king received it full. Strange! that the duke of Epernon should so plainly perceive the first of these blows, as to be able

to parry it in part, from himself, and the rest who were in the coach, and yet could not prevent the following blow. The historian here has proved too much, and but that, happily for him, it is easy to convict him of his error, his account might well be turned into an accusation of the duke of Epernon. Life of the duke of Epernon, part 2d, p. 238.

"It is a most amazing thing, that not one of the lords, who were in the coach with the king, should have seen the assassin give the blow; and, if that infernal monster had thrown away his knife, they would not have known whom to charge with it: but he still held it in his hand, as if to shew it, and gloried in the greatest and most horrid of all assassinations that ever was perpetrated." Péréfixe says the same; and this conduct of Ravallac's is more conformable to the character we have of him, than what the continuator of De Thou relates: that it was the extreme agitation and disorder of his mind, which prevented his flying, or dropping the poignard. "He confessed, says Matthieu, that he struck his knife into the king's body, as into a bottle of hay." L'Etoile, ibid.

"The six lords, who were in the coach, got out immediately with such precipitation, that they hindered each other from seizing the parricide. One of them perceiving that the king spoke no more, and that the blood came gushing from his mouth, cried out, "The king is dead." These words immediately occasioned a great tumult. The people, who were in the streets, threw themselves into the nearest shops, one upon another, with such terror and dismay, as if the city had been taken. The duke of Epernon suddenly bethought himself of saying, that the king was only wounded, and had fallen into a swoon. They desired some wine; and, while some of the inhabitants ran eagerly to get it, they shut up the coach doors, and told the people, that the king was only wounded; and that they were carrying him.

“ him in haste to the Louvre to get his wound dressed.” French Mercury, *ibid.*

“ I ran like one deprived of reason, and, mounting the first horse I found, galloped to the Louvre. When I came to the Hôtel de Longueville, I met M. de Belancourt returning from the Louvre, who said to me, “ He is dead.” I rode on as far as the rails, where the French and Swiss guards were then placed; their pikes lowered. M. Le-Grand and I got through, and ran to the king’s closet, and saw him extended on his bed. M. De-Vic, counsellor of state, was sitting by him on the same bed, and had laid his cross of the order upon his mouth, putting him in mind of God. Milon, his first physician, was sitting near the bedside weeping, and the surgeons who attended to dress his wound; but he was already dead. We fancied we heard him sigh, but it was wind; upon which the first physician cried out, “ Ah! it is over; he is gone!” M. Le-Grand, as soon as he entered, kneeled at the side of the bed, and held one of his hands, which he kissed. As for me, I threw myself at his feet, which I held embraced, weeping bitterly. M. de Guise came in also, and embraced him, &c.” *Memoirs of Bassompierre, Vol. I. p. 297.*

“ The queen was in her closet when this sad news was brought to her, and, wild with grief, came out immediately to see him whom she honoured most in the world, deprived of life; but M. the chancellor, who was then in council, and had heard the news there, going up to her apartment, met her as she was coming out, and stopped her. “ Alas!” said she, as soon as she saw him, “ the king is dead.” He, without betraying any emotion, replied, “ Your majesty must pardon me, the kings of France never die.” Then, entreating her to return to her closet, “ We must take care, said he to her, that our tears do not ruin our affairs; we must reserve them for another time: we have need

“ of remedies, and not of grief.” French Mercury, *ibid.*

“ At five o’clock in the evening it was no where certainly known, except at the Louvre, that the king was dead, not even in the quarter de La-Feronnerie, where he was killed: they thought he had been wounded only. The report reached the Augustines before audience was over; the noise and confused murmurs of the persons who came into the court opposite to the hall of the great chamber, increased every moment; and at length reached the ears of M. de Blanemefnil, second president of the great chamber, who was at that time hearing a cause pleaded in the hall: struck with this noise, he rose up as if to collect the opinions of the judges upon it; but, instead of speaking to them on this subject, he went back to the great chamber: the rest, persuaded that this noise was occasioned by some fatal accident, rose from their seats, and broke off the pleadings. Immediately they sent for the king’s counsellors of parliament, and deputed them to the Louvre to know the state of affairs, and the will of his majesty: in the mean time, the princes, dukes, and great lords, who were at Paris, hastened to the Louvre to attend the king as usual. The sieur de Vitry was ordered to assemble all the deceased king’s children in a chamber, particularly the young king; and to suffer no one to approach them. The dukes of Guise and Epemon were directed to get as many of the nobility as they could find, to mount their horses, and ride through the city; and tell the people, that the king was not dead, but only wounded. Le-Jay, lieutenant civil, and Sanguin, the lord mayor, had orders to shut all the city gates; to possess themselves of the keys; raise all their officers; and to prevent all emotions and mobs in the city. The guards which were in the suburbs, received orders to come and post themselves upon the pont neuf, in the street Dauphiné, and

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“ and near the Augustins, in order to surround the parliament, and to force them, “ if necessary, to declare the queen regent. “ The king’s counsellor of the parliament, “ returning from the Louvre to the arsenal, found M. the first president there, “ who had been brought in a chair, to “ whom, and to the chambers assembled, “ having confirmed the report of the king’s “ death, they began to consult upon the “ request brought them by the king’s “ counsellors. M. de Guise and M. de “ Epernon came afterwards into the great “ chamber, being sent by the queen to see “ what was doing there, &c.” L’Etoile, Péréfixe, *ibid.*

“ About nine o’clock the same night, “ a great number of the lords rode “ through the city, and, as they passed, “ said to the people, the king is coming; “ he is well, God be thanked for it. It “ being night, the people thought the “ king was in that company, and cried “ aloud, *Vive le roi.* This cry spreading “ from one quarter to another, the whole “ city resounded with, *Vive le roi.* It was “ only in the quarter of the Louvre, and “ that of the Augustins, where the truth “ was known.” *Ibid.*

“ At night they dress the king’s body, “ and washed him with the same ceremony “ as if he had been alive. M. Du-Maine “ gave him his shirt, M. Le-Grand served “ him, and I likewise was ordered “ to serve him, and to represent M. “ de Bouillon.” M. Bassompierre, *ibid.*

“ Saturday, May the 15th, the king’s “ body was opened in the presence of six “ and twenty physicians and surgeons; all “ the parts of which were found to be in “ so good a state, that, according to the “ course of nature, they judged he might “ have lived thirty years longer. His heart “ was small, but thick, and of close texture, “ and surprisingly found: his stomach, “ as the physicians and surgeons “ said, was the strongest that had been “ ever seen: his lungs were grown a little “ to his left side.” Bassompierre, *ibid.*

“ His entrails were sent immediately to

“ St. Denis, without any pomp. The “ jesuits demanded the heart, which they “ interred in their chapel of La-Flèche; “ the body embalmed and laid in a leaden “ coffin, inclosed in another of wood, and “ covered with cloth of gold, was placed “ under a canopy in the king’s chamber, “ with two altars on each side, at which “ mass was said during eighteen days successively, after which it was carried to “ St. Denis, &c.” Péréfixe, *ibid.*

See in the same historians several other interesting particulars, as well with respect to what passed in the parliament, and in different parts of Paris, as upon the funeral ceremony observed on this occasion. Upon this last article, consult also the royal MSS. Vol. 936f.

The memoirs of that time afford a great number of observations, and curious particulars, relating to the assassination of Henry IV. which we cannot dispense with ourselves from annexing to the text of our Memoirs. The number and diversity of them is all that perplexes us; for with respect to the persons who are concerned in them; namely, the jesuits, the duke of Epernon, and several of the principal lords of the kingdom, the marchioness of Verneuil, and the party supposed to be headed by her, the officers of the queen’s household, and many others; these circumstances are so far from doing any injury to their memories, that it will be readily granted their interest requires that they should neither be suppressed or disguised; for, since all the malignity of their enemies has never been able to prove one single fact against them, it necessarily follows, that what has been said was mere calumny, invented by wicked and designing persons.

One general remark, and which is equally applicable to all, is sufficient to prove what I have asserted, that those accusations were founded on calumny only; and this is, that Ravailiac never accused, or gave the least room for suspecting that any of those persons were concerned in the king’s assassination. He constantly maintained, that no one was privy to his design, which he had conceived

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ceived upon being told, that the king was going to make war upon the pope. He never varied from this declaration, and, when he was put to the torture, he said the same as he had done at his trial. The most dreadful pains could not force him to alter his deposition: he protested, and repeated this protestation upon the scaffold: That he never had either an accomplice or confidant. "When he was ready to expire, he turned to his confessor, and desired he would give him absolution; for he had no more to say. This the priest refused, telling him, that it was forbid to those who, like him, had been guilty of high treason, unless he disclosed his accomplices. "Give it me, said Ravailleac, upon condition that the declaration I have made, that I had no accomplices, be true." "I will give it you upon that condition, replied the confessor; but assure yourself, if you tell a lye in these moments, your soul, at its separation from your body, will be carried directly to hell." "I accept and receive it upon that condition, said Ravailleac." And these were the last words he spoke to Messieurs de Fillesac and Gamache, two men of great candour and honesty, and the most able doctors of the Sorbonne." Words which deserve great notice, since they are recorded by him, who, of all the writers on this subject, has shewn most prejudice and malice. *Memoirs for a History of France*, page 323.

After this decisive remark, I shall begin with what relates to the jesuits, who have been less spared than any of the others, and whom our author in the following book attacks the first, tho' he does not name them. But here I think myself obliged to relate what appears a very singular confession in a great critic, who professes that he does not fear the society, and will spare no one whatever. "I had the curiosity," says he, to read the answer made by the jesuits to the accusations of their enemies, their reply to that, and the jesuits farther vindication of themselves; and

it appeared to me, that in many cases their accusers were at a loss, which persuades me that many things have been charged upon them, for which there were no proofs, but easily believed at the instigation of prejudiced persons." In effect, there is nothing more solid, or better founded, in the declamations of Morizot, and a great number of anonymous writers. *Bayle's Select Letters*, Vol. I. Letter 230.

I shall now proceed to the examination of some words, attributed to a jesuit in a conference with Ravailleac: *My friend, do not accuse good men.* "Father Cotton went likewise to Ravailleac, and bid him take care of accusing the innocent; words which did not pass unnoticed. He afterwards would have persuaded him, if he could, that he was a protestant, saying, that he could never believe that a Roman catholic was capable of committing so horrid an action: but Ravailleac derided father Cotton, tho' a jesuit, as well as the rest, whom he sent away with jests and pleasantry. "You would be astonished, said he to some of them who were questioning him, if I should tell you that it was you yourself who set me on." He did not say this to father Cotton; for, wicked as he was, he had some scruples of conscience remaining that would not suffer him to slander the brothers of the society." *Journal of the Reign of Henry IV.* anno 1610.

Peter Matthieu, in his particular History of the death of Henry IV. p. 116, says, "That the queen believing, if the inhuman parricide could be led to repent of his crime, he would more freely own who they were that urged him to commit it, thought it necessary that he should be visited by the doctors and clergy, who might put his mind into such a frame, that he would have greater fears of eternal than temporal torments." Father Cotton therefore might be of the number of these ecclesiastics; but the author does not mention him in particular, and is wholly silent with respect to the words which

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which have been attributed to him. He does not tell us that this father, when he accosted Ravallac, called him *my friend*. The prior of Orleans says not a word of this fact in his life of father Cotton, where it was natural for him to mention it, and where he has been as particular, with respect to this father, as Matthieu has been in every thing relating to the death of Henry the Great.

“Two circumstances, says Mézerai, were observed, of which the reader may judge as he pleases; one was, that, when Ravallac was seized, seven or eight men came up to him with swords in their hands, and said loudly, that he ought to be slain directly; but they immediately concealed themselves in the crowd: the other, that the parricide was not carried to prison at first, but was put into the hands of Montigny, and remained two days in the Hôtel de Rais, where he was so carelessly guarded, that all sorts of people were allowed to speak to him: among others, an ecclesiastic, who had received great obligations from the deceased king, accosting him, called him *friend*, and bid him take care not to accuse good men.” Mézerai, it is plain, has copied the first of these observations from P. Matthieu, who says that it was the baron de Courtaumar, who, drawing his sword against these men, forced them to shelter themselves in the crowd: but I do not see what inference is to be drawn from the former of these two facts related by Mézerai, except that those men, transported with rage and grief for the death of the best of kings, were eager to punish the impious assassin; and as for the other fact, after what has been just said in the foregoing remark, it must be allowed to be very doubtful and hazardous, upon a supposition, that by the ecclesiastic, who had great obligations to the king, the author means father Cotton: but indeed, if this father did go to see Ravallac, and if he really said those words, *My friend, do not accuse good men*, what ought to be inferred from an expression of gentleness and chris-

tian charity, which neither directly nor indirectly presents any thing criminal to the mind. Abr. Hist. and Chron. Vol. III. p. 1450.

Here follows, what is still, in different writings, to be found against the jesuits on this occasion: “Father D’Aubigny, who had confessed Ravallac, was privately interrogated by the first president upon the secret confession, but he could draw nothing from him except this: that God, who to some men had given the gift of languages, to others the gift of prophecy, revelation, &c. had on him bestowed the gift of forgetfulness of confessions. Moreover, added he, we, who are ecclesiastics, know nothing of the world: we do not mix in its affairs, or heed what passes in it.” Rather, replied the first president, you know too much, and are too far concerned in its business; and, if you were not more so than you own you are, things had gone better.” *Memoirs for a History of France*, ib. p. 320, 321.

These last circumstances relating to father D’Aubigny, are certainly the most severe of all that have been urged against the jesuits. It was well known, that Ravallac, in his depositions, acknowledged that he was acquainted with this jesuit; that he had been present when he said mass; that he had imparted to him his visions; the trouble of his mind, &c. He was confronted with this father, who maintained to Ravallac himself, that he had never seen him, and that all he had said concerning him was false. The French Mercury, far more deserving to be credited than any of the writers I have quoted, because the author speaks so fully and with so much clearness of this affair, that one sees, in a manner, the whole proceedings of the trial; he, after giving a minute account of every circumstance of their examination, adds, “Father D’Aubigny said to Ravallac, that he was very wicked; and that, after perpetrating so horrid a fact, he ought not to accuse any one falsely, nor add to the number of his sins.”

“ sins.” Ravallac being told, that, if he
 “ had any charge to bring against father
 “ D’Aubigny, he must do it then, repli-
 “ ed, that he had not any; that he looked
 “ upon him to be an honest man, and a
 “ good priest; and that he would believe
 “ him. In like manner the said D’Au-
 “ bigny having notice given him to make
 “ his objections against the witness, and
 “ that according to the ordinance, he would
 “ not be admitted to make them, if not
 “ immediately, he said he had no more to
 “ say, but that he was a wicked man, and
 “ a most audacious liar.” French Mer-
 “ cury, anno 1610.

Ravallac’s silence to these reproaches may
 well pass for a conviction of the calumny.
 This circumstance of the trial may be seen
 at large in the book itself. Matthieu says
 it was Servin, the king’s advocate, who
 interrogated father D’Aubigny, and that
 this was the answer: “ That ever since he
 “ had, by the orders of his superiors, quit-
 “ ed preaching to apply himself wholly to
 “ hearing confessions, God had bestowed
 “ the singular grace upon him of effacing
 “ immediately from his memory whatever
 “ was said to him under the seal of con-
 “ fession.” But this writer, tho’ an enemy
 of the jesuits, does not mention the
 first president’s malicious reply to him; and
 doubtless he is more deserving of belief,
 than the Memoirs for the History of France;
 because he was living at that time, and was
 most particularly interested in the memory
 of Henry IV. who had honoured him with
 his favour. Pasquier, the great enemy of
 the jesuits, by not accusing them of any
 thing, shews plainly enough, that he be-
 lieved them innocent. History of Henry
 IV. ib. Letters of Nicholas Pasquier.

“ On Sunday, May 23, Father Portu-
 “ gais, a cordelier, and some curates of
 “ Paris; among others, the curates of the
 “ parishes of St. Bartholomew and St.
 “ Paul, in dark ambiguous words, and
 “ hints scarcely intelligible, taxed the je-
 “ suits with being accomplices in the king’s
 “ assassination, arguing against them from
 “ their own books and writings; namely,

“ those of Mariana and Becanus. It was
 “ also proposed, says the same author
 “ whom I now quote, to forbid the jesuits
 “ the public pulpits. However, they went
 “ no farther than to order Mariana’s book
 “ to be burnt by the hands of the common
 “ hangman, which was done accordingly,
 “ June 8, before the church of Notre
 “ Dame. This book openly defended the
 “ deed of brother Clément, and has been
 “ twice printed; the first time in folio,
 “ the second in octavo. In the first ed^{ti}
 “ tion, he calls this brother, *eternum galliæ*
 “ *decus*; but these three words are left out
 “ in the second edition, which I have be-
 “ fore me.” Memoirs for the History of
 France, ib. p. 325.

If all the authors who have written upon
 the same principles with those of Mariana
 and Becanus, were to be accused of having
 contributed to the king’s murder, “ A cri-
 “ minal process might be entered against
 “ John Petit, a doctor of the Sorbonne,
 “ whose opinions were rejected by the
 “ council of Constance; likewise against
 “ the celebrated John Gerson, James Al-
 “ main, Richer, John Boucher of the same
 “ college and society. Can they be igno-
 “ rant that an extraordinary assembly was
 “ held among the doctors of the Sorbonne,
 “ to proceed to the apotheosis of James
 “ Clément, the assassinator of Henry III.
 “ and that among that great number of
 “ doctors, which composed the assem-
 “ bly, only one, named John Poi-
 “ tevin, was against it? In those mi-
 “ serable times, a furious hatred and mis-
 “ guided zeal extinguished the natural
 “ lights of reason; and however revolting
 “ that doctrine might be, which teaches
 “ that it is sometimes lawful to murder
 “ kings, however opposite to scripture and
 “ reason, yet, to the shame of humanity,
 “ and the disgrace of religion, that doctrine
 “ prevailed. Mariana, a Spanish jesuit,
 “ in a book entitled *De Rege & Regis In-*
 “ *stitutione*, held in effect that it was
 “ sometimes allowable to murder tyrants,
 “ tho’ elsewhere he teaches, that a lawful
 “ prince cannot be killed or deprived of
 “ his

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“ his authority by an individual. The
 “ enemies of the jesuits advance, that it
 “ was from this book Ravaillac had taken
 “ his first lesson, which he practised but
 “ too well. It is certain, however, that
 “ he never read the book, knew nothing
 “ of it, and did not understand Latin well
 “ enough to read it; but these reasonings
 “ are the effects of passion and prejudice.
 “ Father Aquaviva, to hinder the rashness
 “ of some writers from raising such ca-
 “ lumnies against the jesuits for the future,
 “ on the 8th of July forbade all the subjects
 “ of the society, upon pain of being ex-
 “ communicated and suspended from ex-
 “ ercising any of the sacred functions, to
 “ speak or write any thing which could
 “ authorize, in any manner, or under any
 “ pretence, the parricide of kings, whom,
 “ by the law of God, says he, we are
 “ commanded to honour and respect, as
 “ sacred persons placed by his hands upon
 “ the throne.” Chronol. and Dogm.
 Vol. I. p. 115, and following.

What is here said of Mariana may with
 equal justice be applied to Becan; but, a-
 mong all these accusations, I see only one
 in which there is any probability: which
 is that drawn from the book of this Span-
 ish jesuit, condemned by the parliament
 as being capable of arming subjects against
 their sovereign, but in reality what ought
 to be inferred from thence to the prejudice
 of the French jesuits, what proofs could
 a book furnish against them, which was
 written by a foreigner, and in the year
 1606 publicly condemned as a most per-
 nicious piece, and even rejected by the je-
 suits themselves?

“ The queen, who was desirous that
 “ Father Cotton and the abbe Du-Bois,
 “ the declared enemy of that father and
 “ the whole society, should be reconciled,
 “ permitted him to have a conference with
 “ that abbe, which lasted four hours, at
 “ the house of the lieutenant-civil; but,
 “ not being able to agree, father Cotton,
 “ to take him at some disadvantage, at
 “ length asked him if he thought the jesuits
 “ had been the cause of the late king’s

“ assassination, and if he believed that he
 “ had killed him. “ No,” replied the
 “ abbe Du-Bois. “ For, if I thought so,
 “ I would this instant, said he, swearing
 “ a great oath, hoist you up by the throat
 “ and strangle you, and then throw you
 “ out of the window.” Father Cotton
 “ afterwards asked him if the jesuits were
 “ not catholics. “ Oh yes, answered he,
 “ such catholics as the devil is.” Journal
 of the reign of Henry IV. by P. L’Etoile,
 p. 233.

“ On Tuesday, May 25, there was a
 “ quarrel betwixt M. de Loménie and fa-
 “ ther Cotton, in full council. Loménie
 “ told him, that it was he and his secretary
 “ who had murdered the king, whereupon
 “ the members of the council representing to
 “ him that he ought to be more moderate
 “ in his expressions, he said, that his grief
 “ for the death of his good master might
 “ force him into some intemperance of
 “ language, but that he would not speak
 “ but in the queen’s presence. At the
 “ same time Béringhen quarrelled with
 “ De-Lorme, first physician to the queen,
 “ who supported the jesuits, and said
 “ things as severe to him as Loménie had
 “ done to father Cotton.”

Is it surprising that persons under the in-
 fluence of passion, and in those moments
 when they suffer themselves to be carried
 away by their conjectures, prejudices, and
 particular enmities, should utter invectives,
 and make reproaches which they cannot
 prove? At such times they often say things
 which they do not believe, and which,
 when their reason is less clouded, they in-
 wardly disavow.

John Du-Bois, abbe of Beaulieu, being
 a short time after obliged to quit the king-
 dom, was arrested at Rome, and put into
 the prisons of the inquisition, either at the
 suit of the jesuits, or of the procurator-general
 of celestin monks; for he had formerly been
 of that order, and quitted it without giving an
 account of the money which had been depo-
 sited in his hands. He had afterwards born
 arms, and distinguished himself in the ser-
 vice of Henry III. who used to call him
 the

the emperor of the monks: after that, he resumed the ecclesiastic habit, and was celebrated for his preaching. Whatever was the cause, he was detained in those prisons till the year 1626, which was the same year in which he died, being a few days after he was restored to his liberty by pope Gregory XV. *Memoirs for a History of France, French Mercury, and Moreri.*

In L'Etoile, La-Varenne makes a very singular speech to the jesuits at his return from La-Flèche, whither he had accompanied them in the ceremony of bearing the king's heart to their chapel. Having entertained them all to the number of twenty-four at dinner, he continued his discourse to them (the former part of which had been pretty severe) in this manner: "I will not scruple to tell you, said he, that there is a very bad report concerning you circulated in this city, which has come to my ears; that there are among you some who were abettors of and accomplices, in the wicked assassination of the deceased king. Hitherto I have not believed it; but, if I should ever happen to discover any thing against you, I declare that I will have you all seized one after the other, and hang you in my stables." Such was La-Varenne's harrangue to the jesuits; but it was time, say they, to shut the stable-door when the steed was stolen. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

As this speech of La-Varenne's is not mentioned in any of the best authors of his time, there is good reason to think it one of those idle and ridiculous tales fit to amuse the populace, and gratify the malice and prejudice of an enemy who finds reason and probability in every thing that is conformable to his passion.

The same author, speaking of the provost-marshal of Pluviers, says, that he had two sons who were both jesuits, and endeavours to prove that they were accessory to the king's assassination; but it is evident that nothing could be more unjust than the reasonings of this writer, or more false than his conclusions, with respect to the provost of Pluviers: for why indeed

should it be asserted, that the jesuits were in a combination with that provost, because he had two sons in the society? It would not follow from thence that they had contributed to Ravailac's crime, unless it could be proved, which it is impossible to do, that the provost hanged himself through his fear of falling into the hands of justice, for having, in concert with the jesuits, endeavoured to inspire Ravailac with a resolution to complete his horrid design: but this base calumny is refuted by the French Mercury, who, after observing that all which had been said against the jesuits had been taken from L'Anti-Cotton, the Thanks of the Butter-woman, and such like writings, "They ought surely, said he, to agree in their satires, since they all proceed from the same mouth. Of these two books, the first was not printed till the middle of September, and the other towards the end of October; and it was always thought this provost hanged himself because instruments for coining had been found upon him, having practised the art of coining, and been guilty of other crimes in his office, for which he knew he could not avoid death; and not for the above mentioned accusation, which was raised against him at the instigation of his enemies." *French Mercury, anno 1610.*

That very observation, that nothing was alleged against the jesuits, at that time, which was not taken from the most contemptible libels, is alone a sufficient answer to all other calumnies of that nature; and after some words which escaped one of the most furious enemies this society ever had, it ought no longer to be doubted. This Anti-jesuit, said he, appeared about that time, and, except low abuse, it will be found to contain nothing. The author was a young man named Bonestat. The factor of Guillemot was imprisoned for it. The Catholicon of Saumur appeared likewise; a work made up of bad and good. La-Barillierie, who is a free-speaker, meeting two jesuits some days after the king's assassination, "Gentlemen, said he, I think

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“ you are jesuits: there is a merchant at
 “ Châtelleraut who has very good knives
 “ to sell; perhaps you may find some that
 “ will suit you there.” This is not a
 proof, but a witticism, which pleases not
 on account of the truth there is in it, but
 for its malicious and satyrical turn. Me-
 moirs for a History of France, ib. p. 353.

“ Divray, a clerk of the court, told one
 “ of my friends the next day, that as they
 “ were conducting mademoiselle Coman,
 “ the same who has been formerly men-
 “ tioned, before the council, she said to
 “ him; “ I revealed to the jesuits, in con-
 “ fession, all I knew of this conspiracy, and
 “ they entreated me not to mention it.”
 Certainly the jesuits were greatly concerned
 in what this girl alledged: how comes it
 then that the writers of those times, who
 have been so particular in their relations,
 have taken no notice of this circumstance?
 Ibid, p. 358.

Nor is it less easy to refute the following
 citations against the several persons we have
 named; indeed they carry their refutation
 along with them, by comprehending, in
 the same accusation, persons who were not
 only without connection of friendship or
 interest, but were declared enemies, and
 publicly known to be such: I mean the
 queen and the marchioness of Verneuil,
 and their partizans. For the same reason,
 therefore, we think ourselves dispensed with
 from joining to each quotation reflections
 which would greatly swell these notes, and
 which must necessarily occur to every ju-
 dicious reader.

“ The Sunday before the Wednesday on
 “ which the king was murdered, being the
 “ 9th of May, this soldier, a wicked lewd
 “ fellow, and who, says the author a few
 “ lines above, had formerly been a priest,
 “ met the widow of captain St. Matthieu,
 “ a huguenot, a little beyond the gate St.
 “ Antony, on the road from Charenton,
 “ and, knowing her, he accosted her, and,
 “ after some discourse, asked her if she still
 “ lived at Paris. She told him she did
 “ And what are you doing there so long?”
 “ said the soldier. “ Doing, she replied,

“ I have a great deal of business to trans-
 “ act.” “ Faith, returned he, if I was in
 “ your place, no law suit or business what-
 “ ever should keep me there; and it is be-
 “ cause I wish you well that I advise you
 “ to get out of Paris.” “ But why do
 “ you wish me out of Paris?” said she.
 “ Because, resumed the soldier, before
 “ eight days are past, it is in danger of
 “ suffering so great a disaster, that happy
 “ will it be for them who are at a distance
 “ from it. I therefore advise you, as a
 “ friend, to quit Paris as soon as possible,
 “ and believe what I say to you.” When
 “ they came to the entry of the church,
 “ where the sermon was not yet begun,
 “ the soldier said he would not hear the
 “ sermon. “ But,” said he, laughing, “ I
 “ will go and examine the disposition of
 “ your guards, who are a multitude of
 “ poor miserable wretches, ranged on each
 “ side like two hedges.” Then looking
 “ at them, “ Behold those lame stragglers,
 “ said he to this woman, which we are
 “ accustomed to see in Paris at the entrance
 “ of our churches; do you not observe
 “ those soldiers who are amongst them?
 “ I know them every one; they are all
 “ robbers; four of them in particular,
 “ whom I see there, are destined for four
 “ terrible exploits: but the wickedest, and
 “ most determined of them all, I do not
 “ see.” Saying this, he took leave of the
 “ woman, and went away. Upon the
 “ Wednesday following, when the king
 “ was assassinated, she begun to reflect
 “ upon what the soldier had said to her,
 “ and the Sunday after, being in doubt
 “ whether she ought to go to Charenton,
 “ hearing that others had set the example,
 “ she resolved to follow it, and upon the
 “ road again met the soldier, to whom, in
 “ great surprize, she said, “ I think you
 “ are a prophet; I shall believe you another
 “ time: but I hope we shall suffer no
 “ more.” “ This is nothing yet, said the
 “ soldier; all is not over; there are other
 “ strokes to follow this, equally wicked,
 “ and much more dangerous; and, since,
 “ you are resolved to believe me for the
 “ future,

“future, take my council, and leave your abode as soon as possible.”

“Upon giving immediate information of this discourse to the ministers of the church, among others to M. Durand, he procured her, by means of one of his friends, access to M. Desfontis, who having heard what she had to say, and got intelligence from her where this soldier dwelt, and at what hour he might be spoke with, he went to his lodgings at ten o'clock at night, and seizing him without any difficulty, lodged him in a place of security. The great probability there was in this story made many persons hope that at length there would be a full discovery of this deplorable and most abominable enterprize, if the vile methods of proceeding used in the affair, had not destroyed all the good effects that might have been expected from the discoveries already made; but such was the conduct observed in it, that one would imagine we were afraid of shewing ourselves too severe and exact, in searching into a crime the most barbarous and most wicked that has ever been perpetrated in Europe for upwards of a thousand years.” L'Etoile's Journal, page 150, and following.

“Tuesday, May 18, the court being assembled, deliberated upon the forms and proceedings to be used in the trial and condemnation of that most detestable parricide and assassin of his king, Francis Ravallac; but it was more especially considered in this assembly what tortures should be used to extort a confession from this miserable wretch. It was resolved that he should be put to extraordinary tortures, and those of the most cruel kind: even foreign ones were proposed, and, among others, that of Geneva, which was called the *barathe*, or *barriere*, a torture so violent, that it is said none, on whom it was tried, but was forced by it to confess. Upon this the opinions of the assembly were divided; the oldest and the best approved of its being tried, the others wavering be-

“tween both, and apt to change their opinions every moment, resolved upon nothing; therefore most of those who are only determined by gain, having given their votes, in *mitiorem* (scilicet *deteriorem*) carried the vote that day by a great majority.” Ibid, p. 154.

“According to the said arret, he was put to the torture in order to oblige him to reveal his accomplices: what passed is still a secret to all but the court.” French Mercury, anno 1610, fol. 454.

“A certain infamous fellow, having publicly railed at the deceased king, and praised Ravallac, saying that he had performed a noble act, was seized and brought prisoner to Paris. The informations against him, as those against Maçon, were laid before the chancellor, but have still remained a secret, nor has there been any mention made of bringing them to justice.” Memoirs for the History of France, Vol. II, p. 324.

“When the assassin was brought to the place of punishment, and upon the point of being torn in pieces by the horses, observing that a certain man, who was near the scaffold, had alighted from his horse to put it in the place of one which had been tired with dragging him: They deceived me, said he, when they told me that the action I was going to commit would be pleasing to the people, since they themselves furnish horses to tear me in pieces.” A proof, adds the author in the margin, that he had been incited by some persons to commit that execrable fact, and that he had accomplices.” Ib. p. 322.

Here follows what relates to the provost of Pluviers: “The provost of Pluviers or Pétiviers, a city in Beauce, distant about two days journey from Paris, was accused of having said, the same day, that the king was murdered; *this day the king is either slain or wounded*. Being brought prisoner to Paris, he was found dead in the prison, strangled with the strings of his drawers. He was hanged by the feet in the Grève, on the 19th
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“ of June.” French Mercury, anno 1610. L’Etoile, after relating the same fact, adds the following circumstances: “ This infamous man, whose wickedness was publicly known, and who had two sons of the order of the jesuits, *quod notandum*, acknowledged by every one to be a very bad subject to the king, but a good servant to the family of Entragues and the marchioness of Verneuil, and known to be a rogue and extortioner, was accused of having said, in Pluviers, while he was playing, or looking upon others who were playing, at bowls, in a garden, at the very time the king was murdered, *The king is just now murdered; he is dead, depend upon it*; and, some days before, he had used words to the same purpose, or very near it, which was not taken notice of till the thing happened, which made them believe that the old villain knew something of the enterprize, and was one of the accomplices of that vile assassin: so that, being carefully watched, and eagerly pursued, he was at length taken and brought to Paris, where he was confined in the Conciergerie du Palais, where, a short time afterwards, to their great astonishment, they found him dead, being strangled with the strings of his drawers. The parliament had him tried, tho’ dead, and found him guilty of the crime of high treason; but, after all, *dead men do not speak*, which was what they wanted; for, if he had spoke, he might have said too much for the honour and advantage of many persons whom they had no inclination to hurt. This was what was believed by all the people about Pluviers, who used to exclaim, *Good God, how fortunate is the death of this wicked man for M. D’Entragues, the marchioness of Verneuil his daughter, and the whole family*. Upon this miserable wretch was found a tool and an instrument made use of in coining, called a mold. It was said, that he had been guilty of that practice; but this instrument was found to be a tool for breaking iron gates, and

“ bars of iron, even of the largest size, like those in the Bastile, in order to get the count of Auvergne from thence.” Journal of the Reign of Henry IV. page 183.

“ The queen sent for Durat the physician, a man whom the king detested, and would never suffer in his presence, and even forbid the queen to employ. She, however, retained him for her physician, made him one of her council, with large appointments, and all to oblige Conchini, who, it was said, bore with great fortitude the death of the king.” In the margin it is written, “ The public were persuaded, that his wife and he had greatly contributed to the king’s assassination.” Memoirs for the History of France, Vol. II. p. 309.

“ On Sunday, January the 30th, the marchioness of Verneuil was, upon the depositions of mademoiselle Coman, interrogated by M. the first president at his house. Her examination lasted from one o’clock in the afternoon till five. She is thus called, Henrietta de Balzac D’Entragues, marchioness of Verneuil, mistress to king Henry IV. She was accused by La-Coman; yet was decreed to be heard but once, although the affair was the king’s assassination, and the crime high treason.” Ib. p. 358.

“ The next day the queen sent a gentleman to the first president, to desire he would send her his opinion concerning this process, to whom the good man replied, “ You may tell the queen, that God has reserved me to live in an age to see and hear things so strange, as I never thought I could have heard or seen.” One of his friends and mine saying to him, that it was almost the general opinion that this young woman, by her accusing so many persons, and of the highest rank in the kingdom, spoke at random, and without any proofs; the first president, raising his eyes to heaven, and shrugging up his shoulders, replied, “ There are but too many, there are but too many.” Ibid.

“ Monsieur

“ Monsieur D'Epéron at the same time, who was most interested in this affair, and who eagerly pushed on the process against this girl, that she might be put to death, went generally for that purpose to the council, and made a visit to the first president to hear what had passed; but that gentleman, with his accustomed gravity, and asperity of countenance, which those, especially whom he did not like, were sure to meet with from him, repulsed him disdainfully, saying, “ I am not your news-monger but your judge.” The duke telling him, that he asked him as friend, “ I have no friends, replied the president; I will do you justice: be satisfied with that.” M. D'Epéron, returning in great discontent, went and complained to the queen, who immediately dispatched a messenger to the first president, to tell him, that she had been informed, he had treated the duke of Epéron ill, and that it was her desire he should, for the future, behave with more respect to him, in consideration of his high quality. To this, the first president replied: “ I have been a judge fifty years, thirty of which I have had the honour to preside in the sovereign court of the peers of this kingdom, and during that time, I never saw any lord, duke, or peer, of what quality soever, who was accused of high treason, who came before his judges booted and spurred, as M. D'Epéron has done, and with his sword by his side. Do not fail to tell the queen this.” This was a freedom becoming a first president. I should not record this speech of his here, if I did not certainly know it to be true.”

“ If it be asked, says M. de Péréfixe, who were the furies, the fiends, that suggested to him so damnable a design, and urged him to carry it into execution, history replies, that it is ignorant, and that, upon an action of such consequence, it is not allowable to give suspicions and conjectures for certain

truths: the judges themselves, who interrogated the criminal, durst not open their mouths, and never mentioned it, but with gestures of horror and astonishment.” Péréfixe's History of Henry the Great, Part III. p. 410.

The continuator of de Thou's Latin History says, that two different opinions prevailed upon this subject; some were persuaded that the assassination of Henry IV. was the work of some great lords of the kingdom, who sacrificed this prince to their ancient resentment; others believed that it was Spain who struck this blow by the partizans she had in France: and this writer adds, that the president de Thou, and the ablest heads in the parliament, was of this latter opinion. He likewise mentions letters from Brussels, Antwerp, Malines, and Bolduc, before the 15th of May, which expressed that it was commonly reported in those provinces, that Henry IV. had been murdered. Nic. Rigalt, anno 1610. Vol. VI. p. 492.

That passage from L'Etoile, which I quoted a little before, may, if granted to be of any authority, give room for a third opinion; namely, that this plot, or rather all these different plots, were to end in a rebellion, and even a kind of second massacre in Paris; and that this was not executed, because the conspirators seeing the king dead, which was the great and principal object they had in view, thought it needless to proceed any farther.

And here I cannot dispence with myself from mentioning some writings, which may be found in the fourth volume of L'Etoile's Journal, lately printed under the title of Pièces justificatives. Some of them relate to the affair and process of Mademoiselle Coman. They add nothing, or very little, to what has been already said. The others are:

First, a manuscript which the author pretends had been found in the cabinet of the duke D'Aumale (Charles de Lorraine, second son of Claude) who died in the Low Countries in the year 1631. In this manuscript, which heavily charges the je-

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suits and the count of Auvergne, although in prison at the time, it is related, that the duke of Epernon, who was in the coach with his majesty, seeing him wounded to death, (these are his words) “ Stabbed him “ in the side with a knife, that he might “ be sooner out of pain. The duke of “ Montbazon, adds he, saw the duke of “ Epernon stab the king, but did not take “ any notice of it, because he favoured “ this assassination.”

The second of these pieces is entitled, The meeting between the duke of Epernon and Francis Ravaillac. It is there asserted, that this duke, being at Angoulême, sent for Ravaillac and two other accomplices of his, and he and father Cotton exhorted them to poignard the king, giving for a reason, that this prince was an enemy to the Pope, the king of Spain, and the catholic religion, which he was going to abolish in Europe; and that, after they had made them swear to perform this, receiving the communion upon it from father Cotton, they gave them each two hundred crowns. The assassins then took the road to Paris, where, having staid a long time, without meeting with an opportunity of executing their enterprise, they obliged D'Epernon to give each of them a hundred crowns more; that, when the moment for perpetrating the parricide approached, the duke of Epernon, as he had agreed upon beforehand with Ravaillac, amused the king with some discourse, and then the horrid villain, throwing himself upon the king, gave him a wound with a knife; but the said duke perceiving that it was very slight, and that the king cried out, I am wounded, he made a sign to him to repeat the stroke, whereupon this execrable wretch, with a second blow, struck the king into the heart; so that he expired immediately. All these imputations, to be found only in contemptible libels, deserve less, that we should shew their falshood and inconsistency than the former. See Pasquier's letter to M. de Monac, in which he justifies the duke of Epernon.

The other pieces relate to the story of

Peter Du-Jardin, known by the name of captain de La-Garde, of whom we have already had occasion to speak. From these we learn, that Du-Jardin was a native of Rouen: he served at first in the regiment of guards, afterwards in the light horse: he then went to Provence, where he was employed by the duke of Guise in his majesty's service. Marshal Biron knew him when he served in the light horse, and attached him to himself on account of his great bravery. After the peace of Savoy, he went into the service of the republic of Venice, where he continued till she made peace with the Pope. He then went to serve in Germany under the duke De Merccur. He again returned to Venice, from whence, after a short stay at Florence and Rome, he came to Naples. In this city he became acquainted with a refugee, named La-Bruyere, who had been a leaguer: by him he was introduced to a jesuit, called father Alagon uncle to the duke of Lerma, the king of Spain's favourite. This jesuit, being desirous to make use of so brave a man in the design that was projected of assassinating Henry IV. joined him with Hébert, marshal Biron's secretary, who has been mentioned in our Memoirs, with Lewis D'Aix, mentioned likewise in the account of the reduction of Marseilles, and with another Provincial, called Roux, all of them French refugees.

In one of their parties of pleasure Ravaillac was introduced to them, who disclosed to them all his designs, and told them, that he brought a letter from the duke of Epernon for the viceroy of Naples. La-Garde, having now got sufficient intelligence of every thing that was projecting, went to Zamet, ambassador from France to Venice, to discover all he knew. This ambassador sent him immediately to M. De-Brèves, our ambassador at Rome, and to Zamet, his brother, at Paris. De-Brèves gave La-Garde letters for M. de Villeroi, with which he returned to Paris in the train of the duke of Nevers, who at Fontainebleau presented him to his majesty. Henry IV. after telling him that he would take

take proper measures to render these designs upon his person ineffectual, ordered this officer to accompany the grand marshal of Poland into Germany, and to take care of his interests there. La-Garde, returning to France with advices of great importance from the grand marshal of Poland, was at Francfort informed of the king's death. He retired to Metz greatly indisposed, from whence he followed marshal de La-Chatre to the expedition of Juliers. After the peace, as he was upon his journey to France, he was attacked near the village of Fize by some armed men, who gave him several wounds, and left him for dead in a ditch. La-Garde made shift to get to Mézières, where the duke of Nevers then was, who caused him to be conducted to Paris, where, upon presenting a petition to the king, he obtained the office of comptroller-general of Bieres; but, when he least expected such treatment, he was seized and carried to prison. Before judgment was pronounced, which could not be favourable, because his judges found him absolutely innocent of every thing charged upon him, an exempt came to take him out of prison, and delivered him a brevet for a yearly pension of six hundred livres; and his patent for the office of comptroller-general of Bieres: it appears that he retired to Rouen, and died there.

Another writer of still later date, who has restored the five interrogatories of Ravallac, in the volume of manuscripts, marked 192, of the king's library (for the French Mercury mentions only the four last, which are abridged and related in an historical manner, and says not a word of the first) believes that in them may be found proofs that the criminal endeavoured to impose upon his judges, and did not make a full confession; and that his judges, on their side, seemed to be afraid of asking him how he came to be known to the duke of Epemon. He has not the least doubt of Ravallac's having been in Italy, although he constantly denied it. The pieces relating to the processes of La Coman, and

captain de La-Garde, seem to him to prove very clearly, that the plot of the parricide was laid at Naples in the year 1608; and that, at one and the same time, they laboured to secure the success of it in Italy, Spain, Flanders, and France. To this he adds, that the duke of Epemon, and the marchionefs of Verneuil, met several times at St. Jean en Greve; that they had been heard to say something relating to their scheme, and that Henry IV. himself was informed of it: but that this prince, either through a blind security or an excess of goodness, neglected this information.

Those who have observed that the duke of Sully, in some passages of his Memoirs, confessed that he does not declare all he knows on this subject, may in these words find some grounds for suspicions: but indeed in all these there is nothing sufficiently clear nor positive, to make it allowable, upon such hints, to accuse this or that person; and, at present, the best thing that can be done, is to draw a veil over this mystery of iniquity, and, if possible, to consign for ever to oblivion this shocking period of our history. We ought to take this part, although it were true what some persons are fully persuaded of, that there are two or three cabinets in Paris which are able to throw some new lights upon this fact. Those who are possessed of such papers, are greatly to be praised for concealing them with so much care; and it would be well if they could resolve to consign them to the flames.

Throughout this whole detail, I have not quoted Vittorio Siri; not that he makes no mention of the assassination of Henry IV. and the trial of Ravallac, Mem. Record. Vol. II. p. 246, but he does it in so negligent a manner, and like a man so ill informed, and even so prejudiced against the person of Henry IV. and his maxims of government, that his testimony deserves to have no weight. I shall only observe here, that it is his opinion absolutely, that Ravallac had no accomplices.

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M E M O I R S

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S U L L Y.

B O O K XXVIII.

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THE reader must not expect to see in these Memoirs a particular relation of that execrable crime: my grief is renewed by the sad remembrance, nor shall I cease to lament it but when I cease to live. It is with astonishment that I behold persons capable of hearing and speaking with coldness and insensibility of the greatest misfortune which ever befel this kingdom; in me the thought of it is attended with such horror, that I turn my eyes as much as possible from that deplorable object, and my tongue refuses to pronounce the name of the abominable monster *, who was the cause of all our

* Francis Ravailac was born at Angoulême, where he followed the profession of a schoolmaster, and was at that time between thirty-one and thirty-two years old. Matthieu thinks he was mad; but I can find nothing in his discourse, either during his imprisonment, or at the time of his execution, that affords any reason to charge him with madness, taking that word in its most usual sense, but only with fool-hardiness, fury, and a distempered mind. He was brought, on Thursday the 27th of

May, before the church of Notre Dame, where he performed the *amende honorable*; from thence he was carried to the Grève, and there his breast, arms, thighs, &c. were torn with red-hot pincers, &c. he holding the knife in his right hand; after that, melted lead, and boiling oil and pitch, were poured on his wounds; and at last he was torn to pieces by four horses; his members were burned, and his ashes thrown into the air. The furious crowd were every moment ready to push upon him and tear

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miserics; while inwardly I implore the divine vengeance against him, and against those that armed his impious hand; the public outcry directs us to the authors of this detestable plot; nor can I hinder myself from exclaiming, with all the world, against a circumstance, of which no one is ignorant. After the parricide had perpetrated his horrid design, he was guarded with so little care in the house* to which he was first carried, that during four hours all sorts of persons were permitted to see him and talk to him; and certain persons, whom it is not necessary to name here, made such an imprudent use of this liberty, that they were heard to call him Friend, and bid him, I repeat their own words, "take care that he did not accuse good men who were "innocent and good catholics," because that would be an unpardonable crime, and worthy of eternal damnation. Some persons, truly scandalized at what they saw, loudly exclaimed against such negligence; which obliged them afterwards to guard the murderer with more care.

HOWEVER that may be, such was the tragical end of a prince, on whom nature, with a lavish profusion, had bestowed all her advantages, except that of a death such as he merited. I have already observed, that his stature was so happy, and his limbs formed with such proportion, as constitutes not only what is called a well-made man, but indicates strength, vigour, and activity †; his complexion was animated; all the lineaments of his face had that agreeable liveliness ‡

him to pieces, and refused to sing the *salve*. He was somewhat tall and bulky, and of so robust a make, that the horses could not tear him to pieces, but the executioner was obliged to cut him into quarters, which the populace dragged about the city, &c. See the historians quoted above. Pasquier says he was related, on the mother's side, to Poltrot, who assassinated the duke of Guise; *ibid.* p. 32. I do not find there is any appearance of truth in what Guy-Patin relates, letter 122, that Ravallac had a brother who died in Holland, and who, on his death-bed, declared, that if his brother had miscarried in his attempt, he himself would have undertaken the same thing, to revenge, as he said, the injury Henry IV. had done them in debauching their sister, and neglecting her afterwards.

* In the hotel of Retz. L'Etoile says he was carried the next day from the hotel of Epernon to the Conciergerie.

† "Henry IV. says Le-Grain, was of "a middling stature, rather tall than low; "that his forehead was broad, his nose "aquiline and royal, his mouth well made, "and his lips red, &c." *Decade de Henry le Grand*, book i. Morizot being worse informed, says, on the contrary, that he was low, and of square make: and asserts, that he dressed himself nearly in the same manner in winter as in summer, chap. 49.

‡ D'Aubigné informs us, that he had an extreme piercing sight, and (to make use of his own words) a monstrous quick hearing; of which he gives this convincing proof: "The king, says he, being in bed "at La-Garnache, in a large state chamber, and his bed, besides the curtains, "being surrounded with a thick frize; "Frontenac and I laid in the opposite corner of the room, in a bed furnished in "the same manner; and joking about the "king, I having my lips close to his ear,

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which forms a sweet and happy physiognomy, and perfectly suited to that engaging easiness of manners, which, though sometimes mixed with majesty, never lost the graceful affability and easy gaiety * so natural to that great prince. With regard to the qualities of his heart and mind, I shall tell the reader nothing new, by saying that he was candid, sincere, grateful, compassionate, generous †, wise, penetrating ;

“ and lowering my voice as much as possible, he often asked, What dost thou say? The king answered, Deaf as you are, can't you hear he says, I want to make two friends by doing one good office? We got off by desiring him to go to sleep, for we had still a great deal more to say of him.” Vol. III. ch. xxi. The answer which the duke of Bellegarde made to this prince, is of much the same kind with this; when both of them lying in the same room, shortly after the death of Henry III. Henry IV. waked Bellegarde three or four times in the night, to persuade him to give up some of the posts he enjoyed, in favour of some persons the king named to him: “ I will with all my heart, fire,” says the master of the horse at last; “ but, for God's sake, don't wake any more.” This taste for raillery and joking, as is always the case on such occasions, from the prince's example, passed to his courtiers: and Siri, with some appearance of reason, blames Henry IV. on this account, condemning it as a fault in a king; raillery never failing to create quarrels amongst the great, and always diminishing the reverence due to the prince: he produces many examples of this. Mem. second. vol. I. p. 560.

* The history of Henry IV. furnishes innumerable instances of his turn for pleasantry, and of his affable and popular manner of address; which perhaps contributed more than his great qualities to procure him the love of his people. “ The king,” say the Mem. for the hist. of France, vol. II. p. 277, “ going one day to the Louvre, and meeting a poor woman driving a cow, he stopt her, and asked the price of the cow: the woman having told him the price, *Ventre-saint-gris!* says the king, she is not worth that; I will

give you so much. I see replied the woman, you are not a dealer in cows. “ What makes you think so? says the king, who had many noblemen with him, Don't you see all these calves are following me?” His gardener at Fontainebleau once complaining to him, that he could not make any thing grow in that soil: “ Friend,” says Henry looking at the duke of Epemon, “ sow it with Gafcoons, they will thrive any where.” A man who was an extraordinary great eater being shewn him, he said, “ *Ventre-saint-gris!* if I had six men like thee in my kingdom I should hang them all; such rascals would soon create a famine.” It is also related of him, that having one day boasted to the Spanish ambassador, that he would go to breakfast at Milan, hear mass at Rome, and dine at Naples; that ambassador answered, “ Sire, if your majesty goes so fast, perhaps you may go to vespers in Sicily.” He was never displeas'd at any repartees that were made to him of this kind. Matthieu says, not one of his court was able to tell a story so agreeably as he.

† “ As to his enemies, he always spoke of them with respect, even when he was very young, how much soever he was offended with them: he never named any one of his enemies without giving him the title of Monsieur.” Le-Grain's Decade, book viii. “ All the forests in my kingdom would not be sufficient,” said he, to furnish timber for gallows, “ if all those who have wrote or preached against me were to be hanged.” When he had been prevailed on to read some libels on the late queen, his mother, he shrugged up his shoulders, saying, “ O, the wretch! but he returned to France under protection of my passport; and I

in a word, endowed with all those great and amiable qualities which in these Memoirs he has so often had occasion of admiring in him.

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He loved all his subjects as a father, and the whole state as the head of a family: and this disposition it was, that recalled him even from the midst of his pleasures, to the care of rendering his people happy, and his kingdom flourishing: hence proceeded his readiness in conceiving, and his industry in perfecting, a great number of useful regulations; many I have already specified: and I shall sum up all, by saying, that there were no conditions, employments, or professions, to which his reflections did not extend; and that with such clearness and penetration, that the changes he projected could not be overthrown by the death of their author, as it but too often happened in this monarchy. It was his desire, he said, that glory might influence his last years, and make them, at once, useful to the world, and acceptable to God: his was a mind, in which the ideas of what is great, uncommon, and beautiful, seemed to rise of themselves: hence it was, that he looked upon adversity as a mere transitory evil, and prosperity as his natural state. He had drained fens, in order to a greater work than any he had yet undertaken, which was to make, by canals, a communication from sea to sea, and from river to river: he wanted only time to complete this noble project.

“ will not have any harm done to him.” Merc. Franc. ann. 1610, pag. 428. He shewed not the same indulgence where offence was given to other persons, as in his own case. “ On twelfth-day, as the king was going to receive the communion, M. de Roquelaure, judging this the fittest opportunity to apply for the pardon he was desirous to obtain for Saint-Chamand (Francis d’Hautefort) his cousin, who had caused the lieutenant-general de Tulles (Peter de Fenis, sieur du Teil) to be whipped, without any reason, and for which his majesty had ordered him to be exemplarily punished, came to the king, and besought him to pardon Saint-Chamand, for the love of that God he was going to receive, and who would only forgive those who had forgave those that had offended them: whom the king answered, fixing his eyes on him, “ Be gone, and let me alone; I am surpris’d you dare

“ make this request to me, when I am going to declare to God, my resolution to do justice, and to ask his pardon for not having done it.” Mem. pour l’hist. de France, vol. II. p. 262. He replied to M. le Grand, who importuned him in favour of the son of the count de La-Martiniere, who was condemned to suffer death for having killed his sister; “ That after he was executed he would grant him his ashes:” to another nobleman he said, “ If he had been the father of that wretch he would not have interceded for him. He made a merry, though a christian, reply to another: *Ventre-saint-gris!*” said he to him, scratching his head, I have sins enough on my head already, without adding this to them.” L’Etoile, part ii. p. 115. Somebody wanting to persuade him to punish the author of the *Ile des Hermaphrodites*, “ It would offend my conscience, says he, to give any man trouble for only speaking the truth.”

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HE often said, that there were ten things which he intreated God to grant to him, from whence arose that saying, "The ten wishes of Henry IV." He had not the good fortune to obtain them all: they were as follow. 1. Grace and spiritual blessings. 2. To preserve till death the use of all the faculties of his mind and body. 3. To see the religion he had formerly professed, in a fixed and peaceful situation. 4. To be delivered from his wife (it is the first he here means) and to find one whose temper suited with his own, that would bring him princes whom he might live to form and educate himself. 5. To restore France to its ancient splendor. 6. To gain from Spain, by conquest, either Navarre, or Flanders and Artois. 7. To gain a battle in person against the king of Spain, and another against the Grand Seignior; a piece of good fortune for which he greatly envied Don John of Austria. 8. To bring back to its duty, without being obliged to have recourse to violent measures, the huguenot faction, headed by the dukes of Bouillon, La-Tremouille, &c. And on this subject he added a 9th, To see those two men, and the duke of Epernon, reduced to implore his clemency. It was a long time before he would declare the 10th, which regarded the accomplishment of his great designs: and as in those designs he had two principal objects in view, it was necessary to divide this wish into two; and first, with regard to religion, he was desirous of reducing that prodigious number of religions with which all Europe was filled and divided, to three principal ones at least, since it was not possible to reunite them all under one sole faith: the other was wholly political, and related to the number, the territory, and equality, of the European powers, of whom he designed to compose that kind of great republic upon the plan I shall give the reader presently.

I SHOULD destroy all I have now said of this great prince, if, after having praised him for an infinite number of qualities well worthy to be praised, I did not acknowledge that they were ballanced by faults, and those indeed very great. I have not concealed, or even palliated his passion for women; his excess in gaming; his gentleness often carried him to weakness; nor his propensity to every kind of pleasure: I have neither disguised the faults they made him commit, the foolish expences they led him into, nor the time they made him waste: but I have likewise observed, to do justice on both sides, that his enemies have greatly exaggerated all these errors. If he was, as they say, a slave to women, yet they never regulated his choice of ministers, decided the destinies of his servants, or influenced the deliberations of his council.

council. As much may be said in extenuation of all his other faults. And to sum up all, in a word, what he has done is sufficient to shew, that the good and bad in his character had no proportion to each other; and that since honour and fame have always had power enough to tear him from pleasure, we ought to acknowledge them to be his great and real passions.

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I HAVE a letter by me, which he made Loménie write for him, because he had, as he said, a slight hurt in his thumb; it is dated from Chantilly, April 8, but without date of the year. I believe the reader will not be displeas'd to hear him speak himself upon this subject. At the beginning of the letter he tells me, that his reason for entering upon it with me, was the public discourse concerning him; for he used to divert himself with hearing all that was said of him, from Roquelaure, Frontenac, La-Riviere, Du-Laurens, d'Aurambure, Morlas, Sallette, La-Varenne, Bonniers, Du-Jon, Béringhen, L'Oferai, Armagnac, Jacquinot, Perroton, and some others with whom he conversed familiarly, and who often acquitted themselves very faithfully of the order he gave them, to conceal from him nothing that was said to his disadvantage.

HE began with telling me, that his enemies accused him with having neglected and despis'd, those are his words, the greatest and most deserving men in the kingdom; and consuming, in vain and useless expences, that money which they alledged would be better employed in gratuities to them*. "Some, pursued he, blame me for being too fond of buildings and great works; others, for liking hunting, dogs, and birds; one says, that I have a passion for cards, dice, and other kinds of gaming; another condemns me for my attachment to women, to the pleasures of the table, to assemblies, plays, balls, running at the ring, and other amusements of that kind †; where, say they,

* "They say I am niggardly, says he, but I do three things very inconsistent with a covetous disposition; for I make war, I make love, and I build." Le-Grain, book viii. "Some looked on him as a covetous man, but they could be only those who did not know the great necessities he had to struggle with; which were even so great, that during the siege of Dieppe, he could truly say, He was a king without a kingdom, a

husband without a wife, and that he made war without money." Merc. Franç. ann. 1610. p. 485.

† "At feasts he was lively; at tournaments as expert as any one; he was gay over a bottle, tho' naturally grave; his sprightliness, and the smartness of his repartees, furnished the most pleasing part of the feast: he discovered as much address and courage at tilts, running at the ring, and in all other gentle-

"I appear

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“ I appear as gay and lively, with my grey beard, and am as proud of
 “ having gained the goal, and received a ring from some fair lady, as
 “ I could have been in my youth, or as the vainest young fellow of
 “ the court. I do not deny (adds he) but there is some truth in all
 “ this; but if I am guilty of no excesses in these pleasures, my conduct
 “ deserves more praise than blame; and indeed some little indulgences
 “ I ought to have, in amusements which bring no inconvenience upon
 “ my people, in consideration of the labours I have endured from my
 “ infancy to fifty years old. I have heard you say, when any one cen-
 “ sured your actions, that we are not commanded by scripture to have
 “ absolutely no sins and errors, because there are some infirmities in-
 “ separable from humanity; but only not to suffer them to enslave us
 “ and controul our wills; and this has been my endeavour, since I
 “ could not do better *. You know that on many occasions wherein
 “ my mistresses have been concerned (and my passion for women is,
 “ of all others, said to have the most empire over me) I have supported
 “ you against them, and have gone so far as to tell them, that I would
 “ rather lose ten such mistresses as they, than one such servant as you:
 “ and this, I assure you, you shall hear me say again, if necessary; for
 “ when an opportunity offers for executing those glorious designs which
 “ you know I have long formed, you shall find that I can quit my
 “ mistresses, dogs, horses, gaming, buildings, and entertainments,
 “ to acquire honour and fame; for I hold it to be my principal duty,
 “ next to those I have to God, my wife, my children, my faithful
 “ servants, and my people, whom I love as my children *, to make
 “ myself be esteemed as a prince who is religiously faithful to his
 “ word.” &c.

BUT it is now time to resume the disagreeable recital of what hap-
 pened after the death of this good prince; however painful that reci-

“ man-like exercises, as any one of the
 “ young nobility: he even took delight in
 “ balls, and sometimes danced, though,
 “ to speak the truth, with more spirit than
 “ gracefulness.” *Pérefixe*, p. 380.

* “ I every day, said this prince, pray
 “ to God for three things; first, that he
 “ would be pleased to pardon my ene-
 “ mies; secondly, to grant me the victory
 “ over my passions, and especially sensu-
 “ ality; thirdly, that I may make a right
 “ use of the authority he has given me,

“ and never abuse it. I would willingly
 “ do, as they say,” added he, speaking of
 “ the remonstrances sometimes made to him
 “ by the bishops and other ecclesiastics, “ but
 “ they do not think I know what they do.”
Matthieu, vol. II. p. 838.

† “ I have only two eyes and two feet,
 “ said this good prince; in what respect then
 “ do I differ from my subjects, but that I
 “ am invested with the power of executing
 “ justice?”

tal may appear to me, these Memoirs ought not to conclude till that period, when I ceased to have a share in the affairs of the government.

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AMIDST the first transports of my grief at the news of my dear master's death, I fancied, that though mortally wounded, some little remains of life might still be left him; and my mind equally welcoming this faint ray of hope and consolation, "Give me my cloaths and boots," said I to those that were about me, and saddle some of my best horses, "for I will not use a coach, and let all my gentlemen hold themselves "in readiness to accompany me." I had then only a few of my servants with me; for all the others, believing that I was too much indisposed to go out, or even to be dressed, had dispersed several ways; but the report of the king's being wounded, which was soon spread over all quarters of the city, had brought them altogether again before I had mounted my horse, and with them so many other persons, who were particularly attached to me, that I had scarcely reached the house of Beaumarchais, when I had above an hundred horse in my train; which in a few moments more, was increased to a hundred and fifty; for as I advanced, I met several of the king's faithful servants, who were coming to my house, to ask my advice concerning what measures they should take in this most miserable conjuncture. The universal grief * and consternation which I now beheld, was a proof how tenderly this good prince was beloved in his capital. Nothing could

* The description. Preface gives of it, p. 415, is quite affecting: "When the report of this tragical accident had been spread all over Paris, and it was certainly known that the king, who at first was thought to be only wounded, was actually dead, that mixture of hope and fear, which till then had kept this great city in suspense, at once burst forth in loud cries and violent groans; some became motionless and insensible, thro' grief; others ran about the streets, quite frantic; many embraced their friends without saying any thing to them, but, *Alas! what a misfortune!* some shut themselves up in their houses; others threw themselves on the ground: one might see women, with their hair dishevelled, crying and lamenting; fathers said to their children, What will become of you? you have lost your fa-

ther. Those who had greater apprehensions for the future, and who remembered the horrible calamities of the late civil wars, deplored the misfortunes of France, and said, that the fatal stroke which had pierced the heart of the king, at the same time gave a deadly wound to every Frenchman. It was said, many were so strongly affected by this event, that they died on the spot, others in a few days afterwards. In short, it was not the appearance of a mourning for one single man, but as if the half of all mankind were dead. One would have thought every one had lost all his family, possessions, and hopes, by the death of this great king. All kings and princes, adds the historian Matthieu, lamented his death.—The king of Spain, compelled by truth and grief, declared, that the greatest

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be more affecting than the different ways by which the citizens and populace of this great city expressed their affection and their sorrow : groans, tears, loud cries of grief, a mournful silence, arms raised towards heaven, clasped hands; some striking their bosoms, others shaking their heads with a melancholy air. This was the spectacle which was every where presented to my view; some of them, looking dejectedly upon me, said, “ Ah! monsieur, we are all undone, our good king is dead.”

As I passed through the street de la Pourpointerie, a man whom I had not perceived before passed close by me, and put a billet into my hands, which I gave to some of those who were nearest me to read; it contained only these few words, “ Monsieur, where are you going? “ it is done; I have seen him dead; if you enter the Louvre you will “ not escape any more than him.” This billet gave me a dreadful certainty of what I was seeking to know. I could not hinder myself from bursting into tears: the sad truth was confirmed to me a thousand different ways. Du-Jon, whom I met near St. Innocent, said to me, “ Monsieur, our evil is without remedy. God has disposed of him; I “ know it; I have seen him speechless: take care of yourself, for this “ strange blow must have fatal consequences.” On entering the street Saint-Honoré, another billet, like the former, was thrown to me; yet I still continued my course to the Louvre. My train was now increased to three hundred horse, when I met Vitry at the end of the street: he came and embraced me, breaking out into lamentable cries, which it was not in his power to restrain; never did I behold a man in such affliction: “ Ah! monsieur, cried he, they have murdered our good master; he “ is dead, France is ruined; as for me, I am persuaded I have but a “ short time to live; I am going out of France, never more to return “ to it; we must now bid farewell to that order and regularity you had “ established. But, monsieur, said he afterwards, where are you go- “ ing with this train? they will not suffer you to approach the Louvre, “ nor to enter there with more than two or three attendants, which I “ would not advise you to do *; for I am greatly deceived if this plot

“ commander on earth was dead.—The “ Venetians said, Our king is dead.” Ibid. p. 834.

* By all the duke of Sully's expressions here, one may perceive he thought it incumbent upon him to justify himself against a fault he is accused of having committed on this occasion.—Marechal Bassompierre speaks of it as follows: “ As we came “ out, going towards Saint-Anthony's

“ street, we met the duke of Sully, with “ about forty horse, who, as he approach- “ ed, said to us, with a melancholy accent, “ Gentlemen, if your vows of service to “ the king, whom we have just now most “ unhappily lost, have made that impres- “ sion on your minds, which they ought “ on that of every good Frenchman, “ swear on the spot, that you will serve “ the king his son and successor, with the

“ends here. I have seen some persons, who have so little sensibility of the loss they have sustained, that they cannot even dissemble the grief they ought to feel for it: this I have observed, and am ready to burst with rage at it; and if you was to see them, you would think as I do. I am of opinion that you ought to go back, there is business enough for you to do, without going to the Louvre.”

“same fidelity as you did him; and that you will venture your persons and lives in revenging his death.” I answered him, “Sir, we are obliging others to take this oath, and have no need to be advised to perform what we think ourselves so strongly bound to do.” I do not know whether my answer surpris’d him, or whether he repented of having come so far from his fortress; but he immediately turning about, left us, and went and shut himself up in the Bastille, sending, at the same time, to seize all the bread in the markets and bakers shops. He also sent in great haste to M. de Rohan, his son-in-law, to make him come back, with six thousand Swifs, who were in Champagne, and of whom he was colonel-general, to march directly to Paris; which was afterwards made use of as a pretext to exclude him from the management of affairs: besides this, messieurs de Praslin and de Créquy, who came to summon him for that purpose, could never persuade him to wait on the king, as all the other great men did; nor did he go till the next day, when the duke of Guise, with difficulty, prevailed on him to go: after which, he countermanded his son-in-law, with his Swifs, who had already advanced a day’s march towards Paris.” Vol. I. p. 300. L’Etoile only says, “M. de Sully, more dead than alive, came to wait on the queen, who received him kindly, continued him in all his posts, and sent him to the arsenal to exercise the duties of his office.” Mem. hist. de France, p. 309. But his commentator appears to be of the same opinion with Bassompierre, from whom he quotes in the margin the passage we have recited here. The author of L’Histoire de la mere et du

ffils, inveighs violently on this account against M. de Sully, though without making mention of his seizing the bread, or recalling the Swifs. He only accuses this minister of giving way, with too much weakness, to the fear he had conceived of his enemies about the queen. “Some of his friends, says he, did every thing in their power to engage him to the performance of his duty, and to get the better of his apprehensions and fears: but as persons of the greatest courage, on some occasions become fearful and timorous, it was for some time impossible to inspire him with resolution enough for this purpose. It was a long time before he could recover his courage. Towards the evening, Saint-Geran, whom he had obliged, and who professed a great friendship for him, coming to him, at last prevailed on him to quit the arsenal and go to the Louvre. When he came to the Croix-du-Trahoir, his apprehensions seized him again, and so powerfully, by reason of some intelligence he received at that place, that he went back, with fifty or sixty horse, who accompanied him to the Bastille, of which he was captain; having desired M. de Saint-Geran to go and make his excuses to the queen, and assure her of his fidelity and readiness to serve her.” Vol. I. p. 49.

Viewing this account in the most unfavourable light, disadvantageous as it is to the duke of Sully, it can only give room to blame him for having carried his precaution, against any attempt on his person (which was looked on as chimerical) too far; but the historian Matthieu, the best informed of all those writers, acquaints us, that the fear this minister had conceived was not so groundless as his enemies have

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THIS agreement of discourses, billets, and advices, struck me at length: I stopped short, and after consulting with Vitry, and ten or twelve of the principal persons who followed me, I thought it was the most prudent way to return home; and accordingly I contented myself with sending to offer my duty and services to the queen; and to assure her, at the same time, that till she acquainted me with her orders, I would, with still greater assiduity than before, attend to the care of the Bastile, the arsenal, the forces, and ordnance, and all the affairs of my government, and other employments.

I HAD but just entered the street Saint-Antoine, and the gentlemen whom I sent with this message could not have had time to deliver it, when I saw a messenger from the queen, who entreated me, from her, to come instantly to the Louvre, and to bring as few persons as possible with me, having things of great consequence to impart to me. This proposal of going alone to the Louvre, to deliver myself into the hands of my enemies, with whom I knew it was full, was not very proper to remove my suspicions. Besides, I was that moment informed, that an exempt of the guards, and some archers, had been seen at the first gates of the arsenal; that others had been sent to the temple, where

represented. He speaks of this matter in the following manner: "They had raised jealousy in the queen of the duke of Sully, and she had been advised to secure his person, because he had the Bastile, the arsenal, and the king's money, in his possession. He had been bathing that day, and being advertised of this unhappy accident, he got on horseback to go to the Louvre; but coming to the Croix-du-Traboir, followed by about forty gentlemen, he received some advices which made him return. The queen sent the duke of Guise to fetch him to her, who found him in the great walk in his garden, on the side next to the Bastile, and acquainted him with the queen's orders. He desired to be excused, because he had notice given him that some designs were formed against him.—The determination he came to, on consulting with the duke of Guise, the count of Bethune, and some other friends, was to stay at home the rest of

"that day, and to see the queen on the day following, when the duke of Guise promised to come and fetch him, and assured him, that he and all his friends would lose their lives, before they would suffer any harm to be done him.—He went back to the queen, and got her approbation of the considerations that detained the duke of Sully, upon the promise he had made of coming to wait on her the next day. Immediately afterwards the duke of Sully, with a good number of gentlemen, went into the Bastile, where he had caused all the bread to be brought that was found in the bakers shops in Paris." &c. Hist. of Lewis XIII. p. 2. and 3. If we add to this, what the duke of Sully says of the notice he had received from every quarter, that this blow would be followed by terrible consequences which were not expected, we shall perhaps be convinced, that it was only prudent in this minister to act thus, for the sake of the public tranquility and his own safety.

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the powder was lodged; and some to the treasurer of the Exchequer, to stop all the money there. I drew so unfavourable an augury from all this being done without consulting me, that I did not hesitate a moment about the answer I should send to the queen. I sent a gentleman to tell her, that I was very certain, when she had heard what the person whom I had the honour to depute to her had to say, she would enter into my reasons, and alter her opinion; and that I would expect her answer at the arsenal and the Bastile, from whence I should not remove.

THE queen did not stop there; she sent to me immediately messieurs de Montbazon, de Praslin, de Schomberg, La-Varenne, and after them my brother. I knew not what to think of this importunity; but when I saw them all arrive within a quarter of an hour of each other, my suspicions were encreased, and I resolved not to go to the Louvre that day: the condition I was in was alone a sufficient excuse. The effort I had made after my bathing in the morning, and after a very slight repast; the state of my mind, far more painful than that of my body; both together had thrown me into so violent a sweat, that my cloaths were quite wet; and into so great a weakness, that I could no longer support myself; therefore, as soon as I got to my apartment in the Bastile, whither I first went, I was obliged to change my shirt, and to go into bed, where I was resolved to continue till the next day. The constable and the duke of Epernon came to visit me, and offered me their services; and the manner in which they advised me to wait upon the queen making me judge I might do it without running any danger, I at length yielded, upon the condition they still insisted on, that I should be attended only by a small number of persons: and I resolved to go to the Louvre the next day.

THREE hundred persons on horseback waited for my coming out, that they might accompany me as the day before; these were all either relations, friends, or persons seemingly attached to me from the appearance of the new favour I was likely to be in, or perhaps from the shame of quitting me too precipitately. I thanked them all, and told them my reasons for not admitting of an escort that might appear in any degree remarkable, and for confining myself to that small number which usually composed my train. And accordingly it was with my own domestics only, to the number of twenty, or thereabouts, that I arrived at the Louvre. On my entrance, I perceived the marks of a sincere grief in those who had by any employment

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been attached to the deceased king: of these, the officers and subalterns seemed to feel, with the most tender sensibility, the public loss. As I passed through the several gates I could see them advance to meet and embrace me with tears in their eyes, or groan as they saw me pass, and earnestly conjure me not to abandon the children, after having so well served the father.

It is with regret I am obliged to confess, that the inner part of the palace, and what is called the court, presented me an object greatly different; there I only saw faces either calm and composed, and, which, afflicted me so much the more, as they endeavoured, but in vain, to appear afflicted; or faces so gay, as added indignation to my grief. When I came into the queen's presence, all the little constancy with which I had armed myself so totally left me, that I broke into tears and cries. She no longer found in herself that fortitude with which she had prepared to see me: and we together made up a scene truly affecting. She gave orders that the young king should be brought to me, whose tender caresses gave a new assault to my heart, which I could with the utmost difficulty sustain. I cannot remember what this young prince then said to me, or what I said to him; all I know is, that they were scarce able to tear him from my arms, in which I held him closely embraced. "My son, said the queen "his mother to him, this is M. de Sully, you must love him well, "for he was one of the best and most faithful servants of the king "your father, and I entreat him to continue to serve you in the same "manner." The queen and I had some other discourse together, without being able to cease weeping for a moment: she afterwards said, that it was the sight of me, and one other person in the court with which she had been most affected.

A reception attended with such marks of distinction and confidence, reduced all the princes, lords, and members of the council who were near the queen, to the necessity of outvying each other in protestations of friendship, service, and attachment: yet certainly they did not deceive me, for I knew their hearts as well as themselves: I was convinced already, that in the scheme they had formed of taking advantage of the present conjuncture, to increase their riches, and arrogate new dignities to themselves, though at the expence of the good of the state, the honour of the king, and the public welfare, I might be sure of being the mark at which all their blows would be aimed: because they themselves, in the firmness of my mind, and the severity

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of my regulations, had reason to expect insurmountable obstacles to their designs; of this they had already examples so sufficient to convince them, that the only part they had to take was to endeavour to get me removed entirely from the administration of affairs; therefore when, in the sequel, they raised all sorts of batteries against me in the queen's opinion (taking it for granted that they had not done it before) when the Jesuits and their adherents made the nuncio solicit the arret for my dismissal, when my partners in the council and the finances set Conchini and his wife to work, to insinuate to the two princes of the blood, that they would never have any real authority while I continued to be at the head of affairs; and that if they removed me from the administration, it must necessarily fall into their hands; when they made all the others believe, that to depend upon Conchini was to be truly great; in a word, when I saw them all labouring with equal ardour for my fall, nothing more happened than what I had foreseen and foretold.

The first thing the parliament proceeded to, after the king's death was declared, was to appoint the queen-mother regent. It was thought necessary that the young king should go thither in person, to hold his bed of justice, and confirm this nomination *. The morning after the king's assassination was the day appointed for this ceremony. It was scarce light when I received a message from the queen, desiring I would attend his majesty to the parliament. I made every excuse I could think of to avoid it; I even feigned myself so much indisposed, that it would be impossible for me to get out of bed that whole day. I felt indeed an extreme repugnance against doing what they required of me; but it was absolutely necessary to give the queen this satisfaction, who importuned me incessantly. The sound of the drums and musical instruments giving new force to my grief, and judging that a face bathed with tears would but ill suit with the cries of gratulation and joy with which every place resounded; I pressed through the croud, and was amongst the first in the hall of the Augustins, where the parliament was held.

Two or three cardinals, who, like me, had been desirous of avoiding the press, were, with some other persons, already in the hall, and

* See the form and particulars of this ceremony in the Merc. Franc. and other historians, anno 1610. In the council which met to advise whether the queen ought to go to the parliament, the duke of Sully only said, "That as there was no law to forbid the queen's going to the parliament, it was a matter of indifference whether she went or not." Matthieu, *ibid.* p. 4.

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had taken their seats at the upper end of the bench destined for the ecclesiastics, which was on the left side of the throne prepared for his majesty: the bishops of Langres, Beauvais, and Noyon, coming in afterwards, these gentlemen, who had taken it into their heads that their quality of peers gave them a right to precede the princes and cardinals in parliament, would not sit below the latter, who they found had already placed themselves, but went to the bench on the right hand, and took their places at the upper end of it: I found them there when I entered, and told them with great civility, that it was not their place, and advised them, as their friend, to go to the left side, since they could not expect that the temporal peers, who would enter immediately, would suffer them quietly to keep possession of the right side. They were going to stun me with their usual distinctions of peers of an older creation and spiritual peers, which in their opinions raised them greatly above the new dukes. The debate was not carried to any length by me; I only told them, that they would soon be convinced who was in the right: which accordingly happened. The affair was instantly decided, and they were obliged to go over to the left side; where, finding the cardinals not disposed to give them the upper hand, they chose to go out, rather than submit to this regulation, and did not assist at the ceremony. As for me, though I was present, I interposed no farther in the dispute. The queen had reason to be satisfied with what passed*; every thing was granted her, without even collecting the votes.

It was not long before I discovered, that although, in appearance, they seemed to neglect none of the formalities which are generally observed in the settling a lawful regency, although they would have the alterations, which they already suffered to be perceived in the administration, pass for the common and necessary effect of a change of government; in a word, although they strove to make it be believed, that their sole view, by this manner of government was to give more strength and grandeur to the authority of an infant king: yet those by whose advice the queen acted, thought of nothing in reality but how, under this mask, to aggrandize themselves. All that show of regularity vanished upon a nearer view; while in its place, we beheld real violations of order, which terrified the few, the very few good subjects still remaining. I thought myself obliged, and in some degree entitled, to make them sensible that I saw these abuses, and that I dis-

* See the historians quoted before, for the manner of this ceremony.

approved of them : but the time of free remonstrances, which the grief for the king's death the first day, and the distraction of affairs the second, suffered still to subsist, was past on the third : nor was it much longer before they entirely shook off the yoke of constraint, and appeared no more with a composure of behaviour, and an affectation of sorrow, which had done too much violence to their real sentiments : stupidity, or the want of a true subject for joy, produced this effect in some ; in others, their natural levity of temper ; and in others, the mere movement of public and private affairs ; but, above all, the fear of displeasing those persons whose examples gave laws to the court.

LET us take a view then of this new world after the three first days. Were we to stop at appearances, and all that was done to strike the eyes, the Louvre might have been thought to have still mourned ; all the refinements of melancholy pomp were to be found there ; the hangings with which the ceilings, the walls, and floors were covered ; the furniture, and all the apparatus of public mourning, made the apartments of state in this palace look like the dismal abode of death and sorrow. But were we to go a little farther, and consider the countenances and behaviour of those who were appointed to do the honours of this sad ceremony, the thing might appear a little doubtful ; for if there were some among them who shed real tears, and whose groans indeed proceeded from the heart, there were others who gave sufficient indications of very different emotions. But if we descend from thence, and visit the lower apartments, which were called the ground-floors, there we may form a true notion of the disposition all hearts were in ; that magnificence which was banished from every other part of the palace found an asylum there : gold, purple, embroidery, and the most sumptuous ornaments, made this a scene of pleasure and delight ; luxury was there in its utmost profusion. Myself, and a small number of true Frenchmen, never entered those apartments, without feeling our hearts torn with grief and rage ; to behold, in a place where every object ought to have reminded us of the public loss, all the appearance of joy, triumph, and exultation. I blush to say, that notwithstanding the artifice which was used to conceal this spectacle of insensibility and ingratitude from the eyes of the public, yet it was too often disclosed, by the bursts of laughter, the exclamations of joy, and the songs of gladness, which were heard to proceed from those places : nor indeed were they filled with any but happy persons, or those that believed themselves so. Here it was that the true court resided, and
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where the councils were held, as well those general ones which were called for show, and compliance with custom, as the private ones, wherein they knew how to render ineffectual all the prudent resolutions that had been taken in the former.

THE queen admitted none into these secret councils, which were held at the most unseasonable hours, but Conchini and his wife, the pope's nuncio, the Spanish ambassador, the chancellor, and the chevalier de Sillery, the duke of Epernon, Villeroi, Jeannin, and Arnaud, (who, as well as Jeannin, from having been entirely devoted to me, became no less attached to Conchini) Duret the physician (who, however, soon fell from this high degree of favour) Dollé, and father Cotton. It is not difficult to guess the subjects of their consultations; the union of the crowns of France and Spain, the renouncing of all the most ancient alliances of the crown with foreign princes, the repealing of all edicts of pacification, the destruction of the protestants, the expulsion of all of them who were in place, the disgrace of those who would not receive the yoke of the new favourites, the dissipation of the treasures amassed by the deceased king, and applied by them to bribe the covetous and ambitious to their interests, and to load with riches and authority those who were going to be raised to the first dignities of the state; in a word, a thousand projects as pernicious to the king and the kingdom, as advantageous to our greatest enemies, made up the grand object of all their views.

To the public council, which was held punctually every day, were summoned the prince of Conti and the count of Soissons (the prince of Condé was not yet returned to France) the cardinal de Joyeuse, the constable, the dukes of Maine and Guise, and the duke of Bouillon, as soon as he should arrive, marechal Brissac, Châteauneuf, Pontcarré, De-Vic *, Caumartin, and myself. Some of these gentlemen loudly exclaimed against altering our system of politics: but the subjects most frequently discussed by this council, were upon the means of increasing the royal revenues, of diminishing the taille and other imposts, and of augmenting the pensions of the grandees, and procuring them several

* Dominic De-Vic, vice-admiral, &c. who has been mentioned before; he died this year at Paris, soon after his return from Calais, of which he was governor; it was asserted, that his death was occasion-

ed by the grief he was seized with, on seeing again the place to which he had seen the corpse of Henry IV. brought after he was assassinated. Merc. Franc. an. 1610, p. 529.

other advantages. The president Jeannin, ever loud and obstinate, made himself be heard above all the others. It was said, that this man had been known to promise mountains of gold to every one. Some persons, who still retained the candour and frankness of the old council, and who could neither disguise their own sentiments, nor flatter those of others, joined their endeavours to mine, to shew the gross contradiction there was in pretending to encrease the expences, while they were diminishing the revenues.

I WAS desirous of avoiding the reproach of my own conscience, for suffering by my silence, such maxims to gain ground : I at first combated them by arguments, and flattered myself, that if the advantage was to remain on the side of reason, we should have carried our point; but we soon found that ignorance was but the least of those vices we had to encounter. It was by the most magnificent promises (of which however, those that related to the people's relief were never performed) that the new government sought to make friends, and to obliterate, and even to bring into contempt, that wise frugality to which the glory of the last reign was owing. Jeannin, indeed, had a particular end to answer by these measures; his scheme being to get the entire disposal of the finances, what better methods could be made use of to raise himself to this post, than to insinuate, that in the new superintendent they should all find that facility and readiness to oblige, which the grantees complained they had not met with in the old one? It may be said, that he had not the abilities requisite for this employment which he at length obtained; but he knew how to enrich himself, his relations, and allies, by it, especially Castille *, with whom money must certainly be of very little value, since all those pieces of furniture which in other houses are made of iron or wood, in his were of silver: in this point of magnificence he was inferior to none but Conchini.

I WAS absolutely convinced that I was offering remedies to voluntary ills, when I saw that my freedom of speech, which had at first been suffered as being an habitual fault, began to appear so troublesome, that I easily read upon every countenance the pain it gave them to restrain themselves; and that they would soon get rid of those small remains of respect. From that time I looked upon myself as a man who would very soon become something worse than useless, and seri-

* Peter de Castille was comptroller-general, and superintendent of the finances.

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ously took up a resolution to disengage myself by degrees from a place where I could not support my former reputation without infinite danger, or swim with the stream without total dishonour: for, indeed, what influence could the voice of one single man, who had nothing but harsh things to say, have over a queen who was used to the alluring language and fervile complaisance of flatterers and new favourites? It is a thing so rare for a minister to support himself with his sovereign, by such sentiments alone as arise from a veneration mixed with awe (which however will always be the case if that minister be an honest man) that one ought not to expect such a miracle will happen in two reigns successively; therefore when my relations, my friends, and my domestics, whose affection for me made them see things in a very different light, united their endeavours to prevail upon me to continue my cares, which they assured me might still be useful; or even when they represented to me that it was possible some good might be extracted from the new plan, my usual answer was, that the blow which God had permitted, was so plain a declaration that he had delivered up France to her evil destiny, that to endeavour to hinder its effect, was to tempt his vengeance. One of my people, that very Arnaud whom I mentioned a little above, had the insolence to say to me one day, when he saw me extremely dejected with this thought, that I was much to blame to afflict myself thus about what might happen; that for the future there might be very considerable sums laid up in the exchequer, which the great expences of the deceased king in buildings, gaming, dogs, birds, and mistresses, rendered it impossible to do while he was living. This speech appeared so criminal in his mouth, that, in the first emotions of my rage, I called him base, wicked, and ungrateful; threatened to strike him, and forbid him ever to appear in my presence again. It was but too true what I reproached him with in that moment, that his base compliances, and wicked counsels, were going to open the first way to dissipation and disorder.

THE count of Soissons was not at Paris during these transactions. Some disgust which he had taken at the queen's coronation, on account of the robes which the king's natural * children were to appear in there, furnished him with a pretence for retiring to one of his

* It was on account of the duchess of Vendome's robes. The king had a great desire that she, like the other princesses of the blood-royal, should wear them sprinkled with flower-de-luces, which the count of Soissons would never consent to.

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houses, so that he was not a witness of any thing that passed, either as to the king's death, or on the following days; and did not come to Paris till after the queen was declared regent, and all the other dispositions made. This was a new subject for his complaints. He was greatly offended that they had proceeded to a business of such importance as settling the regency, without giving him notice of it, and even without staying till he could be present; for he affirmed, that this ceremony could not be performed without him: and taking it into his head, that, to make himself feared, it was only necessary that he should bluster and talk high, he found fault with many things in the form of this ceremony, boasting that no person would have courage enough to say, in his presence, that only a small number of the presidents and counsellors concurred in the nomination of the queen in the first meeting of the parliament; and added, that on the following day, when the king, the princes, the cardinals, the peers, and other officers of the crown were present, being afraid that, if the question was put to the vote, they should meet with opposition, they contented themselves with a mere confirmation of the act of the foregoing day. He saw plainly that he would not be listened to, unless he could make his party very considerable; and, for this purpose, he constrained himself so far, as to seek the friendship of several courtiers, with whom he had not the least connection. But there were two things which obstructed his success; his haughty and insolent temper, and the preference the courtiers thought their interest required they should give to others, who they found were likely to have the disposal of all favours; and being as much disliked by the princes, and his own brother, the prince of Conti, as by all the rest, he saw himself obliged at length to yield.

I was one of those whom for some time the count of Soissons was desirous of calling friend *, but it was not long before he gave me every proof of his being a real enemy; and, upon the following occasion.

* " M. de Sully was not one of the last
 " to court the good will of this prince,
 " whom he knew he had offended; there-
 " fore, to make his peace with him, he
 " went immediately to wait on him; and,
 " after many excuses and mean submissi-
 " ons, which, had his master been living,
 " he would never have made, besought his
 " excellence to pardon those faults which
 " properly were not his, but the late
 " king's, by whose commands he had acted
 " in every instance: with which acknow-
 " ledgment the count was, or at least ap-
 " peared to be, content; and, having
 " embraced him, declared himself his
 " friend, as formerly; and Sully protested
 " he was his servant, as he always had
 " been." Mem. Hist. de France, p. 317.

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The count had often pressed the late king upon an affair of which I have already made some mention : it was to make an agreement with him for some claims, which he alleged he had in Piémont, in right of his wife, who was of the house of Montaffié : his importunity obliged Henry to remit the examination of this matter to me ; and the profession I have always made of sincerity and attachment to the interests of my king, forced me to represent to him, that this step would be attended with great inconvenience to him ; that he was going to engage himself in processes without number, and without end, against the pope, the apostolical chamber, the duke of Savoy, and several cardinals, all of whom had pretensions upon these estates, and many already in possession of them ; and that he would not be able to extricate himself in less than ten years out of that maze of different interests ; and it being necessary, for the advancement of his great designs, that he should be well with the pope and the duke of Savoy, he must carefully avoid entering into any discussion which might make them his enemies. There needed no more to make Henry lay aside all thought of it.

UPON the death of this prince, the count of Soissons resumed this affair with the new council. In every thing which might be considered as a matter of mere favour, he did not scruple to form any intrigue which might procure him what he demanded. I am almost ashamed to repeat the methods he made use of to attain his ends. The count, with the assistance of Conchini, counterfeited the signature, and made use of the seal of the deceased king ; and thus gave an authentic form to a pretended contract of sale between king Henry and him, for all the estates in question. To make this writing less liable to a suspicion of an antedate, they thought it necessary that my name should appear there, which obliged them to request my signature ; and this was the greatest difficulty they had to get over. They represented to me, that the moment was now come, which would absolutely fix the count, either as my friend or my enemy. They brought a thousand other motives to prevail upon me : but I still persisted, not only to refuse my signature, but also to assert publicly, that this affair having been begun and ended by Henry and myself, no one could know better than I did that his intentions were absolutely contrary to what they were now endeavouring to persuade me of ; and I told them plainly, that they presented me a deed falsely signed and sealed ; so that, despairing to vanquish my obstinacy, they drew up another contract like the former in every respect, except that my name was omitted.

THE count of Soissons and I were upon these terms when he quarrelled * publicly with his brother, the prince of Conti, and, on his account, with the whole family of Guise. The queen sent for me to acquaint me with the expedients she had thought of to accommodate all their differences, which were to be tried when the council was met; and, till then, she entreated me not to espouse the cause of either party, that I might, with greater propriety, act the part of a mediator between both when the time for it came; to which I readily agreed. Accordingly, when we were seated in council where the affair was to be treated, and I had already given my opinion favourably for the count, this prince sent Briffac to tell the queen, in a whisper, that he entreated her not to permit any of those persons, who were held in suspicion by him, to deliberate upon this matter, and that he excepted against me † in particular, as being a kinsman and friend to the house of Guise. "He ought not to except against M. de Sully, replied the queen aloud; "for there is no person in the council whose judgment has been so "favourable to him as his." I confess I was greatly shocked at this treatment, and I could not help saying as I rose up, "Madam, I except against myself, since he desires it; and I am going this moment "to offer my service to his brother, and to M. de Guise."

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THE third quarrel I had with the count of Soissons happened, as the former, in the council, on occasion of the government of Normandy, which he wanted to have conferred upon himself. The queen desired to have my opinion, which I begged she would dispense with me from

* This quarrel arose from the coaches of those two princes having been drove against one another and their coachmen having fought. The duke of Guise going the day after to the prince of Conti, by the queen's order, to endeavour to make up this difference, went by the count of Soissons' palace, with about twenty-five or thirty horse. Nothing more was requisite to set the count at variance with him also; and this double quarrel raised so great an uproar in Paris, that the queen, being afraid of a general insurrection, gave orders that all the inhabitants should hold themselves in readiness to put up the chains, and take arms all over the city, at the first order; and she sent a captain of the guards to keep near each of the two princes. We

must look in Bassompierre's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 308, & seq. for all the particulars of these differences, since he himself contributed greatly to appease them. See also L'Histoire de la Mere & du Fils, Vol. I. p. 123, and Le Merc. Franc. anno 1611, in which is contained what the duke of Sully said to the queen in favour of the duke of Guise.

† The author of the life of the duke of Epemon informs us, that the count of Soissons carried his hatred to the duke of Sully so far as to solicit that duke to suffer him to get that minister assassinated even in the Louvre; and that he took it much amiss, the duke of Epemon refused him the assistance of the guards, whom he commanded, to strike this blow. Page 249.

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giving; but, not being able to prevail, I told her that it was impossible for me to advise her to take from the deceased king's children the offices and employments they were already possessed of, to bestow upon any other person whatever. At that time the count of Soissons and Conchini were not upon good terms with each other, and this prince had even opposed the favourite's getting the post of first gentleman of the bed-chamber for himself, and the archbishopric of Tours for his wife's brother *; but they were reconciled upon this occasion, because they mutually assisted each other; and by these means both obtained what they demanded. The same method was used by all who had any pretensions to vacant posts and employments, and in a very little time every thing was carried in the council by intrigue and cabal. "The time of kings is over, said one to another, and that of the princes and grandees is come; and all they have now to do, is to set a high value upon themselves."

ALL the most considerable persons of the court were summoned to an extraordinary council, which was held to deliberate upon the use that should be made of those great armaments set on foot by the late king, a little before his death, for the enterprize of Cleves. The diversity of opinions was infinite: some were for laying them totally aside: others, and those not the least numerous, were for performing all the promises made by Henry the Great to the German princes concerned in the affair: the greatest number were for mediums between these two opinions so opposite to each other: some advised that we should keep only to the eight thousand foot, and two thousand horse, expressed in the general contracts made by king Henry with his allies: others, that we should content ourselves with maintaining the two regiments of French cavalry already in their service: a third party voted for embarking some foot soldiers at Calais; these that we should send them no supplies of men, but assist them with money; those that we should keep our whole army upon the frontier without acting, except in a case of absolute necessity: and others, that we should disband the greatest part

* Stephen Galigai, brother of Leonora Galigai. He was then Abbot of Marmoutier. "He had learned to read four years," says L'Etoile, and yet knew nothing of the matter; he was called the baboon of the court, on account of his ugliness and mean aspect. The monks would not accept of him as their abbot, saying they had been used to be under the com-

mand of princes, and not of joiners, like him, who was just come from handling the plane." "But it is certain," says Amclot, that the family of Galigai is reckoned amongst the noble families of Florence." He went back to Italy after the death of the marshal D'Ancre, and his wife.

of our troops, and keep no more than was necessary for our own security. All this was intermixed with overtures of agreement and pacification, to be made between the contending powers, such as just then occurred to them.

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It appeared to me that they all expected, with some impatience, my opinion, because I had been more engaged in the affair by the late king, than any other to whom he had communicated it. I began by making, what I judged, a very just distinction between those troops already drawn together into the body of an army, and those which were still levying; between those destined for the field, and those which had been sent into Dauphiné. With regard to the first therefore I concluded, that since, according to all appearances, and from the present situation of affairs, most part of the designs of Henry the Great would not be carried into execution, it was necessary to suspend immediately all levies not begun, stop those which were making, and pay and dismiss all that were made, and already upon their march; because, since all this must be done sooner or later, it would save the king so much money in the expences of sending backwards and forwards, and the people so much trouble and oppression. The death of him whom I had regarded as the great mover of this whole enterprize, seemed in my opinion to have made so great a change in it, that I believe I should have given the same advice, even tho' I had found no ill intentioned person amongst us; but neither could I conform to the opinions of those who were for betraying our allies, with whom we were engaged by the most solemn promises; or deceiving them, by affecting to take steps to procure an accommodation between them, or by granting them feeble succour, which would be of scarce any use to them.

This was the answer I made to the greatest part of those ambiguous opinions, which were for and against a thing at the same time. I made them sensible that it highly concerned the glory of the late king, since his greatest designs could not be accomplished, which might in some measure give room for suspicions that he had never really formed them, they should at least have all their effect with regard to what he had declared, promised, and already begun: that it was for the interest of our own reputation with the foreign powers, that we should not suffer them to believe the whole force of France was concentrated in one single man, and that we had so little respect for his memory. I concluded, therefore, that it was absolutely necessary to send deputies immediately to the German princes, and to the prince of Orange, to know
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of them whether they really stood in need of the assistance of our forces to help them to reduce those states which we were desirous of securing to them; for I thought they might do without them, if that was not their sole motive for taking up arms; and, if they had occasion for them, to know how many they demanded, and that upon their answer those supplies should advance immediately under the conduct of good officers, taking their route along the Maes, which was not indeed the most agreeable, nor the shortest way, but was the most secure, which was a matter of great importance; or else, that the whole army should be disbanded, except thirty thousand foot, and six hundred troopers, who, strengthened by four cannons only and two culverins, should form a flying camp, ready to go wherever there was any appearances of an action: and this I thought sufficient to keep every place in order: that, till then, it was necessary to put the troops of Champaign into garrison, after giving them their full pay.

I GAVE much the same advice, with respect to the army of Dauphiné, as it had been already raised to support the duke of Savoy, who, in compliance with our request, had, or probably would, embroil himself with all his neighbours; therefore it might be justly expected, that we should either endeavour to reconcile him with the king of Spain, or put him into a condition to defend himself; and, as we could not take any resolution upon this head till we had sent another deputy to this prince, or perhaps till a long time afterwards, I advised that this army should be likewise put into convenient winter quarters, after making so exact a review of them, that no false muster might be apprehended, till there was occasion for them, or till they were disbanded altogether.

I FOUND that I was heard with attention: my reasons seemed to have made a general impression; but with this difference, that sensible and well disposed persons did not scruple to discover this effect, by shewing signs of approbation, and even by applauses; whereas all the others not only carefully concealed it, either through vanity, neglect, or rather through jealousy, but also combated by reasons with eagerness and heat. I took care to inform Bethune, my cousin, of all this, who, in a letter he wrote to me, desired my advice upon the alteration which the public loss must necessarily make in his embassy to the German princes. I shall not transcribe his letter, nor my answer to it, because they contained nothing essentially different from what has been just said, except perhaps that I examined more particularly the good or bad effects

effects of the advice I had given in the council: this, for example, is a thing that merits to be well observed, that which way soever it shall happen that a body of troops may find entrance into Germany to join the confederate princes, that entrance would be accompanied with great hazard, though the body consisted of ten thousand men, unless the allies on their side facilitated their advance by meeting them within ten or twelve leagues of our frontiers. The scheme of embarking them at Calais, if that was chosen, would be likewise inconvenient; it would supply our confederates with foot only, and that to no greater number than eight thousand; and it was even necessary that we should have a right understanding with each other. I forewarned Bethune with respect to a thing which required the attention of him and his correspondents, which was, that France, by changing her master, had changed every thing else; and I shewed my astonishment, that the princes who employed him should express their schemes, desires, and resolutions, in so unintelligible a manner. I left it to his discretion to judge what use he ought to make of a letter, in which it was necessary I should avoid explaining myself clearly upon several things: as for advice, I said, I had no other to give him, but to continue, till he received new orders, to act as he had done hitherto, and I promised him faithfully to take care of his interests. This letter was dated May 24.

SOME days afterwards I was summoned to a more particular council upon this affair. M. de Jacop, ambassador from the duke of Savoy, suspecting that the resolutions taken by the members of the new council were not very favourable to his master, had pressed the queen regent to declare her intentions to him as soon as possible, that his highness might take such measures thereupon as his interest required. We were to consult, therefore, upon the declarations proper to be made to this ambassador. When I came to the Louvre, in the morning, I found only the constable, the chancellor, and Villeroi, with the queen; Gêvres and Loménie had been there, but Villeroi had persuaded the queen to send them away, for which Gêvres made bitter complaints. I suspected, by the studied gestures and the winding discourse which one of these gentlemen began to make, that there was something they wanted to conceal from me. "Madam," said I to the queen, with my usual frankness, "I know not for what end you have been pleased to summon me hither; my presence either hinders these gentlemen from explaining themselves, or else they are come only to entrap one another." The business I perceive relates to the duke of Savoy; it is well known that I am not in great friendship with him: however, since

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“ his interests are at present connected with those of France, and that he is (at least in expectation) an ally of the royal family, I have the same regard for him as I ought to have for all true Frenchmen. I am of opinion, that the king is indispensably obliged to protect and defend him; and that his majesty’s honour, and the glory of the kingdom, are both concerned not to suffer that the least injury should be offered to his person and dominions.”

I PERCEIVED the queen to smile at this speech, and whisper Villeroi; then, turning to me, she said, “ M. de Sully, it is true we are met to consult upon the duke of Savoy’s affairs; but there are others of still greater consequence, which it is necessary we should attend to. You see what quarrels are risen among many of the grandees of the kingdom, whose ambition and avarice, you say, are insatiable. I entreat you to think of some remedy for this evil, that it may be proposed in the first council. With respect to M. de Savoy, these gentlemen and I, before you came, had talked of that business; and we are all of this opinion, that a reconciliation between France and Spain is most for our interest; and for this purpose we are determined to send one of the princes of the blood to Madrid, on occasion of the death of my lord the king, who shall be accompanied with a person well instructed in our affairs, and upon whose secrecy we may securely rely. He shall set on foot this reconciliation, and propose an alliance between the two crowns by a double marriage, which I know the Spaniards still wish for as ardently as they did formerly; and while this affair is negotiating, in which I foresee no great difficulty, or that it will be long protracted, we must flatter the duke of Savoy in his first hopes and expectations, till we can declare ourselves without danger.”

THIS resolution gave me great uneasiness, which I discovered by my silence and shrugging up my shoulders. The queen took notice of it; and pressed me to tell her my opinion. I represented to her, that we could not, without exposing ourselves to the reproach of having violated our faith, abandon a prince who had broken all his engagements with Spain, and openly declared himself against that crown*, at the per-

* By the treaty of Brusol, which had been concluded on the 25th of April. See it in Nevers’s Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 880. The duke of Savoy, being abandoned by the new council in France, could not escape the resentments of the court of Spain,

but by the most humiliating step a crowned head can possibly be reduced to. His son came to throw himself at the king of Spain’s feet, beseeching him to take the duke his father, and all his house, under his royal protection. He told the king, that he en-

suasion of the deceased king; that, since we had altered our views, we ought to give him notice of it, and at the same time conceal this step from the king of Spain, or rather make him believe we had acted very differently, till, by a general reconciliation, we had put those out of danger, who would not have been in it but through us. These arguments, however just and reasonable, made no impression on the queen and her counsellors; nor did they even approve the medium my last words had hinted at, but coldly told me, that this way would engage them in a train of tedious negotiations. I replied with that confidence which a good cause inspires, that I found the sacrificing the duke of Savoy was a point determined on, and appeared to me to have been so before this consultation. I drew presages, no less certain to the disadvantage of our allies, from all the looks and signs of intelligence, which I surpris'd between the queen, the chancellor, and Villeroi: but the new counsellors, and the confidants of that princess, soon threw off all restraint, and declared their sentiments freely; the deceased king's government, so wise, so gentle, and so glorious for France, was condemned almost publicly, and even despis'd and ridicul'd; at one time, they treated his designs as mere chimeras; at another they represented him as a weak pusillanimous prince, incapable of taking any noble resolution. It was not enough to leave the death of this great prince unpunish'd; they added to that neglect all sorts of outrages against his memory, and, unhappily for us, heaven, which reserv'd to itself this vengeance, suffer'd envy and ingratitude to triumph in their success.

I RETURNED home full of grief at what I saw and heard. "We are going," said I to madame de Sully, whose prudence I well knew, "to fall under the domination of Spain and the jesuits: all true Frenchmen, and protestants especially, must look well to their safety; for they will not continue long in tranquility." This reflection kept me in a profound reverie all dinner-time. The bishop of Montpelier came to visit me in the afternoon: he entreated me to give him an opportunity of conferring with me in my closet, from whence, in about half an hour, I let him out by a private door; for he did not desire to be known,

braced his knees, that he had recourse to his clemency, and that, with the most humble submission, he asked his pardon for the faults he had been guilty of against him, &c. Siri most certainly mistakes his aim, if he pretends to make us admire the politics of the new council, by giving us such in-

stances as this of their proceedings. One must be as much prejudic'd as this writer against Henry IV. and the duke of Sully, and as violent a partisan of the Spaniards, to approve of a manner of acting so opposite to that justice and generosity France has always profess'd to shew.

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and therefore hid his face with his handkerchief that none of my people might see it. "I have heard some news just now," said I to my wife, and three or four persons in whom I confided; "a secret council has been held at the house of the nuncio Ubaldini, at which were present the chancellor, Conchini, Villeroy, the bishop of Beziers, and another person whose name was not known, but he was thought to be the duke of Epemon: they condemned, they even spoke with scorn and contempt of the deceased king's designs: nor was I treated any better by them." It was resolved there to change entirely all the maxims of our government, and all our political alliances; to write to the pope, and promise to be guided wholly by his advice; to enter into a strict union with Spain, and as soon as it was solidly established, all those who shewed any dislike to it, especially the huguenots, should be removed from the administration of affairs, and banished the court. If I am wise, continued I, I shall quietly resign all my posts and employments, withdraw all my money, or as much of it as I can; with part of it purchase some strong castle in one of the most distant provinces, and keep the remainder for any exigencies that may happen."

WE were still conversing upon this subject when the duke of Rohan, the two Bethunes, my brother, and my cousin, my son and two or three more of my most intimate friends came in, to whom I imparted what I had heard, and the resolution I had taken upon it. They maintained that the information could not be true; that I was going to take a step which would draw upon me the reproach of ingratitude to the state, and to the children of the king, my benefactor; that I might very easily continue in the possession of all my employments, and the exercise of all my offices; and that it would appear weak and mean to yield thus to my enemies at the first encounter. I could not be convinced by their arguments, nor could I bring them to admit of mine. "It is your desire then, said I at last, that I should sacrifice myself for the public, my family, and my friends; for I see plainly that your interest has great part in what you say to me. I will do so, since you force me to it; but remember what I now tell you: this concession will procure you no advantage, and will bring great trouble, loss, and even disgrace upon me; and I am going, added I, to give you a specimen of it this moment."

HAVING observed that the courtiers of the highest rank, and those among them most remarkable for their pride and insolence, had not
disdained

disdained to make advances, and meanly court the friendship of him who appeared to engross the queen's favour, I concluded with myself that it would be very difficult to preserve the same connection, and the same good intelligence (in appearance at least) with the court, as I had formerly, unless I expressed some kind of regard for the new favourite. I had resolved, in case this thought should hold, to make use of Arnaud the younger for this purpose, who of himself was but too much disposed to worship the rising sun. I had sent for him in the morning and acquainted him with the commission I intended to give him ere long, to wait upon monsieur Conchini *, and to make him offers of service in my name. I had already told him in what manner to turn his compliment, which I shall here give the reader: he was to tell Conchini, that I bore him no ill will for the height fortune was going to raise him to, by giving him the same place with the queen as I had held with the late king; that I looked upon this event as one of those, which happen too often in the order of providence, to occasion much surprize; that the queen regent, by this advancement of him, justly repaid the attachment which his wife and himself had always shewn for her, and the good services she had received from them; that, by chusing him to preside over the administration of affairs, her majesty doubtless expected to give to the king her son, and to the whole state, an able and a faithful minister, two great qualities which are alone sufficient to render a man, whoever he was, truly worthy of all the benefits her favour could

* Concino Conchini, an Italian of mean birth, according to some; but a Florentine gentleman, according to others; better known under the title of marshal D'Ancre, which he bore afterwards. He was the chief favourite of the queen regent, and loaded by her with riches and dignities. It is said that, at his departure from Florence, one of his friends asking him what he was going to do in France, his answer was, *either to make his fortune or perish*; and that he did both the one and the other. He was killed in the Louvre by Vitry, on the 24th of August 1617, by order of king Lewis XIII. and at the solicitation of the nobility. The hatred which was conceived against him, has caused him to be painted in the blackest colours. Very few have done justice to the good qualities he possessed; but perhaps divine justice designed to revenge the horrible assassination of Henry the Great on the per-

son of this Italian, one of those whom it is the most difficult to acquit of it, supposing this murder was committed by a foreign instigation. His wife, the same Leonora Galigai, so often mentioned in these Memoirs, was also put to death. They could find no other crimes to charge her with, but her having bewitched the queen her mistress. "I have never, answered she to her judges, made use of any witchcraft but my wit; is it at all to be wondered at that I governed the queen who had none? Cardinal Richelieu, adds Amelot, owed the first steps towards his fortune to this woman." They both were possessed of the magic of eloquence. We must search in the histories of Mary of Medicis, and of Lewis XIII. for whatever relates to this matter. There are also some anecdotes relating to it, which are curious enough, in Bassompierre's Memoirs.

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secure to him; that, being equally persuaded of the queen's laudable designs, and of his disposition to second them, I freely and cordially offered to him all those measures which a long experience had furnished me with; an offer which he would find worthy of acceptance, if he reflected, that besides the public good, which would necessarily result from it, he would reap some advantage to himself, in not purchasing the favours which in the sequel would be showered on him, with the jealousy of the nobles, the public hatred, the prejudice of affairs, and the oppression of the people; that the only return I demanded of him for thus entering into his views of grandeur and interest, was to endeavour to gratify them by following those maxims of government by which the late king had rendered his people happy, and his kingdom flourishing. Of these maxims, one which the present state of affairs seemed to make most necessary, was not to accustom the men of business, and those importunate petitioners that haunt the court, to depend upon obtaining all they should demand: that, upon these conditions, he should find me sincerely disposed to unite myself with him; and that from this moment I offered him my friendship, and requested his.

IF the nature of my compliment be well considered, it will be granted that there were exceptions in these advances which took away all fear of having engaged myself too far; but, however, I believe it will be allowed that they ought to satisfy, and, if I may say so, flatter the vanity of him to whom they were made. Be that as it will, this message appeared to me very proper to produce that effect, of which I was endeavouring to persuade those, who so obstinately combated my resolution. After having called Arnaud, and given him his instructions in the presence of these gentlemen, "Go, said I to him, to "monsieur Conchini, and deliver the message to him which I gave "you in the morning, and return as soon as possible. I am much de- "ceived, added I, if all these gentlemen," addressing myself to them, "who have so good an opinion of the queen, and her private coun- "sellors, will not find, by Conchini's answer, that there is nothing for "me to expect."

THE company all staid with me, waiting for an answer to my message, which Arnaud brought us at the expiration of an hour, and in a manner which confirmed me in those suspicions I had before conceived against him. He began with praising Conchini for his great abilities, and his knowledge in matters of state, dwelt upon his interest and
powerful

powerful friends, and, slightly passing over what it most concerned me to know, he only told me, that he believed I had nothing to hope for from him, unless I was disposed to comply with him in all things. "I fancy I understand you," said I, with a * little rage I was not able to suppress; "but tell me plainly what you would be at, and let me know what you and he said to one another." Then, as if forced to it, he gave us the following detail, shaking his head, and smiling malignantly as he spoke: That, as he entered Conchini's house, he met the president Jeannin and his brother Arnaud, who were just coming out; that they seemed concerned at seeing him there, but that they did not speak to him, nor he to them, which however I believe was not true; that a gentleman, whose name was Vincence, introducing him into Conchini's apartment, said to him, "You belong, I think, to M. de Sully; would to God that we were to follow his councils, rather than those of the two persons who went from hence just now, and of several others still worse than they are! we should not hurry things on at such a rate as they urge us to do; but the queen's authority and our fortune would be established in a more laudable manner, and be far more certain and durable." That, entering Conchini's apartment, he said to him, "What! monsieur Arnaud, are you come to visit me." That hereupon he made him the compliment, and delivered the message I had sent by him, which he now repeated to us.

ARNAUD then stopped again, and, after some hesitation, said, that the answer he had received was so very short and dry, that he believed it was the best way not to repeat it. What still remained for him to tell was precisely that which I most wanted to know. After suffering himself to be urged a long time, he at length told us, that Conchini, without expressing any acknowledgment for the civil offers he had made him in my name, and even without seeming to give the least attention to what he had said, replied in very bad French, and in a proud and disdainful accent, "How! M. Arnaud, the duke of Sully then expects to govern the affairs of France as he did in the late king's time: he is much mistaken; the queen being queen, it is for her to dispose of all things as she pleases, and I would advise him to be wholly guided by her will: as for my wife and I, we have no occasion for the assistance or favour of any one; her majesty esteems us because

* M. de Sully had a custom of scratching his head, if any one vexed or embarrassed him.

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“ we have served her faithfully : it is not in the power of any person
 “ whatever to deprive us of her favour, or to hinder the effects of it.
 “ If M. de Sully has any requests to make, he will have more occasion
 “ for our assistance than we of his, which he has sent you to offer us ;
 “ and possibly, if he knew how much we are courted, he would be
 “ more respectful than he has hitherto been : there is not any prince or
 “ nobleman of the court who has neglected to visit us, except him and
 “ one more.”

THE company, who had not expected an answer so rude and insolent, stared upon one another, and shrugged up their shoulders, but did not utter a word. “ Well, gentlemen, said I to them, do you still think it possible for me to keep my employments with honour, and that they will suffer me to continue at the head of affairs as formerly ?” They acknowledged that they had formed a wrong judgment of the true state of things. This led us into many other conversations, which were very long, but of too little consequence to be related here. In the end, however, it was concluded, that we should allow something to chance, precipitate nothing, and expect what the arrival of M. the prince of Condé would produce, upon whom many others, as well as myself, had founded great hopes.

It was from Pallot that I received the first information of this prince's having entered the kingdom ; and he told me, at the same time, that, being not well furnished with ready money, I might make my court to him very successfully, by paying him, without waiting till he demanded it, one half year of his pension. Fortunately it was in my power to do him this favour without incurring the reproach of having disposed of the king's money at my own pleasure, and without staying for an order ; for this sum had been carried to account, tho' it was not yet delivered to the prince ; because the late king, being unwilling to let him know that he had still indulgence enough for him to continue his pension, waited till some opportunity should offer when I might send it him as if from myself. I had already paid half the sum to two persons whom the prince had commissioned to demand it, and, remembering that they had told me about eight days ago that the money was still in their hands, I ordered the whole sum to be delivered to Pallot, who, when he paid it to the prince, took care to give him a just notion of this instance of my attachment to him. In reality, at that time, it was one of the greatest services I could have done him ; and he was so much obliged by it, that he declared publicly, as I was informed

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Peter de -
Harcourt,
marquis of
Beuvron.

informed by a son of M. D'Harcourt's, that he would not enter Paris till he had seen me and asked my advice, which he was resolved to follow. As I then saw myself surrounded with none but enemies, I was truly rejoiced at having thus extinguished that resentment which the first prince of the blood had so long borne me. He did me the honour to depute to me, at different times, Messieurs de Rieux, de Montataire, de Clermont, and other gentlemen, to acquaint me with his situation and his designs.

THE prince of Condé, upon the news of the king's death, had instantly set out for France, and hoped, by making extraordinary haste, to arrive time enough to take advantage of the rights due to his rank upon this occasion, which was exactly like that on which the king of Navarre, his great uncle, had endeavoured to gain the preference before Catherine de Medicis; but being soon informed that the queen, without staying for him, or for any of the other princes of the blood, without first settling a council of regency as the laws directed, or observing any of the usual forms on such occasions, had been rather declared than chosen regent, he found that he could no longer indulge a hope of obtaining the regency, and even began to entertain some doubts about the treatment they were preparing for him at court, where, after this, his presence could not fail of being unwelcome: but, as he imagined that nothing was more likely to give weight to his demands, than the respect and distinction which the nobles should be observed to pay him upon this occasion, he caused them to be founded, and gave them to understand, that he should think himself obliged to all those who should come to meet him, and escort him into Paris.

THIS proposal was made to me as well as the rest; but I thought the place I filled required that, before I complied with it, I should obtain the queen's permission, as she now represented the person of the king. She did not expressly forbid me to go and meet the prince; but, by the manner in which she received my request, she insinuated that I should do her pleasure if I abstained from shewing him that instance of respect. I also found, by the few words she said, that she gave me, as well as others, liberty to chuse between her and the princes of the blood; for it was apparent that she did not expect to be upon good terms with them. It was probable, likewise, that the coldness and reserve which appeared in her countenance, proceeded from some resentment she entertained against me for having paid the prince the money I have mentioned; for her confidants had discovered the affair, and did

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Thus importuned, I went again to the queen, to solicit her consent that I should meet the prince; but I could obtain no other permission, than such a one as plainly indicated her displeasure at my asking it. The choice I was to make was so much the more perplexing, as it lay between two parties which from thenceforward must be looked on as totally opposite to each other: however, I declared myself openly for that which would consider my compliance as an essential service, rather than the other, by whom it could be only acknowledged as an instance of complaisance which would be soon forgot. And I went to meet the prince*, who, notwithstanding all that the duke of Epernon could say to him, would not set out from the place where he had dined, till he knew that I was not far off. I met him in the open road, and alighted to pay my respects to him; but he was off his horse almost as soon as me, and came to embrace me with equal marks of joy and deference. He began a conference with me as we stood, which lasted a quarter of an hour, though d' Epernon represented to him that it would be late before he got to Paris: he addressed himself by the way often to me upon different subjects. I attended him to the gates of the Louvre, where I left him to pay his compliments † to the queen, and returned myself to the arsenal.

* "The prince, says Matthieu, was at his house at Châteauroux: he had seen the duke of Sully, who had advised him to return to court, as his presence alone

"would be of more advantage to the king's service, &c. Ibid. 28.

† "The prince came to Paris the 15th of July, accompanied by fifteen hundred

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IT was very possible, that at the time when the prince of Condé seemed apprehensive of meeting with some ill usage from the queen, he secretly flattered himself with having a very different reception, when he reflected upon the good intelligence they were in formerly: and perhaps he had upon these expectations, formed a plan of conduct quite contrary to that he laid down to me, and assured me he would follow. It was the general opinion when he left France, that his discontent and his flight were the effects of that princess's advice and persuasions; and the late king was told so: however that may be, the prince, if he built any thing upon the former friendship between him and the queen, was soon undeceived, and knew by experience, that it was of no force against the jealousy of absolute power. The queen seemed to have forgot the time when they gave the name of their common interest to the motives by which they were actuated; but it was not her entering into recital of the affairs of state, and the government which banished past scenes from her remembrance; for she communicated nothing to him upon those heads, and confined herself to a ceremonial so grave, so cold, and reserved, that the prince came away from the Louvre, greatly disgusted with his reception.

ALL this I discovered by the discourse we had together when he came to visit me two days afterwards, though he did not at first explain himself freely, and named no one. I waited for an explanation of his sentiments, before I would declare mine; and till then I was still more reserved than he was: but at length he began to talk to me of his designs in terms so clear, expressed all at once so much esteem for me, and such unlimited confidence in my sincerity, shewed so ardent a desire to labour, in concert with me, to find proper measures to hinder that confusion and disorder with which the affairs of the state and the finances were threatned, demanded so sincerely my advice con-

“ gentlemen, which greatly alarmed the
 “ queen, who was afraid, as the artillery,
 “ the Bastille, and the late king's treasures,
 “ were in his power, by means of the duke
 “ of Sully; in case the parliament and
 “ people should not prove faithful, he
 “ might attempt things of very dangerous
 “ consequence to the king's service. The
 “ prince had no less mistrust of others than
 “ what they had of him. On his arrival,
 “ he had notice given him three or four

“ times, that the queen, at the instigation
 “ of the count of Soissons, had formed
 “ a design to secure him and the duke of
 “ Bouillon; which was the reason, that
 “ notwithstanding the kind reception he
 “ met with from both their majesties,
 “ he was up three nights, ready to quit
 “ Paris on the first notice he should re-
 “ ceive of any attempts being formed
 “ against him.” Hist. de la Mere & du Fils,
 vol. I, p. 101.

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cerning the conduct he should pursue for the public good, in the midst of those obstacles which jealousy, hatred, and faction, were going to oppose to his designs, that I thought I owed so much to his generous confidence, and to the laudable motive by which he was inspired, as to open my heart to him freely upon all that he had said: to this I was more fully determined by his telling me candidly, that among all those to whom he communicated his earnest wishes, that the political and domestic affairs of the state might still continue to be governed by the same maxims which the late king had pursued, there was not one who did not endeavour to make him alter his opinion, and give him a disgust to the former administration. I was afraid that the view of difficulties either absolutely unassailable, or which could not be overcome without infinite hazard, would throw him into the path they sought to lead him to.

AFTER I had thanked him for the honour of his esteem and confidence, I made him the following answer, and almost in these words: That those persons whom he had consulted upon the present question, were all too much interested in it to give him such advice as might ruin their hopes and expectations; that I could offer him no other than such as I would give to his uncles, the prince of Conti and count of Soissons; and to the queen herself, were they to consult me with any intentions to be influenced by my reasons, because the real interest of all four, if well examined, would be found to be the same; and this advice was, to unite together to support the honour and grandeur of the king against the nobles, and against that crowd of importunate, ambitious, and self-interested men, with which the court was filled; since the designs of all those persons were, by methods the least allowable, to take advantage of a conjuncture which has at all times been the triumph of avarice and licentiousness: that this was the point from which they were to set out; and that they might not go aside, or give an example to others which they themselves condemned, it was necessary that the whole kingdom should be informed, by a solemn declaration, that their sole view in this union was the glory of the state; and by the effects it produced, the people should be convinced that they were treading in the steps of a king, all whose designs and undertakings had been justified by that success they hoped to be favoured with: that it was indispensibly necessary to protest frequently, and in the most public manner, that they were actuated by the same spirit by which that great prince had found the secret of making a kingdom, plunged in misery and despair, opulent and flourishing; and the most effectual proof
they

they could give of their exact imitation of him, was to have no selfish views, by refusing all the unjust demands of a whole people of greedy courtiers: I did not mean by this, that they were not to expect or desire any reward for themselves; on the contrary, it was one of the advantages which these four persons would derive from this system, that by directing all affairs with wisdom and prudence, they would in one year accumulate more riches justly and with honour, than they could in ten by any other method; but that, however, they must not suffer themselves to be tainted by avarice; and this caution I repeated the oftener, because that of all the virtues necessary to statesmen, there is not one so difficult to practise as moderation, in the midst of vast treasures and unlimited favour. I added, that I knew already all the plans formed by each of the princes to enjoy what they called the rights of their birth; but also, that by preserving themselves from that dangerous snare, no power would be able to resist them: were all the nobles and all the heads of the different factions to be leagued against them, the interest of the king, when supported by such methods, would become the public and the general interest, and the impression made by the royal name would be then carried to its highest pitch.

I THEN told the prince, that all which now remained was to know, whether the queen and the two other princes of the blood, were disposed to take such measures as were necessary for the success of this scheme; but that I was so far from flattering him with this hope, that I freely declared to him, that he ought not to reckon upon their concurrence: yet that this should not make him dispense with himself from using his utmost endeavours to bring the queen over, as well because it was necessary that, in a point of this consequence, he should have no cause to reproach himself with any neglect, as because this prince's, being already in possession of the royal authority, he would have occasion for the strongest reasons he could urge, to justify to the public the extremities he would be obliged to proceed to. That, after this precaution, no consideration whatever should hinder him from taking upon himself the discharge of a duty which the princes his uncles were not willing to share with him; but that, when thus deprived of all other support, he must make his actions speak for him: these must shew a disinterestedness so determined, a candor and probity so distinguished, as may accustom the people to look upon him as the true friend of the king, themselves, and the state: that a man who employed only such arms as these, in a rank so elevated, would sooner or later carry all before him: that the princes of Conti and Soissons would be among the first

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first who were sensible of it, by comparing the honour which a procedure so great and disinterested would reflect upon the royal blood, with the disrespect, the contempt, and often the affronts they would be exposed to, when the public saw them confounded with the rest of the selfish courtiers. That the queen herself would find many arguments to balance her inclination to a contrary conduct, especially if she saw the princes of the blood reunited against her. That, in a word, I believed I might venture to engage for it, that necessity, confidence, and the force of the torrent, would at length bring all over to this side; and that there would be no longer any connexions, quarrels, reconciliations, and cabals, between the queen, the princes, and the people in place, which would not turn to the advantage of his authority, if, from this moment, he would begin to form the plan I had sketched out to him, and follow it faithfully.

THE extreme attention with which the prince listened to me, convinced me that I had found the way to his heart, and that I had made upon it that strong impression which is the effect of virtue and justice united in the same object. What has since happened does not prove that I was then deceived; or if it does, it proves also that the prince deceived himself first; since it is certain, that the force of my arguments supported him a long time against the assaults he had on all sides. Whatever arts were made use of by those persons that continually beset him, the slightest attention to the nature of those counsels they gave him, must have shewn him very plainly, that they were dictated by avarice and ambition. How different were such sentiments from those I endeavoured to inspire him with? He felt it, he was convinced of it, and yet he suffered himself, like all the rest, to be carried along with the torrent. The duke of Bouillon contributed more than any other to engage him in the party of error*. I myself represent,

* The author of the life of the duke of Bouillon, giving an account of the counsels that duke gave the prince of Condé, says, "He advised him to leave the queen the quality of regent, but to reduce it to a mere title, which might satisfy her vanity; but to get all the actual authority into his own hands. He told him, he knew an infallible way of bringing this to pass, which, if he would pursue, he would be answerable for the success: that this method con-

sisted in his again making profession of the calvinist religion, from which the late king had drawn him, and to declare himself the protector of the protestants in France: that being, in consequence of this step, followed by the calvinist nobility, of whom he would be head, master of all the strong places in the possession of that party (that is, of an hundred and three towns and places, well fortified) supported by all the Swiss in France, of whom the duke of Rohan

and probably exaggerate, every thing that can serve to justify this prince, by candidly acknowledging that it was not difficult to paint, in the finest colours, those motives by which they endeavoured to undermine my principles; and that it ought not to appear surprising, that a prince young and unexperienced, should not have discernment enough to distinguish appearances from realities; nor firmness enough to prefer what is useful to what flatters and pleases. It was by the following arguments that they effaced all the impression which mine had made in his mind.

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THEY told him, that the reasons I had urged to him tended only to engage him in an absurd imaginary system; that such refined maxims neither suited our times nor our manners; that probity and virtue alone signified nothing; that the chimera's with which I filled his imagination would be laughed at by all reasonable persons; that by thus aspiring to be the support of the whole nation, he would only incur a general hatred, and too late regret, that he had not made a better use of so happy a conjuncture: that the only wise part for him to take, at a time when the royal treasures were going to become a public prey, was to claim the best and the largest portion of them for himself, as being, after their majesties, the first person in the kingdom*; that he had profited but little by the necessitous condition to which he had been reduced, if it had not taught him, that when an opportunity offered to extricate himself from it, it ought to be received with open arms:

“ was colonel-general; secure of all the
 “ treasures left by the late king in the Ba-
 “ stille, which the duke of Sully, discon-
 “ tented with the regent, could put into
 “ his hands: it could not, with all these
 “ great advantages, be any way doubted,
 “ but a first prince of the blood, as he was
 “ during a minority, must be in a condi-
 “ tion to seize on all the authority, and
 “ make himself equally formidable within
 “ the kingdom as without.—God did not
 “ permit him to follow this advice of the
 “ duke of Bouillon; if he had, the cal-
 “ vinists would have recovered all the ad-
 “ vantages they had lost by the late king's
 “ conversion: in all probability, the king-
 “ dom would have been divided between
 “ them and the catholics; and their re-
 “ public, which was treated as imaginary,
 “ would at last have proved something

“ real.” Vol. II. p. 307. But many con-
 “ tinued persuaded, as this historian himself
 “ afterwards owns, that the duke of Bouillon
 “ did not seriously make this proposition to
 “ the prince; that he was the first to divert
 “ him from it; and that all his intent was,
 “ only to let the regent see, that he himself
 “ would be a sufficient security against all the
 “ mischief he was able to do her.

* “ He would gladly,” says the same
 “ historian I have just been quoting, “ have
 “ contested the regency if he had dared; .
 “ but he was diverted from it by the kind
 “ treatment he met with. He had a pen-
 “ sion of two hundred thousand livres given
 “ him, together with the palace of Conti,
 “ in the suburb of Saint Germain, which
 “ had been bought for two hundred thou-
 “ sand francs, the county of Clermont,
 “ and many other gratifications.”

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that he might be assured it was not so much for his interest as my own, that I endeavoured to throw him into a desperate party; that this was the only resource I had left to support my expiring credit: that by seeking to connect his interests with mine, I should drag him down the precipice with me: that the hatred of the nobles and the ministers against me was so great and invincible, that the bare suspicion of my having any influence over him, was sufficient to ruin all his expectations and designs: that I had disdained to offer my friendship and services to any one; and, in revenge, all were so well agreed upon that one point, my ruin, that there was no condition which they would not accept from those who were going to have the disposal of all favours and rewards, provided my disgrace was annexed to it.

ON occasions like these, when one has been able to render the advice suspected, the adviser is not far from being hated: this was what they undertook to accomplish, and they succeeded. They gave the prince to understand, that it was absolutely necessary for the system he was going to embrace, that my ruin should be resolved on: what I had said to him myself confirmed it to him; all my own words were turned against me; so that by a strange caprice of the mind (of which, however, politics have furnished more than one example) those very sentiments which but a moment before the prince had admired in my mouth, laid the foundation of that hatred he from thenceforward began to bear me, and of the persecution he raised against me. Then it was that the resolution was taken, not to suffer me to continue any longer in the ministry * than was necessary for their own schemes; and in the mean time to undermine, by degrees, what power I had still left, and to withdraw, without any seeming design, all the papers, memoirs, and instructions, relating to the finances, which were in my hands, till the moment arrived when I was to be dismissed for ever. If the execution of this plot was deferred till the following year, it was only because some unforeseen difficulties retarded it.

PROBABLY I did not at that time know all the plots which were then secretly forming against me; but I guessed at so many of them, that I resumed, with more earnestness than formerly, the resolution that I had endeavoured to make my family agree to, which was, to

* All these intrigues amongst the princes, the courtiers, and the ministers, to get the duke of Sully removed, are related in particular memoirs, and especially in L'Histoire de la Mere et du Fils, vol. I. p. 11, & seq. 120, 127, & seq. In the History of the duke of Bouillon, vol. II. p. 313, & seq.

retire from court before I should appear to be forced from it: I even went so far as to mention my design to the queen regent, and intreated her not to oppose it. Although, by this proposal, I was doubtless answering all her views, yet she used such profound dissimulation in the answer she made me, that although I had suffered myself to be deceived, yet I think I could not have been accused of too great credulity. Conchini and his wife had never more influence over her than then: she began to be wholly governed by them; yet she pretended to be as much disgusted with their proceedings as I was myself: she endeavoured to persuade me that she was fully satisfied with my conduct; that she should be greatly perplexed if I abandoned her, at a time when the king's coronation would give her sufficient employment; and that it would take up all the remainder of the year, to prepare for the changes which my dismissal from my employments must necessarily make in affairs. I accommodated myself to her will, without suffering my own to be altered; for though I continued to perform all the duties of my offices, yet I was so constantly upon my guard against the machinations of my enemies, that I would not leave them an opportunity of spoiling me themselves.

THEY at length came to a resolution with regard to the affair of Cleves: indeed it could not be longer delayed, if they had any desire to appear concerned in it. The army of the confederates, joined to that of the United Provinces, had laid siege to Juliers; and the prince of Orange, who commanded it, had taken such measures, that the place must of necessity fall into his hands. Our supplies were wholly useless to him, because the house of Austria had taken no step, nor set any troops on foot, to oppose her enemies: and after this exploit, the war, as they proposed to carry it on, must be soon at an end. But the new council of the queen, composed of those persons I have already mentioned, thought they should shew a master-piece of policy, by granting them now more than what they had been so long and ineffectually soliciting. They knew the condition the besieged city was in, and they were desirous of having the honour of taking it, as it could not hold out long, after the arrival of our troops. They likewise imagined, that this would be an incitement to the king of Spain to solicit an alliance with us, for which they thought he did not shew eagerness enough; and they were ashamed to make all the advances themselves. It was resolved, therefore, that a body of eight thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, and eight pieces of cannon, should be immediately sent to Juliers; and that the command of this army should be given to the marshal de la Châtre.

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WHEN this determination was made public, and, for form's sake, laid before the general council, I could not hinder myself from speaking my sentiments of it freely. I desired to know for what end they were at the expence of this army, against enemies who did not defend themselves, and for allies who no longer needed our assistance? I declared my opinion of this unseasonable succour, which was not much for our honour. I represented to them the difficulties and delays to which our troops were exposed by this unnecessary march: and indeed, to perform it without having any thing to fear from the enemies they might meet in their journey, they must be obliged to go a great way about, and traverse rude, mountainous, and barren countries. Conchini, who had brought over the count of Soissons and the duke of Bouillon to his opinion, and who was satisfied with his own secret reasons, suffered me to talk on, like a man whom they scorned to disclose their designs to: and the departure of the troops was resolved on. However, to prevent any further importunity from me, and to give me even a personal interest in this armament, they granted my son-in-law (who had long solicited a distinguishing employment in the German army) the post of field-marshal-general; which was likely to be so much the more acceptable, as this quality gave him an unquestionable right to command in chief, if any thing happened to the general. It was not impossible even that La-Châtre would, through some disgust, resign the command, as he had more than once been upon the point of doing. The difficulty of the roads alarmed him, as well as the dangers he might encounter in his march; and he also owned to me, and to some others of the council, that the Jesuits raised great scruples in his mind about joining the heretics against good catholics. However, I gave him a little courage, by telling him of a more convenient rout than that which he had designed to take; and he disposed himself to begin his march.

THE preparations for this armament, which fell to my charge, were made in such a manner, that the army was composed of the best troops we had then on foot; they had a complete train of artillery, well served; and the fund for the expences was so large, that the treasurer brought back an hundred thousand crowns. Prince Maurice acknowledged, that he had not for a long time, seen a body of forces so fine and so well disciplined: he expressed some surprize, indeed, that the general, who, by all appearances, should be one of our best soldiers, had but a very slight knowledge of what was practised in sieges, and in other parts of war.

THIS

THIS is all that I shall say of this expedition: the historians * have given a more particular account of what happened in it, how our army passed into Germany, and how it returned. My fears of being too sincere upon this subject, and the very unuseful part I now began to act, obliges me to hasten towards the conclusion of these Memoirs.

* See an account of the taking of Juliers, and this expedition, in the *Merc. Franc.* and other historians, *ann.* 1610.

The taking of Juliers obliged the Emperor to lay aside his design of sequestring, into the hands of the archduke Leopold of Austria, the territories that were in dispute; and the dukes of Brandenburg and Neuburg quietly shared the whole succession betwixt them: the elector of Brandenburg had Cleves, La-Mark, and Ravensberg; and the duke of Neuburg, Juliers and Berg. Philip-Lewis, son of this duke of Neuburg, had two sons; of whom one continued the branch of Neuburg; and from the youngest, the counts of Sulsback are descended; in whom the two branches are now going to be reunited, because the branch of Neuburg will determine in the present elector Palatine: and from hence, an hundred and thirty years after the death

of duke William of Juliers, the same difficulties on this eventual succession are again likely to arise; the king of Prussia, of the house of Brandenburg, being able to produce the following reason for his opposition to this reunion, that the two branches were separated when the treaty of 1666 was made, which seems only to stipulate for descendants of the contracting parties †; and the Emperor, on the other hand, finding it his interest to support the prince of Sulsback; because, if this young prince should happen to die without issue male, he would make use of his old pretence of the male fiefs, as a reason for his taking possession of Juliers and Berg; besides the interest he would have in it on account of the princes of Saxony his allies.

There appeared a work in two volumes in 1738, wherein this matter is discussed and very well explained.

† This was written before the death of the last Emperor, and the last elector Palatine.

M E M M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XXIX.

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THAT which had just passed with respect to Cleves, and the conduct of the queen regent with respect to me, took from me at length all hope of bringing back the court to its just notions upon the two chief points of government, the conduct of foreign affairs and the management of the finances: on the contrary, the changeableness of the prince, what I saw daily pass before my eyes, and, above all, the air of dissimulation which in the last place they had recourse to, convinced me that they would never get out of the confusion in which the affairs of the council seemed to be lost, but by such an extrication as I was always afraid of. In order to bring that about, some time was necessary; for connections so strong and so well cemented as those which the king had formed for the destruction of the house of Austria, with all those of the princes interested in its destruction, are not broke all at once, nor sometimes without a struggle which has mischievous consequences. But I have no reason to doubt but that the queen regent and her counsellors employed all their arts to make them ineffectual. That prejudice in favour of what they called the party of religion; the hatred they bore to all protestants, whether French or foreigners; a natural inclination, strengthened by habit, to unite with Spain, every impulse of which they could not help following publicly, when, the designs of Henry the Great becoming manifest, they were convicted

convicted of supporting a cause at once odious and desperate: it could not be expected that the force of these motives was abated, when, by an unexpected stroke, they found themselves upon the point of accomplishing what they had so ardently desired. My religion, my engagements, the advice I had given to the late king, of which at least the certain effect would have been the free exercise of the protestant religion in France, and in all Christendom, even the death of that prince, which seemed to declare me the only repository of his sentiments, and the executor of his designs, all the glory and honour of which must necessarily reflect upon me: these were their motives for hatred against a man who had already so many powerful enemies; and, by the care which Sillery and Villeroi took to enforce them, they could not fail of having a speedy effect.

ANOTHER, less openly declared, but probably stronger than all the others, because it directly attacked those private interests, united them all a second time against me. This was a too exact and too impartial administration of the finances, for persons whose avarice had already, in imagination, engrossed to themselves all the treasures of the late king. I have, on this head, an infinite number of circumstances to relate, which certainly will not do any honour to the French name; but it would be to no purpose to be silent, since they are generally known. The reader then may here see some of the most important of them: they will serve to give him an idea of the court at that time.

I SHALL begin with the favourite of the queen regent. He cast his eyes at first upon the post of first gentleman of the bedchamber, not that this dignity was capable of satisfying his ambition, but it was necessary to begin by obtaining a rank which might take away the disproportion that had hitherto been between him and the other courtiers. To this motive was added some personal resentment against Bellegarde, the cause of which I shall not relate, because it would lead me into too long a discussion. It was highly flattering to the vanity of Conchini that the first step he was seen to take at court, should put him upon a par with his rival †: he therefore caused it to be proposed to the duke of Bouillon, to treat with him for this post. Bouillon, who really intended to sell it, readily accepted the proposal, and was well paid for his compliance; for, in the first place, he obtained a suppression of the

† The marquis of Ancre (for so he began then to be called) had a difference with the master of the horse, the particulars

whereof may be seen in the History of the Regency of queen Mary de Medicis.

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offices established by his majesty in the neighbourhood of Sedan, for levying taxes upon all goods and merchandizes exported and imported; so that this gratuity may, without exaggeration, be said to be worth more to him than his whole principality. To this Conchini added two hundred thousand livres, under a pretence that he had been promised that sum upon surrendering his city. I represented to them that the duke of Bouillon had been exactly paid all that was promised him, and, if they looked into the account, they would be convinced of it: but what I said was not regarded, and all the expence Henry had been at to get possession of Sedan, ended in paying twice for the place, which, after all, was still in Bouillon's hands.

CONCHINI, however, did not effect his purpose so easily as he had imagined: the count of Soissons, as I have already hinted, opposed him, as well in that, as in his solicitations for the archbishopric of Tours; but he did it in such a manner as left him room to hope there was a possibility of gaining him; and Conchini soon found the means. He caused the government of Normandy to be given to him, and to this end did not scruple to take it away from the second son of France. The late king, that he might avoid creating any jealousy among those who aspired to this government (which I had refused with the condition of changing my religion annexed to it) and willing to oblige Fervaques, who well deserved that he should have this consideration for him, had bestowed it upon his own son. It was not possible for me to give my assent to this action of Conchini's, or to the gratuity given by the council to the count of Soissons, at his majesty's expence, by purchasing, at a high price some very inconsiderable claims which the house of Montaffie had in Piedmont, of which mention has been already made. However, notwithstanding all my remonstrances, the bargain was concluded. It was now their custom to suffer me to talk, but to act without me.

CONCHINI found out a method how to dispose of part of the king's treasures, without its appearing that the sums raised by those means were received or employed for his use. This was by persuading the queen to continue the issuing of comptants * as the late king was used to do.

* The comptants were orders for payment of money, or receipts for sums paid by the king's order, without specifying in what manner the money so paid was employed. Henry IV. and Lewis XIII. or their ministers, severely felt the abuses that might be made of them; but an infinite number of expences, which interest of state

She wrote the following letter to me upon this occasion, dated the 15th of June: 1610.

“ COUSIN,

“ I AM resolv'd, for one year more, to continue the comptants
 “ for the payment of those sums, which the late king, my lord,
 “ ordered the treasurers of the exchequer to deposite in his privy
 “ purse: Béringhen shall distribute the money arising from hence, to
 “ the same persons as formerly. I therefore send this to acquaint you,
 “ that it is my desire you should direct the treasurer of the exchequer
 “ at present in office, to pay into the hands of the aforesaid Béringhen
 “ the said comptant for the July quarter.”

THE next day Puget and D'Argouges brought one of these comptants to me that I might settle it, and write underneath an order for the payment. I took it, and at the first glance did not observe that it contained any thing but a great number of sums which the late king caused to be paid in this form: but the amount of the whole appearing to me to be excessive large, instead of looking any farther, I told the bearers, that it was true the conduct of Henry IV. seemed to authorize this form, but that at present this writing did not appear to me to be any longer a sufficient discharge to him who should venture to give an order for its payment. They replied, that, if I would take the trouble to read to the end of the paper, I should find my objection removed by a discharge so valid, that I need not have recourse for it to any other person. I continued to read, being curious to know how a paper, which seemed to contain nothing more than the articles of a comptant, and that not very long, should produce a sum of nine hundred thousand two hundred and ten livres and fourteen sols, which I had seen by casting my eyes upon the sum total. My curiosity was soon satisfied. The two or three first articles were followed by others with which I was not greatly pleased, and which seemed only inserted there, in order to prepare me for a morsel still harder to digest. This was a single article of four hundred thousand livres, with no other explanation than these few words, which were not very likely to banish my scruples: “ Paid into the hands of the late king.”

required to be kept secret, prevented their being abolished. Cardinal de Richelieu determined to put an end to them, but in lieu thereof to leave a million of gold in the king's hands for his private expences, and to be disposed of at his pleasure. Test. Polit. Part II. p. 143.

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I STOPPED short, and, looking earnestly upon Puget, asked him whether this ingenious trick was of his own invention; then resolutely told him, that the late king had never taken up so much money at once for his private purse; and that I had good proofs of his having never received this sum, either in part or the whole. He still continued to answer with the same indifference, That what I should see at the bottom would remove all difficulties. This was four or five lines, written by the queen herself, and in these terms: "We have examined the articles of the above comptant, amounting to nine hundred thousand two hundred and ten livres and fourteen sols, and know that this sum was really disbursed by the command of the late king, my lord, to be passed in the form of a comptant, as usual, which he was prevented from by death. We are satisfied that the said articles are all just, and order an acquittance of comptant to be expediated, to serve as a discharge for Puget, treasurer of the exchequer. Given at Paris, July 16, 1610, signed Mary."

It did not immediately occur to me what resolution it was proper for me to take; but, after a moment's reflection, "Monsieur Puget, said I, what I have read does not explain to me for what reason so large a sum is demanded of me; for I can never be persuaded that the late king received it. It is in vain therefore, that you press me to sign it upon that supposition: you must therefore be satisfied with this paper, such as it is, for your discharge; for you may depend upon it, I will add nothing to it." The affair did not rest there: they renewed their endeavours to obtain my signature with as much obstinacy as I refused it; for two whole days I was persecuted about this comptant: at last they left me in quiet, and it remained among the rest of my papers; but neither the queen regent or Conchini ever forgot it. The favourite thought this but a bad example for those whom he was endeavouring to bring to a perfect conformity with all his desires: as for the queen, her resentment at my conduct on this occasion was so great, that she could not, with all her art, conceal it; and if, till then, she had at times made some slight reflections upon what the king her husband had often said to her, of the great use I should be to her in the administration of affairs, from that moment all remembrance of it was erased, and gave place to a settled resolution to bestow my employments upon a person who would be more tractable.

THE chancellor gave me an example of that sort of behaviour they expected; but, instead of following it, I could not help reproaching him one day with a fraud truly unpardonable, on occasion of a letter of exemption for the purchase of the registry of the parliament, and of the Châtellet of Paris, which was shown in full council, as having been expediated and sealed by the late king, although I knew that he had obstinately refused to grant it, notwithstanding Villeroy had, at different times, used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon him. The law ordains, that, when the king dies, his seal shall be broken. This the chancellor not only neglected to do, but even dared to make use of it to authenticate several false regulations in favour of Conchini and some others, and continued this practice during five years after the king's demise, for which he had a double conveniency, as his son, who was secretary of state, forged all those writings, which he put the last hand to. Monsieur the admiral * received the assistance it gave him as if it came from heaven. He brought to be registered in the parliament letters patents for duke and peer for the lordship of Damville in as good, and perhaps better form than they would have had if Henry IV. had been living.

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I FIND a second letter from the queen regent of the same date with the former, but it was on a subject of less importance. It related to a breach which was to be repaired in the fortifications lately raised before the city and castle of Vendôme, at the desire of the sieur Jumeaux, who was governor of it.

It would have been very difficult, exposed as I was to frequent quarrels with the ministers and nobles, to have avoided one with the duke of Bouillon, who on all occasions gave me proofs that he had not forgot or pardoned my having always preferred the king's interest to his, and who only waited for some opportunity to shew his resentment of it. He one day proposed in the council, that all those who were in possession of the chief offices and employments in the kingdom, should be required to give in accounts of receipt and expence, to be examined there. The council received this proposal in the same spirit with him that made it; for, general as it seemed, yet it was levelled at me alone; and Bouillon undertook to give me notice of it, by saying to me, in full council likewise, that, being a man who loved method and exactness, and who

* Charles de Montmorency, duke of Damville.

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was always desirous of setting others a good example, he did not doubt, but that I would begin, by laying before the council those accounts that related to my post of grand master of the ordnance. I replied, in an accent and manner which possibly he did not expect, that whenever the king and queen were pleased to require it, I would lay my accounts before them, and with so much the more willingness, as I was well assured they would find nothing in them but what would be to their satisfaction, and my honour: that, in a minority, the princes of the blood represented the king's person likewise, therefore I would give them the same satisfaction; but that I was too well acquainted with the extent of the rights and privileges of my employment, not to know that, to make it accountable to any other tribunal, was to debase it. "Monsieur, replied the duke, it appears to me that the constable and the marshals of France having a right to take cognizance of all affairs of the army, as they fall immediately under their inspection by the nature of their offices, so they may likewise of all posts and employments relating to it; and yours is one of the chief of that kind." "I see plainly, Monsieur," returned I, without endeavouring to conceal my resentment at this procedure, "that you have long designed me this affront, and that you are artfully seeking to support yourself with M. the constable, whose quality, merit, and years, I honour and esteem, and for whose friendship I am greatly obliged. I do not apprehend that any dispute will arise between him and I upon this matter; but as for you, and all the others, I declare that I do not think myself accountable to you in what regards my office, but to the king alone." "At least, Monsieur, replied the duke of Bouillon, you must acknowledge, that, your patent being directed to us, it implies that we have some degree of authority there." "Monsieur, said I, you have either read it very slightly, or but ill understood what you read, since, if what you assert be true, I am likewise accountable to the mayors, the sheriffs, and the captains of the city-gates, in what regards my employments, since the patent is directed to them as well as to the marshals and governors of France; but, if you are really ignorant why those clauses are inserted, now know from me, that it is in order that I may be assisted by all those persons in whatever I require of them, which carries rather an idea of superiority than the contrary."

THE queen, who found that the dispute was growing warm, and that it might produce a quarrel between us, imposed silence upon us both, and brought another question upon the carpet. Bouillon's flattery

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to the constable missed of the effect he proposed by it; for I was as much beloved by that nobleman for the services I had done him in some very difficult circumstances, as Bouillon, who had drawn him into those circumstances, was disliked by him. When the council broke up, he told the queen in Bouillon's presence, that his claim was ill founded; then, addressing himself to the duke, he entreated him not to make any more attempts to engage him in his personal resentments and schemes of revenge. This quarrel made a great noise at court, because the friends of each party thought it incumbent upon them to engage in it. It was not here as in the council: my party was now greatly superior to his. The families of Guise, Longueville, and many others, declared themselves openly for me.

NOR did Conchini and his wife continue long to be in good intelligence with the ministers and the other chief persons of the state. It is the fate of connections, produced by a spirit of interest, that the same cause which gave them birth, destroys them with the greater facility. Hence followed a thousand scandalous scenes: they came openly to reproaches and abuses, which, from some remains of decency, should have been stifled. As the whole court was actuated by the same spirit, it was soon filled with hatred, jealousy, and faction; none but base or criminal methods were employed in disputing for favours or in obtaining them; some old grudge or some new resentment embittered every mind, and the bloodiest catastrophes were often apprehended among persons of the highest rank: it became necessary to watch them continually, to prevent the fatal effects of their quarrels. The public was not ignorant of the motives which animated one against the other, all the princes of the blood, the constable, the master of the horse, the duke of Epernon, and many more. In these dissensions Conchini had always the greatest part*; sometimes, while the balance was held between these illustrious rivals, the favours they disputed for fell into the hands of mean inconsiderable persons. Discord, confusion, injustice, and fraud, all the evils which follow the contempt of subordination, poured in like a deluge upon the court and council, and more than once revenged the insulted memory of Henry the Great upon his domestic enemies, by those very means which they had made choice of to revenge themselves.

* See the detail of these intrigues and court-quarrels in Siri, Vol. II. p. 327, and in the same historians.

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THERE was not any of the European powers who did not, by their ambassadors, acquit themselves of what they owed to this great king : but it was easy to distinguish among them, those who were more sincere in their compliments of congratulation for the accession of the new king to the throne, than in those of condolance for the loss of him whom he succeeded. There were found Frenchmen base enough to say to the ambassadors from the king of Spain and the archduke, these very words : “ Your tears need not wet your handkerchiefs much ; it was a “ stroke of providence that saved the king and the catholic religion “ from ruin.” I shall say nothing of the reception that was given to these ambassadors.

My heart was too much removed from every sensation of joy, to allow me to have any part in the ceremony of the king's coronation † ; therefore, while every other took the road to Rheims, I set out for Montrond, after having obtained the queen's permission to go to one of my country-houses. I carefully concealed my design of not returning again to Paris, at least while I saw the same dispositions among the courtiers, and the same disorder in affairs : but I had really taken this resolution, which was confirmed by my being attacked with a violent illness immediately after I arrived at Montrond, and which I could attribute to no other cause, but to the painful situation my heart had been in for four months. It was here also, that, to calm the perturbations of my mind, I composed those two little pieces of poetry ; one of which is entituled, A Parallel between Cæsar and Henry the Great, and the other, An Adieu to the court ‡.

If this adieu was not the last, it was not my fault : I saw very plainly that I could not remain there. The secret council held at the house of the nuncio, which I have already mentioned, was continually recurring to my mind. To this I added some words which a princess, my relation and my friend, told me she had heard said to the queen at the same time. Many other circumstances of this nature filled my mind with the strongest forebodings that the whole protestant church was at the eve of a persecution. By a letter which Préaux wrote to me from

† The ceremony is very minutely described in the Merc. Franc. the Royal MSS. P. Matthieu, &c. anno 1610. It was performed the 17th of October.

‡ These pieces are recited in Sully's Memoirs, at the end of the first volume, p. 469.

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Châtelleraut, dated November 10, he seemed to be of the same opinion; "Already, says he, I fancy I see the theatre raised to renew our "tragedies." With this melancholy expectation, my resolution was already settled, to dispose of all my employments to those persons who should be recommended to me by Conchini and his wife, as money seemed to be cheapest with them. I intended to send one third of the sums raised by these sales to Switzerland, another to Venice, and another to Holland, where I proposed to retire myself, when the storm appeared ready to break out, with all the money that by good œconomy I had saved out of my yearly revenue. Thus had I regulated my affairs; and that I made any alteration in this plan, was owing to the following circumstance.

THAT jealousy and misunderstanding which subsisted among the nobles and persons in office, rendered the ceremony of the coronation so tumultuous and disorderly, that it was expected some dangerous consequences would follow. I do not speak here of their disputes for rank and precedence only. The duke of Epemon, although for some years past, as it appeared, intimately connected with Conchini, yet one day, in concert with the duke of Éguillon, used language to him equally severe, injurious, and threatening, and this in public. The duke of Nevers, supported by the princes of the blood, treated Villeroi, Sillery, and Jeannin, in the same manner: they were seized with consternation and fear; they found that they had not power, and, doubtless, felt they were not innocent enough to repel these reproaches; and now began to be sensible of the need they had of me. It might have dangerous consequences, if the princes and nobles were suffered to go on in reproving the ministers of state. I appeared to them to be the only man capable of putting things upon another footing, by the authority, the respect, and even the awe, which my birth, my character, and my manners, had acquired me in the council; and they so earnestly solicited the queen to make use of her influence over me, to oblige me to return, that she sent me, by an express, the following letter.

" COUSIN,

" THE coronation of the king, monsieur my son, being happily performed at Rheims, we shall, in a short time, set out for Paris; and
 " because many affairs that require your presence, on account of your
 " employments, and the great abilities you have shewn in the exercise
 " of them, will be transacted the latter end of this year, and the beginning of the next, I desire you will return to Paris with all possible
 " haste

1610. “ fible hafte, that we may find you there upon our arrival. So, in full
 “ affurance that you will not fail, I befeech God, &c. Written at
 “ Rheims, October 6, 1610.

“ Your good coufin,

“ MARY.”

I IMAGINED, that by eluding this journey for the prefent, they would think no more of it ; therefore my anfwer to the queen was conceived in thefe terms :

“ MADAM,

“ MY inclination, my duty, and the honour you do me, by remembering me, are all motives equally ftrong to engage my obedience
 “ to your majefty’s commands ; but a dangerous illnefs, from which
 “ I am but lately recovered, has left me in fo weak a condition, and
 “ the certain knowledge I have, that my prefence in the council
 “ is not agreeable to feveral perfons, who have more authority there
 “ than I have, oblige me moft humbly to intreat you, not to be offended that I delay going to court till I have recovered my ftrength ;
 “ and that when I do attend your majefty there, you will permit me,
 “ before thofe perfons whom you fhall pleafe to appoint, to give you
 “ an account of my adminiftration, to lay before you the ftate in which
 “ I leave the affairs of the kingdom, and the form I think neceffary
 “ to be obferved to keep them in the fame order and tranquillity they
 “ are now. I muft beg your majefty to believe that this will be
 “ the fole end of my journey, and that I have no intention or defire to
 “ concern myfelf any farther in the adminiftration of affairs. I believe
 “ I have fettled every thing relating to my employments in fuch a
 “ manner, as the fecretaries of the Exchequer and the other officers
 “ can certify to your majefty, that my prefence may be difpenfed with
 “ till the latter end of the year ; at which time, if my health will permit me, I fhall not fail to go to Paris, to pay all poffible obedience
 “ to the king’s commands and yours ; and upon this truth, I befeech
 “ the Creator, &c. From Montrond, October 12, 1610.”

THIS was not what the queen propofed to herfelf from the ftep ſhe had taken to recal me ; ſhe perceived, that by delaying my return to court, I was only forming excuſes for appearing there no more ; or that if I did come, the part I ſhould play there would not be very proper to oblige thoſe who had deferted her favourite, again to ſolicit his friendſhip, which was all ſhe had in view ; and to effect this, ſhe made uſe

of all my friends *, my wife, my son, and my son-in-law particularly : she began by an insinuating and gracious behaviour to them ; shewed such an unreserved confidence in me, added so many kind expressions, and promises so flattering to their hopes, that they were now more than ever confirmed in their belief, that I should commit a great error by laying down my employments. She afterwards sent them, one after the other, to me, charged with the most obliging letters, and the fullest assurances of her favour and esteem. I endeavoured, but in vain, to make them sensible, that all this was deep art on the queen's side ; their solicitations, their intreaties, became persecution, which at length fatigued me so much, that being desirous of avoiding reproaches, to which I saw no end, and considering likewise that my compliance with requests thus earnestly urged, would expose me to no inconveniences for the present, I resolved to throw myself, though fairly warned of my danger, into all the snares that were laid for me at court, and again postponed the execution of my first design.

I THEREFORE set forwards to Paris, but shewed no great eagerness to get there, since I did not reach that city till the sixteenth day after my departure from Montrond. The next morning, as I was preparing to go and pay my respects to the king and the queen regent, I was informed, that the king would pass the whole forenoon in the Tuilleries, and that the queen was to dine at Zamet's. I did not doubt but that my attending her there would be very acceptable to her ; and indeed she received me in the most gracious manner imaginable : she several times repeated, with an air of freedom and even pleasure, by which I myself was almost imposed upon, that she would follow no other counsels but mine. She entreated me to attach myself to her son, as I had done to the late king : she told me, that she would not suffer me to lay down my employments ; that she would take such measures, that I should execute them in an absolute independence ; and desired me to begin with the accounts of the finances for the year 1611, as I used to do ; none of the ministers having shown themselves willing to take this care upon them during my absence, and she herself being desirous that I should continue to discharge it. The queen continued her discourse till dinner was served : I can relate only a small part of it. When she rose from table, she entertained me with the disputes that had happened during

* “ Bouillon had orders to go to him
 “ (M. de Sully) at Paris, on his return from
 “ his country-seat, and to assure him of
 “ the queen's regard for him, and that she
 “ would place the same confidence in him
 “ the late king had. He accepted the
 “ queen's offer, &c.” Hist de la Mere et
 du Fils, vol. I. p. 112.

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the coronation: she informed me, that the nobles had made an infinite number of demands, but that she had resolved to conclude nothing till my return: however, she avoided saying any thing particular on this head, but only told me, that she would talk to me more fully the first opportunity, and would let me know what were the services she required of me on this occasion: these words seemed wholly free from reserve. The whole court appeared so gay, that it was but too probable this serious conversation was extremely disagreeable; accordingly it gave place to others more common; and at three o'clock the queen returned to the Louvre.

I WENT thither the next day, to pay my respects to the king, to the princes his brothers, and the princesses his sisters. This part of the court was still untainted; the governesses, the nurses, the other women and officers, which composed the household of these young princes, formed a kind of separate people, to whom the memory of king Henry was still dear: the source of their tears and lamentations were not yet dried up; I wept with them, while we talked of that good prince; they conjured me, by every motive which they thought could make any impression upon my mind, by the friendship Henry had for me, by my attachment to him, not to abandon the children of a father to whom I had now no other way of acquitting myself of what I owed him. Their intreaties and their tenderness could add nothing to those sentiments of gratitude and affection which filled my heart, and, to our mutual misfortune, could not increase my power of serving them. Upon my attentively viewing the three princes, I thought I discovered in the countenance and behaviour of the young king, strong indications of those happy dispositions which time has since ripened and disclosed. I imparted my thoughts to my wife when I returned home; but it was with grief that I judged, heaven would not give a long life to the second of these princes.

I WAS visited by almost the whole court, with all those false shews of friendship, those praises and civilities, which never so nearly resemble the true, as when the heart has the least share in them. Conchini, who had taken care to have it insinuated to me by Zamet and D'Argouges,

* This prince died the 16th or 17th of November in the next year, at the age of four years and an half: a quantity of water was found in his head; the too great thickness of the skull stopping the perspiration in

that part; which proved the innocence of Le-Maitre, physician to the children of France, who was accused of having poisoned this young prince. Merc. Franç. ann. 1611, p. 158.

that he was the person to whom I was most obliged for the gracious reception I had met with from the queen, and for her kind intentions towards me, waited three whole days in expectation that I should acknowledge this favour, by making him a complimentary visit; which the courtiers had accustomed him to look upon as a tribute due to his great influence and authority; or that I should at least send some person to discharge this duty for me. However, as he neither saw me, nor received any message from me, he condescended at length to make me a visit: but that I might not assume too much upon a step by which he conceived that he degraded himself, he was very careful to make me sensible that he came only upon his own business: and indeed our conversation turned chiefly upon his post of first gentleman of the bedchamber; upon his pensions, which the queen had ordered should be carried to account in the same manner as those of Bellegarde; and upon a gift which he had lately received out of the offices of the gabelle in Languedoc, for which he had obtained a brevet before the late king's death; but this I did not think proper to mention to him. I thought my answers to all this were not calculated to inspire him with any inclination to quit the subject he was upon, and for which he said he had come to me; yet he could not help it: but I believe it was not long before he repented it; for having slid in, by way of advice, that the best thing I could do, would be to comply with the queen in all things, and accommodate myself wholly to her will (which was tacitly charging me with ruining my own affairs by my obstinacy), I made him this short and severe answer, That I would pay an exact obedience to all the commands of the queen regent, when they were for the service of the king, the advantage of affairs, and the relief of the people; and when my honour and my conscience told me I might do it, without prejudicing either. Every word he uttered seemed to increase the aversion I had to him; he added something more, but with that caution which my behaviour to him seemed to authorise. I answered with equal coldness and reserve, and we parted very ill satisfied with each other; he, I believe, with fewer hopes than ever of moulding me to his purpose; and I full of grief at the advancement of those misfortunes which this presumptuous insatiable man, without abilities, without experience, yet invested with an absolute authority, was bringing upon France.

It appeared to me, from the day after this conversation, that things were greatly altered: the queen, whom I went to wait upon at the Louvre, seemed to have lost much of her former graciousness; yet she constrained herself to preserve some appearance of it, that the

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alteration might not be too remarkable, and to hinder me from imputing it to the conversation I had the day before with Conchini : she again mentioned to me the importunate demands of the grandees, taxed them with extravagance, and seemed resolved to refer them to the council ; at which she desired I would always be present, to take care that nothing passed there contrary to the interest of the king and the state. She promised me, upon her royal word, presenting her hand at the same time to me, that she would support me there as strenuously as the late king had done. I lost all my suspicions at this declaration ; I flattered myself for a moment that this princess, having seriously reflected on all that had lately happened, was become sensible of the danger of pursuing those measures they wanted to engage her in ; but I was soon undeceived.

PREPARED as I was for irregular proceedings, I could not, without extreme surprize, see, that scarcely any business was transacted in the council, but what related to gifts to the nobles, to augmentations of the pensions to persons in office, the paying of debts which had been abolished, the abatement of farms, and discharges of the farmers, and revocations of the contracts made for the rents, registries, and domains ; creations of new offices, exemptions, and privileges ; in a word, a thousand schemes to render the people miserable, instead of applying the treasures amassed by the late king to their relief, as in justice ought to have been done ; since the circumstances of affairs were so changed, that the design for which they were raised could not be executed : but the rapaciousness of the great lords would have swallowed sums far more considerable. Here follow the demands, which the chief amongst them endeavoured to oblige the queen and the council to grant them. It must not be expected here, that this article can extend itself into a list, as I am afraid the other will appear, though I have cut off the demand of trebling and doubling the pensions, as a matter common to almost all the articles.

AT the head of this list I shall put M. the prince, who caused me to be solicited sometimes openly, sometimes in a covert manner, to support his pretensions to the government of Château-Trompette, to that of Blaye, and to the principality of Orange, extended as far as the borders of the Rhone. The count of Soissons demanded the government of the old palace of Rouen, that of the castle of Caën, and that an edict on linen cloth should be created for his profit, which I have mentioned in its place. The duke of Lorraine demanded the payment
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of the whole sum expressed in his treaty, although I had settled this affair a long time ago, when it was agreed that that sum should be reduced two thirds. The duke of Guise solicited for a marriage between himself and madame de Montpensier; for the revocation of the rights of patents in Provence, and of offices for collecting the duties at the gates of Marseilles; he demanded likewise that his debts should be paid. The duke of Maine demanded other sums, besides those expressed in his treaty. D'Eguillon, a gift of thirty thousand crowns; the government of Bresse, and the city of Bourg; and the embassy of Spain with excessive appointments. Joinville, the government of Auvergne, or the first that became vacant. The duke of Nevers demanded the property of the gabelles of Réthelois, with the governments of Mézieres and Saint-Menchout. The duke of Epernon, a body of infantry kept constantly on foot; the reversion of his government for his son; fortifications to be raised at Angoulême and at Xaintes; Metz, and the county of Meffin, taken from Montigny. The duke of Bouillon demanded a sum of money, for the payment of old debts, which he pretended were due to him; the aids, tailles, and gabelles, of the viscounty of Turenne, to his use; and that the homage of this viscounty should be reduced to a simple homage; the arrears of his garrisons and his pensions during his exile; the right of holding general assemblies of the reformed religion. The chancellor demanded the money arising from the petty seals, his salary to be doubled, and letters of nobility in Normandy. Villeroi demanded, that a garrison should be maintained at Lyons, the royal lieutenancy of the province taken from Saint-Chaumont; a marshal's staff for his son d'Alincourt, the repeal of a bargain which I had made for the repurchase of the crown lands in that province, and the mortgages of his registries and upon the king's lands.

It will be easily imagined that Conchini's demands were not less considerable than those of any other; a marshal's staff, the governments of Bourg, Dieppe, and Pont-de-l'arche; a donation of the money produced by the offices of the gabelle of Languedoc, passed in the form of a comptant; the profit arising from the reduction made upon public works, granted to Moisset and to Feydeau: this was his portion. Châteaueux, the chevalier de Sillery, Dollé, Déagent, Arnaud the indentant, Duret the physician, all the members of the queen's private council, who solicited so well for others, did not forget their own affairs. It would be almost the same thing to enumerate all those persons of any quality who had a share in this profuse distribution of pensions, gratuities, privileges, appointments, &c. as to name those who

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were comprehended in this list, for every one had some claim there; the princes, governors of provinces, the lieutenant-civil, the prévôt des marchands, and even the societies and sovereign courts; all the officers of the crown were to have their pensions augmented twenty-four thousand livres each; and the salaries of every member of the council raised in proportion, and their number to be considerably increased. In a word, there seemed to be a general conspiracy to pillage the royal treasure, which was now considered as a lawful prize.

THE indignation which I felt in myself against a licentiousness that degenerated into an attempt upon the royal authority, would not permit me to examine whether the resolution I had taken, singly to oppose this multitude of rapacious courtiers, was absolutely prudent; but this nothing could persuade me from doing, while the place I held in the council authorized such a conduct. My honour, my conscience, my reputation, which I was called upon to support; the interest of the king and the people, whose only defender I considered myself; would not permit me to attend to my own safety: the last words, nay, the intreaties of the queen regent, gave me a right to oppose them; and tho' I was very sensible that she did not desire I should understand them literally, yet, all things considered, I was going to render her a service so essential, that she could not, or ought not to disavow it: and yet I had another motive, which I will not scruple to declare, since I would have my most secret sentiments known to the reader. That desire of glory, self-love, which, when under the direction of reason and justice, has always appeared to me to have something great and noble in it; self-love, I say, dictated to me, that since, sooner or later, I must necessarily be removed from the ministry, I should risk but little by hastening the moment of my dismissal; and that I should gain a great deal by giving a convincing proof, that this disgrace would not have happened to me, had I not opposed the unjustifiable measures I saw pursued by the council, and disdained the servile compliance of the rest of the courtiers: there remains to unhappy virtue this last recompence for the disappointment of its good designs, that it shines with redoubled splendor amidst opposition and persecution.

THE queen soon left me only this consolation in the painful labours I began to sustain; all her conduct served to shew me, that she had only recalled me to Paris, and opposed me to the whole court at this tumultuous time, to reduce me to the fatal alternative of incurring the public contempt if I betrayed my duty, or particular enemies (which was

was still more to be dreaded) if I discharged it. A demand, which I had rendered of no effect in full council, at the risk of making myself a thousand cruel and implacable enemies, was afterwards privately granted as a gratuity by this princess and her confidant.

IT is not my design to give a detail of all the schemes that, during this short time, were set on foot in the council, nor of what was said or done to render them ineffectual; it would be, in reality, to describe so many suits, where, as in law, they did not fail to make use of all the methods commonly practised to corrupt a judge too rigidly just, and against which I was so much the more incited to exclaim, as they attempted likewise to carry their point, either by secret plots or by open cabals. I shall give the reader one example, which will serve to shew, that the evil was great enough to demand remedies no less violent than those I made use of. The article relating to Villeroi, or rather to d'Alincourt, is not the least curious or important of those which the reader has already had some account of.

WHEN d'Alincourt demanded, that a strong garrison should be placed in the city of Lyons, of which he was governor, and maintained at the king's expence, he had two ends to answer by it; one was, to increase his income, by the profits arising from this garrison: for indeed he had occasion for great riches, to enable him to live as he proposed to do, not merely as a marshal of France (a dignity which he expected to be raised to in a very little time) but with the state and retinue of a prince: vain pageantry and doubly ridiculous, in one who had only large possessions to supply the disadvantages of a mean birth*.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, ann. 1518, in reciting the dispatches or instructions for the solemn embassy from Henry VIII. to Francis I. give the titles of knight, lord of Villeroi, &c. to Nicholas de Neufville, great-grandfather of the secretary of state, and one of those ambassadors extraordinary. Sauval, in his *Antiquities of Paris*, vol. III. p. 612. recites letters patent, dated at Cognac, in February, 1519, wherein Francis I. styles him, our well-beloved and faithful counsellor, Nicholas de Neufville, knight, lord of Villeroi, &c. The dedication of Clement Marot, of his poem, intitled, *Le Temple de Cupidon*, is addressed to him, by the title of, Mestire Nicholas

de Neufville, knight, &c. this dedication, which had been suppressed in most even of the old editions of the works of that poet, has been restored in the edition of 1731, printed at the Hague. Lord Herbert, in the life of Henry VIII. makes honourable mention of this Nicholas de Neufville. Baluze, in his accounts, N^o 175, 176, speaking of the accounts of M. de Villeroi, ambassador in England, adds the title of grand-audencier in France. The list of the officers of the dukes of Burgundy, p. 233. mentions one Nicholas de Neufville, as carrier; and Amblart de Neufville, as clerk of the kitchen. The Ducatiana, p. 197, makes mention of Nicholas de Neufville. *ſent*

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The other was, to compel the Lyonnois, by the terror with which so many forces would inspire them, to sacrifice to him their most ancient rights and privileges, which for a long time he had a design to fall upon. As for the treaty made for the redemption of the royal domain, which in that province amounted to twelve hundred thousand livres, he was inclined to demand the suppression of it, because those that were concerned in that affair secured to him a present of an hundred thousand livres, if he could by any means hinder that redemption from taking place.

HIS designs, however, were crossed by two vigilant enemies, these were, the whole city of Lyons, and Saint-Chaumont, the king's lieutenant in that province; but to these he opposed the chancellor Sillery, and Villeroi his father, both very powerful in the council, and in high favour with the queen; these he set on to solicit for him, and with the more eagerness, because he found by my discourse, when he came to intreat me to be favourable to his pretensions, that he could not depend upon me in the council, before whom these demands were to be laid; he saw plainly, that he would have occasion for all his batteries; but he did not doubt of his success, when he was informed that his father and Sillery had brought over Conchini to his party, who afterwards prevailed upon the queen to espouse it likewise.

WE were all assembled in the great closet, where a council was to be held upon this affair, when the queen came up and spoke to me in favour of d'Alincourt: I told her majesty, with great frankness, that she must not expect I would give my vote for a compliance with two such unjust proposals; that it was not reasonable the king should lose twelve hundred thousand livres, to put one hundred thousand in the pocket of M. d'Alincourt; that this was to open the way for every one else to get the like treaties for redemption of the domain, and other parts of the royal revenue, which amounted to near fifty millions, revoked over all the kingdom: that I would as strenuously oppose his other demand, although I knew it would be alledged, that the council had no right to take cognisance of it, and that it was only laid before it to get the first authorized; that by these measures we

ambassador to Rome by Lewis XII. in 1500; and quotes, on this subject, the *Life of Alexander VI.* vol. II. p. 292. These facts have escaped Murreri, and the greatest part of our historians and gencalo-

gists, who, in other respects, have done that justice to the illustrious house of Villeroi, which the author of these Memoirs has refused to it.

were going to expose one of the chief cities of the kingdom, hitherto well affected and loyal, to the danger of violating their allegiance, merely to gratify an unreasonable request, since by the last treaty which I myself had concluded with cardinal Aldobrandin for the duke of Savoy, his majesty being to keep possession of Bresse, and of both the borders of the Rhone, Lyons was no longer a frontier city, and having no more neighbours to fear, had no farther occasion for a garrison in it.

THE queen seemed to be satisfied with these reasons, and turned towards Villeroi, as if to make him approve of them likewise; but he was not so easily repulsed, he gave her reasons in answer to mine, some good and some bad; and when he came to the article of the garrison, he told her, that it was indeed true, the Spaniards and Savoyards were not such near neighbours of this city as formerly, therefore it was not against their attempts that it was necessary to secure the city of Lyons, since they were moreover upon the point of becoming our friends and allies, but that the true enemies to be feared were the huguenots, who being now in a better condition, had probably a greater inclination than ever to make an attempt upon that city: he named Lesdiguières in particular, as one from whom most danger was to be apprehended.

BERENGUEVILLE overheard what Villeroi said to the queen, and repeated every word to me: this confirmed to me the truth of what I had heard concerning the secret council held at the house of Ubaldini, the pope's nuncio. I saw with indignation, that the sole view of these gentlemen was to set the catholics and protestants in France at variance, as well as in all Europe. I was no less shocked at Villeroi's accusation of a man allied to my family, and rising up hastily, I went towards the queen, who was still listening to him, and told her, that I had forgot to forewarn her of a thing which I was as well assured of as if I had been a witness of it, and this was, that Villeroi, in his design of rendering her favourable to his son's pretensions, cared but little by what means this was brought about; and did not scruple to make the falsest and most malignant representations against the protestants, without even excepting one, whom a thousand great and good services ought to place out of the reach of suspicion; that his malice went so far as to treat them as enemies, whom France had more reason to fear than Spain itself; that if her majesty, judging Villeroi's arguments and mine to be of equal weight, should resolve to behold the protestants and the Spaniards in the same light, nothing remained for her to do (and I looked stedfastly upon him) but to exclude us both from the council.

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council. This was a severe stroke upon Villeroi; but this man, who had neither abilities to speak in public, nor knew how to give his vote in the council, had not a single word to say in answer to me; indeed his surprize, and the secret reproaches of his own conscience, might well render him dumb upon this occasion: all he did was to go to that part of the room where the chancellor and the duke of Epernon were conferring together; and the queen also, quitting her place without answering me, went to join the count of Soissons and marechal Brissac, who were talking in private. I foreboded no good from these several connexions.

Nothing was done this day in d'Alincourt's affair, and I sometimes flattered myself that the measures I had taken would hinder it from being resumed; but it was only put off till his father and himself, the chancellor and his brother, by new cabals with Conchini and the counsellors, secured all the votes in their favour, even that of Bethune my brother, who came to me with an intention to make one effort more to soften me: he represented to me, that my opposition was in vain, and would have no other consequence but to bring every body upon my back; that I should have the mortification to see that my example would not be followed even by my nearest relations. I replied, that I never expected any thing else from him, but that I was absolutely determined to continue to the end faithful in the performance of my duty: and I kept my word, for in the first council that was held on this occasion, seeing that the counsellor to whose charge it fell that day was ready to make his report, I asked him hastily, what was the business? he replied, that it related to some proposals which were to be made concerning the domain in Lyonnois. I interrupted him, saying, that I was well assured d'Alincourt, who was most interested in that affair, had formed so strong a party for him in the council, by the mediation of his friends and relations, that it was already resolved on, even before it was laid before it; but that I protested against it, as being absolutely contrary to his majesty's interest; and that I desired a certificate of my protestation from the clerk, to send it to the parliament to be registered there, in order that this writing might one day serve to shew the king the bad conduct pursued by his council after the death of the king his predecessor*.

* This account perfectly agrees with what is said in l'Histoire de la Mere et du Fils: "The duke of Sully," says that historian, "continued to exercise his office

" for a fortnight or three weeks after the coronation was performed, at which time the disputes on account of the Swifs at Lyons, which I have spoke of before,

THESE last words, which, it must be granted, were very severe, had no other effect, than to suspend, for a short time, the deliberation they were preparing for. No one replied; a general consternation seized all that were present; the chancellor alone, without shewing any emotion, said to the councillor, "Lay other papers before us, and let us proceed to affairs of a different kind; we shall find a time for this when these heats and animosities are over, as it generally happens in things that are most contested." The counsellor obeyed; the other matters were discussed; and d'Alincourt's demand, when it was next laid before the council, was granted without opposition: but this was not till I myself was banished from the board; which happened in

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“ were renewed, because Villeroi wanted
 “ to have their pay charged on the general
 “ receipts of that city. The duke of Sully
 “ was so much out of temper on this score,
 “ that not content with maintaining, it
 “ was unreasonable to load the king with
 “ so great an expence, when the inhabi-
 “ tants of Lyons were sufficient to keep
 “ guard themselves, as they had always
 “ been used to do: he also treated the
 “ chancellor, who sided with Villeroi,
 “ roughly, telling him, they were all a-
 “ greed amongst themselves to ruin the
 “ king's affairs. As this was an affront to
 “ all these ministers in common, they
 “ joined their endeavours to ruin the duke,
 “ the harshness of whose temper was not
 “ to be softened.” This writer afterwards
 relates the several steps that were taken to
 unite the ministers with the count of Soif-
 sons, the marquis of Ancre, the marquis of
 Cœuvres, and others, against the duke of
 Sully. As this author is one of the duke of
 Sully's enemies, I quote him on purpose to
 confirm the truth of what the duke says,
 that he might have kept his posts, if he
 would have joined in the measures of the
 new council; and that his perseverance in
 the support of justice, the public interest,
 and the late king's plan of government,
 was the cause of his disgrace. All men of
 sense have not, however, given the same
 judgment on his inflexibility with the au-
 thor I am speaking of, tho' all the enemies
 of that minister have agreed with him in

it. In the appendix to the Merc. Franç.
 for the year 1610, p. 9. we find an entire
 discourse on this subject, which justifies
 him in a manner extremely to his honour.
 The Memoirs de Villeroi, vol. III. p. 259.
 also speaks of him in the following man-
 ner: “ The change which the said sieur
 “ de Sully made in the condition of
 “ France, by retrieving her from a state of
 “ indigence, and rendering her rich and
 “ opulent, by his œconomy and industry,
 “ sufficiently proves his abilities: his free
 “ remonstrances to the king, and his op-
 “ position to all great men, discover his
 “ probity; and his having been able to
 “ stand his ground amongst so many ene-
 “ mies, without sinking under his own ap-
 “ prehensions, or their threats, shews how
 “ great were his prudence and courage;
 “ even those who envy him are compel-
 “ led to own, that he alone is more useful
 “ to the public, and has more knowledge
 “ of business, than all the rest together;
 “ and provided he would abate a little of
 “ his austerity, he would be a servant
 “ worthy of your majesty. Tho' they
 “ endeavour to keep him from having any
 “ concern in the management of affairs,
 “ yet that cannot stop him from freely
 “ speaking his sentiments of the little re-
 “ spect paid to the memory of the late
 “ king, and of the small deference shewn
 “ to our young prince, &c.” See also
 the manuscript discourse cited by us in the
 preface to this work.

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so short a time afterwards, that it may be said it was by this vigorous effort I finished my career.

I HAD now no other part to take but to retire from court. I had given sufficient proofs to all France, that it was not for want of the most strenuous efforts on my side that the affairs of the state were plunged into disorder: it was become impossible for me to apply any remedy to the increasing evil. This no one doubted of: I struggled to no purpose; and all that I had for the price of my labours and my good intentions, was the hatred of those persons whose interest it would have been to second them: Conchini employed his favour, the princes of the blood their authority, the other persons in office their credit, only to render me odious. I saw nothing preparing for me for the future, but new mortifications and other troubles. All my actions, my words, nay my silence itself, witnessed against persons who were inwardly struck with the injustice of these reproaches. My post of superintendant of the finances was eagerly coveted by two princes of the blood, each of whom was made to hope that he should gain it when I was driven from court. By staying there too long, I exposed myself to the danger of being violently dispossessed of all my other employments. Those of my friends, who were most sincere, and best knew the plots that were forming against me, were continually giving me counsels which I was convinced deserved to have more weight with me, than the solicitations of some of my relations, who were either carried away by a mistaken tenderness for me, or a regard to their own interest. I therefore resolved to defer no longer the resignation of my two employments of superintendant of the finances and governor of the Bastile, which were the most panted after, as by them they could dispose of the revenues and treasures of the king, hoping to purchase by this sacrifice, which might have still some appearance of being voluntary, the confirmation of all my other dignities *, which it was not in the power of my enemies to deprive me of, especially if I

* The duke of Sully at that time bore the following titles: Maximilian de Bethune, knight, duke of Sully, peer of France, sovereign prince of Henrichemont and Boisbelle, marquis of Rosni, count of Dourdan, lord of Orval, Montrond, and St. Amand, baron of Espineuil, Eruyeres-le-Chastel, Villebon, La-Chapelle, Novion, Baugy, and Bontin, chancellor to the king in all the councils, cap-

tain-lieutenant of two hundred gens d'armes under the queen's command, grand-master and captain-general of the artillery, surveyor general of France, superintendant of the king's finances, fortifications, and buildings, governor, and the king's lieutenant-general of the provinces of Poitou, Châtelleraud, and Laudun, governor of Mante and Gergeau, and captain of the castle of the Bastile.

took the precaution of removing for ever out of their sight an object which could never fail of re-animating their hatred, by the effect of a jealousy unavoidable, while I continued amongst them; and, that I might do all at once, I fixed myself in a resolution to quit the court, and Paris itself, at the same time that I resigned all further share in the administration of affairs.

I PREPARED to execute this design on the beginning of the year 1611*. The queen appeared desirous of opposing it; but this was only for form's sake. Here follows the letter she wrote to me upon this occasion.

“ COUSIN,

“ I hear, with concern, that you have taken a resolution to discharge yourself of the care of the king my son's affairs, particularly of those relating to the finances, contrary to the hope I had conceived, that you would continue to perform the duties of that employment as you did in the time of the late king my lord. I entreat you to think well of this design before you put it into execution, and let me know your last determination, that I may regulate mine upon it. So beseeching God, &c.”

Paris, Jan. 24, 1611.

My answer to this letter being such as the queen probably expected, she sent Bouillon to me two days afterwards with the brevets of dis-

* Here follow several accounts of this event, very different one from the other :

“ The year 1611 was begun with the retirement of M. de Sully, who, at the instigation, and by the intrigues of the two princes of the blood, was drove from the management of affairs. The superintendance of the finances, and the custody of the king's treasure, was taken from him. The queen also took the Bastille out of his hands, and gave the custody thereof to M. de Châteauneuf [it should be Châteaueux.] The finances were put under the direction of Messrs. de Châteauneuf, the president de Thou, and Jeannin: but the last was also made comptroller-general of

“ the finances, which threw the sole management of them into his hands, to the exclusion of the other two, who assisted only in the direction.” Bassompierre's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 308.

“ The 24th of this month (January) M. de Sully quitted the arsenal. There is a report that a brevet is issued to appoint him marshal of France, with a grant of some thousands of crowns as a recompence to him. He has voluntarily resigned the direction of the finances, *tanquam à speculo prævidens tempestatem futuram.*” Journal de l'Etoile, page 256.

“ The prince of Condé and the count of Soissons spoke the first of it to the

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charge from my two employments, of superintendant of the finances and governor of the Bastile, in the most authentic form, and, at the same time, most advantageous for me. Her majesty in these brevets declared, that it was at my repeated sollicitation she had granted me leave to resign these places; and that I should not hereafter, upon any pretence whatever, be questioned concerning my conduct while I held them.

To these brevets was added another, dated January 27, by which her majesty, in consideration of the services the late king had received from me during a long course of years, and of which she made a most honourable mention, granted me a donation of three hundred thousand livres, to be paid out of the royal treasury, free from the duty of the fifth and tenth penny, and the duty given to the order of the Holy Ghost, from which his majesty was desirous I should be exempted. The letters I received the following days from their majesties, either contained orders to give up the castle of the Bastile to the sieur de Châteaueux, whom they had made king's lieutenant of it, or acquittals for some jewels of the crown which I had delivered back into their hands, part of which consisted of a jewel called the Licorne, and some other rings and jewels, for which a promissory note of mine for ten thousand livres was lodged with Puget, who now returned it me, and part of three large rubies, for which I had given my receipt to madame Le-

“ queen, the ministers seconded them, and
 “ the marquis of Ancre gave him the
 “ finishing stroke. Thus he found himself
 “ under the necessity of retiring in the
 “ beginning of February, &c.” Hist. de
 la Mere & du Fils, vol. I. p. 235.

“ Some have written that the duke of
 “ Sully, shortly after the reconciliation of
 “ the count of Soissons and the duke of
 “ Guise, voluntarily resigned into the
 “ queen's hands, as well the Bastile, as
 “ the superintendency of the finances.
 “ Others say, that making an offer to the
 “ queen to give up all his posts, he was
 “ taken at his word: others have spoken
 “ differently of it. He himself says the
 “ contrary in the letter he wrote to the
 “ queen, which was printed shortly after.”
 Merc. Franç. anno 1611.

This letter is afterwards recited, but is not mentioned in Sully's Memoirs. The

Memoirs of the regency of Mary de Medicis, vol. I. p. 57. dissent also from the foregoing accounts, asserting that the duke of Sully earnestly solicited the queen to dismiss him, which she with great reluctance consented to.

There may possibly be some truth in both these opinions: That is, that the duke of Sully would, out of question, have freely consented to keep his posts, provided he could have enjoyed them with the same authority, tho' not with the same satisfaction, as under the late king: but the efforts he made for that purpose alienated the queen, the great men, and the ministers from him, and at last increased his disgust, as he found all his endeavours would be in vain. There is nothing in Matthieu's account discordant with this notion: on the contrary, he agrees to what is said in these Memoirs. “ The duke of Sully,
 Grand,

Grand, when I took them out of her hands, where they were mortgaged.

I EMPLOYED the remainder of the time I staid in Paris in regulating my domestic affairs, in a detail of which the reader would find nothing to merit his attention, except probably the counsels I gave to my secretaries. I had generally six principal ones, as well for the business of my four chief offices of the crown, as for any extraordinary affairs I might have to transact with the court, and I found it necessary to have a great many other clerks or transcribers under them: but those I shall mention here were my chief secretaries, whose abilities and exact discharge of their several duties, well deserved that I should give them a share in affairs of importance, and my confidence in nice and delicate conjunctures; among these, the four brothers of the name of Arnaud were favoured in a particular manner by me. The eldest died while he was yet young, many years before the king was assassinated. I had so great a regard for the second, that from being my secretary only, I procured him to be made counsellor of state, and intendant of the finances: the third went into the army, and was made a colonel of a regiment of horse: and to the last I gave the post of treasurer of France, and that of overseer of the highways. All my other secretaries were provided for in proportion. I believe I shall not be accused of having broken one of the laws of nature, which directs that the adherents to us, or perhaps we say more properly, to our places, should not be disappointed of those rewards, which it is in our power to bestow upon them according to their merit. Duret was preferred to be a treasurer of France, president of the chamber of accounts, and comptrol-

“ says he, after the death of Henry the
 “ Great, immediately saw he should not
 “ possess the same authority under the new
 “ reign as he did under the last; and that
 “ the enmity of the count of Soissons
 “ would bring on his ruin. As the direc-
 “ tion of the finances had already been
 “ taken from him, the queen was advised
 “ to deprive him also of the Bastille. This
 “ was esteemed so bold a step, that it was
 “ said Henry the Great would not have
 “ dared to have taken it for fear of stirring
 “ up those of the duke’s religion to resent
 “ it. She, nevertheless, saw him readily
 “ obey her commands to resign the Bastille
 “ to Châteaueux, one of the knights of

“ honour. Had he made any opposition,
 “ some of the great men at court, who
 “ were afraid his steadiness might be drawn
 “ into precedent, would have rendered
 “ this dismissal more difficult. As soon
 “ as he was stripped of this office, he saw
 “ the prejudice resulting from his having so
 “ easily submitted; and desired the queen’s
 “ permission to go to Rosny, saying he
 “ would not stay there above three days.
 “ When he was there those of his religion
 “ cautioned him not to go back to court,
 “ where he had been so ill treated. His
 “ wife and brother on the contrary urged
 “ him to return, and he did so according-
 “ ly; but those who had been of the op-

ter-

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ler-general of the finances; Renouard was made auditor of accounts; La-Clavelle overseer of the bridges and causeways; Du-Maurier, who had quitted the duke of Bouillon's service for mine, was employed in public affairs, to which his genius and inclination led him, and has been since ambassador to Holland; Murat was made treasurer of the extraordinary of war; La-Font, whom I have often mentioned in these Memoirs, acquired the favour and confidence of the late king, who, among other benefits that he bestowed upon him, made him overseer of his furniture; Gillot was made secretary of the ordnance. All these men were truly sensible how much they were going to lose by my retreat, and they omitted no sort of entreaties or methods to prevail upon me to alter my resolution. I will do most of them the justice to declare, that I believe, by acting thus, they thought they were serving my interest at least as much as their own: but as for the two Arnauds, the eldest especially, and two or three more, they were but little affected with my purpose. They would even have been grieved if I had altered my opinion; yet it was they who opposed it most. Arnaud the elder added, on this occasion, hypocrisy to avarice and ingratitude: meanly as he thought of Jeannin's abilities for the office of superintendent of the finances, for which he looked upon himself as much better qualified, he was one of those who solicited Conchini most earnestly to procure it for that minister, who he flattered himself would leave the chief management of it to him.

I PENETRATED into the inmost recesses of their hearts: I discovered views and designs which they probably imagined were sufficiently concealed; but I suppressed a resentment unworthy of me; and, taking them aside one after the other, I gave them such advice as, from the present conjuncture of the times, and the knowledge I had of their dispositions, was most likely to advance their fortunes: I told the elder

“posite opinion withdrew themselves from
 “him, esteeming it a meanness in him not
 “to shew a greater resentment for such ill
 “usage. The queen received him fa-
 “vourably; but the count of Soissons
 “caused him to be kept from having any
 “concern in business, which had been so
 “much under his immediate manage-
 “ment in the late king's reign. Seeing
 “himself thus fallen both from his credit
 “and employments, he went to Sully;
 “and not thinking himself in safety
 “enough there, he returned into the pro-

“vince of Bourbon.” This writer adds,
 that one of the principal motives which
 induced the protestants to endeavour to
 increase his discontent, was their desire of
 having his great fortune engaged for the
 advantage of the common cause: but that
 he submitted to the prudent advice given
 him by La-Vallée, the lieutenant-general
 of the artillery, who has been mentioned
 before, to keep himself quite retired, with-
 out having any concern in the quarrels
 which soon after happened. *Ib.* p. 22.

Arnaud,

Arnaud, that he had it in his power to make his court very successfully to the queen, by the great number of excellent memoirs upon the most important affairs of the finances, which were lodged in his hands; and, that this sacrifice might lose no part of its merit, I advised him to offer it by madame de Conchini, seriously recommending it to him, at the same time, to devote himself faithfully to her service: I advised his brother to use his utmost endeavours to obtain the favour of the chancellor, of Villeroy, Jeannin, and, above all, Conchini's, who was the only oracle which it was necessary for him to consult in the exercise of his employment; and I desired the colonel himself to make his court to those very persons.

DURET, besides all those, might apply himself to the commander * and to Dollé; and this I recommended to him to do. Du-Maurier needed only to be made known to Villeroy, by carefully cultivating his friendship, which I assured him would be sufficient; and with the knowledge he had of foreign affairs, joined to the talents he possessed of speaking well, and of writing still better, he might easily obtain of the queen and the favourite, some honourable employment. To Murat, who was accountable for his conduct to the secretary of state, I recommended my interests at court; but to discharge this trust cautiously, and not without first asking Villeroy's consent. As for La-Clavelle, his subtle wit and proneness to flattery, secured him all possible success with the ministers, and even with d'Éscures, who had more power than any body else to block up his way in the discharge of his office. La-Font's employment subjecting him wholly to the queen's will, or rather to Conchini's, he had but one path to follow, which I pointed out to him. The advice I gave to Renouard, was not to seek any other recommendation from his own court, excepting the importance which the force of his understanding might give him amongst his associates; and I desired he would to this employment add that of taking care of my domestic affairs at Paris. Gillot I placed with my son, to superintend the affairs of the ordnance; and, that every thing might be kept in the same order in which I had left it, I gave to my inferior secretaries and clerks such advice as I thought most suitable to their humbler station, and obliged those who shewed most reluctance to comply with my measures, to confess at length, that, in what I had recommended to them, I had a particular view to that necessity which sooner or later would force them to follow the rules I had prescribed. This I accompanied

* Noel de Sillery, brother to the chancellor.

1610. with a compliment to each, and an obliging command to follow my directions, which had such an appearance of sincerity, that they yielded to my arguments; and they have not repented. I had no intention, however, to keep no more secretaries in my service; but, being now out of place myself, I had no occasion for men that were in, for this employment. I therefore took two new secretaries into my family, whose chief business, in a cabinet no longer occupied with the affairs of state, was collecting and preparing these Memoirs for the public.

THIS done, and burying in eternal oblivion those hopes, desires, resentments, and regrets, which any other in my situation might have formed, I bid a lasting adieu to the court, and with the same indifference as if it had not for so long a course of years been to me the theatre of glory, wealth, and happiness*. I lost at one stroke a king who was my benefactor and my support, and with him my fortune, my friends, and my favour. This loss generally brings along with it so many other mortifications, that, to those who have suffered it, it appears but the least part of their unhappiness. If this additional ill fortune is always the effect of particular enmities, certainly no one was more exposed to them than myself; yet history can furnish but few examples of ministers and favourites in disgrace, who were as much honoured and respected in their fall as I was; for it sometimes happens that public esteem succeeds to particular favour in supporting those who are unfortunate now, and when it does not form a counterweight strong enough to incline the balance to their side, it is because these supposed oppressed persons have always some weak place by which they may be attacked, and which they find it very difficult to defend. Acknowledged probity and innocence will always have the advantage over envy, even at the very time, when it seems most to triumph. My enemies

* " Though this blow was not given him unawares, and though he saw it coming at a distance, he was not able to receive it with composure, nor even without weakness. He submitted, because he was compelled to it, but could not forbear complaining; and when, by the queen's order, he was reminded that he had many times offered her to lay down his employments, he answered, " He did it, not thinking he should be taken at his word, &c." Hist. de la Mere & du Fils, ib. p. 131. This writer adds

many other stories of M. de Sully equally spiteful: but to the reasons we have already given for not giving any great weight to his testimony, we may add, that he is the only one who speaks of him in this manner.

" On Saturday, the 5th of February, the duke of Sully left Paris, after returning the grant he had received of 100,000 crowns. The duchess of Sully blamed his haughtiness and pride in doing so." L'Etoile, ib. p. 257.

therefore

therefore (for I have a right to apply this maxim to myself) could satisfy but a small part of their rage against me, because the victory they had gained was one of those shameful advantages which it is thought necessary to conceal, and which is not enjoyed wholly without remorse; nor did the satisfaction my enemies felt for my disgrace, hinder some true Frenchmen, who eagerly embraced every occasion of shewing their respect for the memory of the late king, from honouring a man who expected no more than to set out on his exile in privacy and peace. I was attended at my leaving Paris by more than three hundred horse.

It was not while I was present, and in a condition to defend myself, that I expected to see my enemies use their utmost efforts against me: envy is a passion whose characteristic is cowardice, no less than malice and detraction: I was always persuaded that they would seize eagerly the advantages my absence afforded them. In effect, a few days were scarce elapsed after my arrival at Sully, when the whole court was filled with reports which tended not only to give a bad impression of my conduct in public affairs, but also to render me enough suspected to afford them some pretence for commencing a prosecution against me, the shame and grief of which was all they desired I should suffer*. On this occasion I took such measures as I thought every wise man ought to take, which was to disarm envy the most effectual way, by preventing, with frequent letters, the minds of their majesties from being prejudiced to my disadvantage.

In the first, which I addressed to the king and queen, I complained that bad designs were formed against me: I offered to justify my conduct by every method they could propose, and even, if necessary, by new services: and, after giving their majesties the strongest assurances of obedience, fidelity, and innocence, I represented to them with some freedom, that, if they had been as well persuaded of that innocence as they had given me room to believe, I should have received proofs of it ere now, by the orders they would have been pleased to give for the performances of the several promises they had made me, with respect to my places, and to the gratuities which the king had granted me: that the first artifice practised by my enemies, had been to defer, and after-

* "He had no sooner retired," says the Histoire de la Mere & du Fils, p. 128, "but many prepared to pursue the victory over him, in order to come in for a share of his spoils.---But the queen at last, with great reason, changed her

"measures, it not being held reasonable to treat with ill usage a person whose services had been so advantageous to France, without any other pretext, than that, by his having been useful to the public, he had at the same time been so to himself."

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wards to hinder, if they could, the effect of those promises, which, being so many proofs of their majesties good opinion of me, while they subsisted, it was dangerous to attempt any thing against me; and it was for this reason that I was so solicitous for their being accomplished.

To this letter I received an answer from the queen such as I could have wished: She observed in it, that my past services, and my present inclinations, were so well known to the king and to her, that it was not in the power of any person whatever to alter their sentiments with respect to me: that hitherto she had not perceived it had been attempted; but, if it should, it would be to no purpose: she assured me it was not owing to any ill will towards me, but to chance alone, that some little difficulties had been found in performing the agreements between his majesty and me; but that they should be observed with the utmost exactness. This letter is dated March 7, 1611.

It was not long before I sent the queen another letter, of which I cannot dispense with myself from giving the reader some account, because what I there declared concerning the state of my private affairs, was exactly conformable to the situation I found myself in upon my retiring from public business. I began with recalling to her remembrance the open profession I had always made of attachment to her person, and the proofs I had given of it, as well before as since her marriage; and here I mentioned certain particular circumstances, when I drew upon myself some reproaches from the late king for supporting her against him on occasions, when I thought I was labouring equally for both their interests. This led me to an eulogium on the good qualities of the queen regent, on which I founded the opinion I was to appear in this letter to have entertained, that she had no part in the persecutions raised against me at court.

This article I treated at great length. It being that for which the letter was chiefly written, I gave the queen to understand that I was well informed of the disadvantageous reports which were spread against me in court; of the obstacles my enemies were incessantly raising to hinder me from settling peaceably my private affairs; and, in a word, of the perquisites which their majesties proposed to allow me in the offices, of which I could not be deprived. I assumed a right from the good intentions which I supposed this princess had towards me, founded upon the repeated assurances she had given me of her esteem, to complain to her of those persons who rendered these intentions ineffectual. I insisted

insisted particularly upon the favour and protection I had reason to expect from their majesties while I was making that disposition of my affairs, to which, for the sake of peace, I had sacrificed my interest, when it would have been so much the easier to have disputed the ground with my adversaries, as the motives by which they acted being almost generally known, I had every advantage over them which I could desire. I here laid down concisely the principal points of my management, and my share of that wealth with which, by my labours and œconomy, I had enriched the kingdom till the year 1610, when I saw all the measures I had taken to keep every thing in the same state of order and regularity at once overturned and destroyed; adding that time would shew whether the kingdom had most obligations to my enemies or to me.

I TOOK this opportunity to obviate some of their most specious accusations: I reprinted to the queen the great folly and absurdity they were guilty of for exclaiming against me for the vast riches they said I had acquired during the course of my favour with the late king, when in their hearts they despised me for not making greater advantages of so fair an opportunity, and were fully resolved not to follow my example. The narrow bounds of a letter would not permit me to say all I could in my own justification: I only observed to the queen, that it was easy for me to prove that that wealth, which they imputed to me as a crime, I acquired either by frugality and œconomy, or by the bounty of a master too generous and too grateful to leave a minister unrewarded, who devoted himself with an assiduity, rarely seen in a superintendant, to continual labours for the public good*: that it was sufficient for me that all the gratuities I had received from my master only, which he laid his commands upon me to accept; and this I could prove as clearly as the use to which I had applied them, which was more, I believed, than those who were going to succeed me would be able to say at the close of their administration. I told the queen that I hoped I should not be charged either with vanity or malice, if I affirmed that the wrong they were now attempting to do me, was a real injury to the state: that I

* "He retired laden with riches, which
" the time he had been in the ministry
" had enabled him to acquire.--It may be
" said with great truth, that the first years
" of his administration were very profitable
" to him; and if any should say the
" last were no less so, it must be allowed

" that, if they were advantageous to him,
" they were greatly so to the public." Hist. de la Mere & du Fils, p. 128. One single proof from any enemy, such as the author of this History, will counterbalance a thousand others.

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never desired to be continued in the direction of the finances, but for the king's advantage; and that having their majesties for judges of my actions, upon whole equity and goodness I relied to hinder my enemies from commencing a prosecution against me, the privacy I was going to enjoy would no longer appear dangerous to me; but, on the contrary, I should find it so much the more pleasing, as it began now to be suitable to my age, and would be interrupted with no reproaches, nor embittered by any remorse.

TOWARDS the close of this letter, through which I had occasionally interspersed many offers of service, assurances of fidelity, and all those expressions of respect and obedience, which I thought I owed to the queen, I told her, that before I set out for my government, whither my affairs called me, I would give her notice of it, and receive her orders; and, if she thought I could be of any use to her in the assembly of the protestants, to which I was summoned, I would go thither with the same disposition and readiness to serve her as the late king my master. Such was the purport of this long letter, which the queen answered by another, dated April 24. It was conceived almost in the same terms as her former letter: she left me at liberty to go to Poitou, or to the assembly of the protestants, and to act there as I should judge proper, knowing better than any other (those were her words) how I could be most useful to the king in either of those places.

BUT what completely secured me against all reverses of fortune was, that her majesty being desirous to give a public proof of her esteem for me, and how little it was in the power of my enemies to hurt me, granted me an augmentation of my pension, for which the brevet was expedited in less than a month after the date of her last letter. This augmentation was twenty-four thousand livres; so that altogether my pensions at that time amounted to forty-eight thousand four hundred livres a year. It was expressed in the brevet, that this additional pension commenced on the 1st of January 1611, although it was dated the 20th of May; and that her majesty thought herself under an obligation to grant it to me, as well in acknowledgment for my past services, of which the most honourable mention was made, as to enable me to continue them for the future.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, I do not think myself dispensed with from proving that article of the foregoing letter, which regards my wealth. A superintendent of the finances, and any man to whom the management

management of the kingdom's money has been entrusted, is accountable to the public for all his actions; nor would I refuse, if called upon, to lay before it my most secret thoughts, since it has been always my study to regulate them in such a manner, that they would, if known, not only subject me to no censure, for this is an indispensable obligation upon all men, but also that they might in some respect seem worthy to serve for a model to those who, succeeding to my place, would have the same engagements to him. Happy if I could have reason to hope that this model would be effaced with one more perfect. I shall continue therefore to give the public such an exact state of my domestic affairs, following the method I began a few pages above, that any other person may be as well acquainted with them as I am myself. To spare my readers the trouble of collecting together at too great a distance the articles of a broken calculation, and that they may view the whole with one single glance, I shall here lay before them all that has been said on that subject in different parts of these Memoirs, beginning with a faithful account of my whole yearly revenue, according to the order of time when I was invested with those offices, from whence the greatest part of it arose*.

I WAS in the first place, while Henry the Great was yet but king of Navarre, preferred to the post of first gentleman of his bed-chamber, together with that of counsellor of Navarre: the salaries of both amounted to two thousand livres a year. When he became king of France, he made me counsellor of state, for which I had a like allowance, which, with a pension of three thousand six hundred livres, increased my income with the yearly sum of five thousand six hundred livres. My company of men at arms brought me in four thousand livres a year. The king giving me afterwards two brevets, one for counsellor of parliament without salary, and the other for counsellor of the finances, three thousand six hundred livres were on this occasion added

* The following memoir is an unanswerable refutation of a reflection cast on the duke of Sully by the *Histoire de la Mere & du Fils*, p. 130; and expressed in these words: "In fine, if, during his administration, he had managed the king's affairs well, he had not forgot to take care of his own. This appeared more evidently from his having come into office with only six thousand livres a year, and going out with more than a hun-

dred and fifty thousand livres, which had obliged him to withdraw out of the exchequer the rent-roll and inventory of his estate and effects, which had been registered there, when he came into the management of the finances, that it might not appear against him, under his own hand and seal, how much he had enriched himself out of the king's money."

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to my pensions. His majesty having thought proper to fix the gratuities, pensions, gifts, &c. which he designed to bestow upon me as superintendent of the finances, to a certain sum, which should be comprehended all in one article, this sum, which amounted to twenty thousand crowns, increased my revenue with ten thousand eight hundred livres a year more: add to this the produce of all my other dignities and employments; the office of grand-surveyor of the roads of France, and surveyor in particular of the Isle of France, brought me in ten thousand livres a year; that of great-master of the ordnance, comprehending the salary, profits, and pensions, annexed to it, twenty-four thousand livres. I always placed under one article the sums arising from the government of Poitou, the superintendance of the buildings, that of the fortifications, ports, &c. which all together amounted to eighteen thousand livres a year. The government of Mante and Gergeau brought me in twelve thousand livres; the queen's company of gendarms, of which I was captain-lieutenant, five thousand livres; and the government of the Bastille two thousand two hundred livres a year. All these articles put together make up the sum of ninety-seven thousand two hundred livres a year.

EACH of these articles have been already mentioned in different parts of these Memoirs. What remains to be added to them are as follows: Forty-five thousand livres in church benefices, which his holiness was so well satisfied that I should enjoy under the borrowed name of some ecclesiastics, that he generally expediated the bulls gratis, when he was told that the abbey was for me. I lost no part of this income, when it was decreed that the ecclesiastics should withdraw all their benefices out of the hands of the protestants, because by the pope's bulls, in which this regulation was expressed, the ecclesiastics on whom they were bestowed, were to give the full value of them to the first possessor. My own lands and possessions compose a second article, which I believe I estimate justly, by making them amount to sixty thousand livres a year. These two last sums, added to that of ninety-seven thousand two hundred livres, make a total of two hundred and two thousand two hundred livres a year.

I SHALL prevent the explanation which may be demanded of me, with respect to the article of twenty thousand crowns in lands; and, in the first place, I desire it may be remembered that there was a kind of agreement made between the king and myself in the year 1601, by which that prince, who did not think my labours in his services sufficiently

ently rewarded by my ordinary gratuities and pensions, and who likewise was apprehensive as well as I that those sums, which his generosity led him to give me in extraordinary presents and gratuities, would produce bad consequences hereafter, by that appearance of profusion they might have, again settled his gifts and gratuities in a new sum of fifty thousand livres a year, which was to take in all that I was to expect merely from his bounty. This donation was expedited by letters patents, that being known to the whole kingdom, I might not be one day subjected to any dishonourable imputation on account of it. I enjoyed this extraordinary gratuity for eight years, which produced me the sum of four hundred and twenty-four thousand livres, which I laid out according to the king's desire, in making acquisitions in proportion. I made the same use of the sum of five hundred and thirty thousand livres arising from the following articles: From money which I have received, but which is subject to be repaid, two hundred thousand livres, on the marriage of my son; a hundred thousand livres which I received with my wife; a hundred thousand paid me by La-Borde; as much by M. de Schomberg; and thirty thousand which his majesty gave me for my son d'Orval*. These sums, I say, which added to the above, make one million and ten thousand livres, I laid out in the following manner:

I PURCHASED one half of the estate of Rosny with two hundred and ten thousand livres; the estate of Dourdon, which I bought of Sancy, who held it of the Swiss cantons, cost me, beside the money

* Francis de Bethune, the founder of the branch of the counts of Orval, was knight of the king's orders, master of the horse to the queen, surveyor-general of France, superintendent of the royal buildings, governor of St. Maixant, camp-master of the regiment of Picardy, lieutenant-general of the king's armies. After the death of César de Bethune, his brother of the whole blood, who died unmarried, the estates and lordships which the duke of Sully their father had settled on the children of his second marriage (as we shall relate hereafter) became united in him. They were erected into a duchy and peerage, under the title of de Bethune, which was done in consideration of his signal services to the crown, and particularly in having raised, at his own expence, a

considerable body of forces, both foot and horse, at a time when the king stood in great need of them, to carry on the war, in which he was then engaged with the Spaniards, duke Charles of Lorraine, the prince of Condé, and others of his rebellious subjects. It is in these terms the letters patent for this purpose are expressed, which are dated at Melun in the month of June 1652. The duchy of Sully devolved on this branch of the family, in 1730, on the death of Maximilian, the fifth duke of Sully, in the person of Lewis Peter Maximilian de Bethune, grandson of this Francis count of Orval, to whom it was adjudged by the council of state, he paying the value of it to the abbe Armand de Bethune his great uncle, afterwards count of Orval.

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he owed me, a hundred thousand livres. I had the lands of Sully from the duke de la Tremouille for a hundred and fifty thousand livres; and Villebon, by an ordinance, for one hundred thousand. The three contracts I made with the duke of Nevers amounted to two hundred and ten thousand livres: namely, for Montroud a hundred thousand; La-Chapelle fifty-six thousand; and for Henrichemont fifty-four thousand. I bought the estate of Châtelet of the duke of Montpensier for sixty thousand livres; that of Culand, by an ordinance, for eight thousand; and Des Is, in Beauce, for seventy-five thousand livres. The whole of these purchases, which amount to eleven hundred and ninety thousand livres, exceeding, as appears, that of the two sums received above by a hundred and nine thousand livres, this sum will be found charged in the articles of receipt, which are placed after; for I am desirous of giving the reader full satisfaction, by carrying this detail even farther than he has a right to expect, and for this purpose I must step a little aside from the subject I am treating of, and give an account of the several sums I received after the death of Henry the Great, as an equivalent for my charges, in gratuities from the young king, &c. even to the time that I resolved to dispose of almost all the employments with which I had been invested.

THE three hundred thousand livres which his majesty granted me by letters patent, were at once a gift from this prince, and a kind of recompence for the superintendance of the finances, and government of the Bastile, which I resigned into his hands. He gave me sixty thousand livres for my company of gendarms, for which I had refused two hundred thousand. I agreed with Fourcy to resign to him the superintendance of the buildings for fifty thousand livres, which was the price set upon it by his majesty: I refused to take more. I was offered three hundred thousand livres for the government of Poitou, which I yielded to Rohan, who obtained the king's consent that he should purchase it for two hundred thousand. I lost in the same manner a hundred thousand livres upon the offices of grand-surveyor of the roads, and hereditary master of the canals and navigation of rivers. The treasurer of France paid me only a hundred and fifty thousand for them. His majesty likewise caused me to be paid again the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand livres for the estate of Dourdan, and I agreed with the prince of Condé to give him back the lands of Villebon for a hundred and fifty thousand livres, which he has since paid me. I destined these two last sums for the portion of my youngest daughter, for whom it was more difficult to procure an establishment than her eldest sister. To these sums I add those

those which arose from the sale of my benefices; for I thought it was equally allowable for me to take money for them, as for the ecclesiastics, by whom they were purchased, to give it me; or for the pope to permit it, as he did, by his bulls. I therefore took, without making any scruples, an allowance of eighty thousand livres of an abbé who was recommended to me by the prince of Condé, for my abbey of Coulon. Bethune, who, as well as his son, was the most scrupulous Roman catholic I ever knew, purchased, under the sanction of these bulls, the abbey of Jard of me for forty thousand livres; an abbé, a friend of the duke of Rohan, bought that of l'Or at Poitiers of me for seventy thousand; and l'Argentier Vaucemain, or rather his son, that of l'Abbie for fifty thousand livres. All these sums together make a total of thirteen hundred thousand livres. Let us now see to what use it was applied.

I BOUGHT of M. de Lavardin the estate of Montricoux, and that of Caussade, from the sieur Palliers, for a hundred and sixty thousand livres both. My youngest daughter * having, on account of some personal disadvantages, as I observed before, occasion for a larger portion than her sister to marry her suitable to her birth, I gave with her to M. de Mirepoix four hundred and fifty thousand livres in specie: the other expences of this marriage, in jewels, furniture, &c. formed an article of fifty thousand livres more, which in all makes up the sum of five hundred thousand livres. I shall only slightly observe here, that such distinguishing proofs of paternal tenderness were repaid, both by my daughter and her husband, with the most striking instances of ingratitude. I lent to several cities, and to that of Rochelle in particular, more than two hundred and fifty thousand livres, which, by the siege and reduction of this city, and the wars raised against the protestants, I have almost wholly lost. The money I lent, at different times, to the marquis of Rosny, and the debts I paid for him, amount at least to three hundred thousand livres; the yearly incomes which came to me from Languedoc and Guyenne, by the purchase I made of certain registries and rents there, cost me four hundred thousand livres; and the house I bought in Paris two hundred and twenty thousand livres. By calculating my accounts of the money I laid out in buildings and other works, in furniture, in journies, and other expences of that kind, I find a capital of seven hundred thousand livres. The sum total of all these several articles, amounts to two millions five hundred and thirty

* Louisa de Bethune. She was married on the 29th of May, 1620, to Alexander de Lévis, marquis of Mirepoix.

1610. thousand livres, which makes it superior to the total of receipt, which precedes it, by twelve hundred and thirty thousand livres.

THE reader may have observed, from the beginning of these Memoirs, that my application to my domestic œconomy extended itself to things which it might be naturally expected would have been excepted from it; I mean in the military profits, arising either from prisoners I had taken, from ransoms, or at the sacking of towns taken by assault, and on other occasions of the same kind, which it is not necessary to give a minute account of here. When the peace of Vervins was concluded, I found that these profits, which when considered separately appear so slight that they scarce deserve to be mentioned, yet made a total of one hundred thousand livres, or thereabouts. The war of Savoy, which fell out afterwards, was worth as much more to me in cannons, arms, ammunition, &c. taken from the enemy, of which I had a large portion, as great-master of the ordnance. Of all this I make an article of three hundred thousand livres. By calculating the value of all those presents that were made me on different occasions, I found the whole amount to a sum nearly equal to the former. It must be observed, that I mean only such presents as I received in the character of a public person, and in occurrences when it would not have been decent for me to have refused them, as in my embassies and negotiations; upon the king's marriage from the queen, and the grand-duke; on the marriage of the princess Catherine with the duke of Lorraine; on every new-year's day from their majesties and queen Margaret. It would have been a ridiculous affectation to shew myself as scrupulously nice about these presents, and others of the same nature, as I did when they were offered to me with interested views. However, I would not receive any thing in this manner without its being expressed in a brevet, which I entreated his majesty to grant me for each of these gifts, which, tho' in jewels and trinkets, composed a sum of one hundred thousand crowns. I sold again the lands of Dourden for a hundred and fifty thousand livres, before my gratuities were settled to twenty thousand crowns, as I have already mentioned, and which did not happen till the year 1601. The late king listening only to the dictates of his own generous mind, and to the friendship with which he honoured me, obliged me to accept many other donations which have not been particularized here, and which, I believe, do not amount to less than two hundred thousand livres. Lastly, since my income was become so considerable as the reader has seen, it is not surprizing that by strictly observing a maxim, which from my earliest years I had laid down as absolutely

solutely necessary for the advantage of my domestic affairs; namely, that one ought never to spend to the whole extent of one's income, I should at the end of a certain number of years have laid by a very considerable sum. If we suppose this sum to amount to three hundred and fifty thousand livres, and add to it the four former ones, we shall find that it will, within a very little matter, make up the twelve hundred thousand livres, which is wanting to produce a perfect equality between the receipt and expence. I think it unnecessary to repeat here what I have formerly said, with respect to the current expences of my house.

WHAT I am going to relate concerning my transactions with the prince of Condé, may appear as a matter of mere curiosity only; but I was not willing to omit it, as it has some connection with the subject I am on at present. When the war broke out against the protestants under the new reign, the prince of Condé being solicitous to remove me from his governments, where I had several very fine estates, and some strong castles, proposed to me to sell them all to him. I was apprehensive that, if I refused to comply with this proposal, the war would furnish him with pretences to drive me from thence, which force would have rendered valid. I was sensible that his councils had not a little contributed to that resolution they had lately taken against us, and I was forewarned that he was meditating something worse with regard to me. I therefore agreed with him for the lands of Villebon, Montroud, Orval, Culand, and Le-Châtelet, and with the greater willingness, as he offered me more than they had cost me, and indeed more than they were worth. Accordingly a contract was signed by us both, in which the prince of Condé obliged himself to give me twelve hundred thousand livres for those estates: he did not pay me the money down indeed; but I readily consented to wait till it suited his own conveniency.

HOWEVER, I did not expect that, at the expiration of a certain time, this prince would find out an easy method of discharging at once both the principal and interest, by demanding of the king that my estates should be confiscated, a practice which the war made then very common. His majesty was so good as to remember me on this occasion, and rejected with a kind of horror so infamous a request. When the peace was concluded, the prince found himself obliged to come to an account with me. His inclination for the lands of Baugy increasing, there was a necessity for yielding him that likewise, as well as all the others, in order that I might not on any side be his neighbour. He

1610. took a dislike to the lands of Villebon, which, together with those of Muret, he restored to me as an equivalent for the estate which he so eagerly coveted. The exchange was not disadvantageous to me. This method of paying me being most convenient for this prince, he made over to me, one after the other, the lands of Nogent, Montigny, Chanron, Vitrai, the marquisate of Conty, Breteuil, Francatel, and La-Falaife, invested with the same rights as the lands that I had exchanged, the principal of which, in my eyes, was the liberty of calling them, according to the king's patent, A possession which I held by the liberality and the immediate grant of the king my master. * Thus I got out of the dispute with the prince, who, it must be confessed, was guilty of a double injustice in endeavouring to get possession of my estates by procuring them to be confiscated.

* Amongst the papers containing the proofs of what M. de Sully here relates of his disputes with the prince of Condé, which the present duke of Sully has done me the honour to communicate to me, I find two letters, which it may not be improper to insert here: oneis from the prince of Condé to the first duke of Sully; the other from the prince of Conty to the marquis de Bethune (Maximilian Alpinus) grandfather of the duke of Sully now living.

Letter from the Prince of CONDÉ to the Duke of SULLY.

“ MONSIEUR,

“ I hope to have the honour of seeing you soon. The bearer hereof will inform you from whence this comes, and explain the contents of it to you. You will find, from my actions, how much I have at heart the king's service, the public good, and your friendship in particular, which I passionately covet. I beg you will assuredly rely on the truth of these professions. I am preparing, in performance of our mutual engagements, to conclude our bargain for Villebon, and will let you know (begging you will meet me for that purpose) in what place I can have the honour of conversing with you.

I am, Monsieur,
Your cousin, and most humble servant,
HENRY de BOURBON.”

Letter from the Prince of CONTY to the Marquis of BETHUNE.

“ MONSIEUR,

“ I am extremely pressed by the count of Orval to consent to the agreement he is desirous of making with the viscount of Meaux, for the estate of Chanron; and he even offered to give me security to indemnify me against the warranty my late father entered into. I would not however make him any promise, after having engaged to your mother-in-law not to do any thing in this affair without acquainting you with it; and, as it is for the benefit of all parties, that this matter should be settled, and made an end of as soon as possible, I am willing to refer my pretensions to the judgment of the count de Bethune your kinsman, and beg you will do so too, and submit to what he shall direct. The count of Orval and the viscount of Meaux are content to submit their claims to him, and abide by his determination. I make no doubt of your consenting to this proposal, as otherwise I shall be obliged to do what is desired of me, and accept of the proposed security. I earnestly beseech you not to make any difficulty of coming into this agreement. In the mean time, I am

Your most affectionate servant,
ARMAND de BOURBON.”

Toulouse, 19th of Oct.
1656.

I HAVE

I HAVE been a witness of very miserable times since the death of the king my master. The war which I saw kindled against the protestants, filled me with grief: I was incited by a thousand different motives to take part in it; but I courageously resisted this snare: I never gave the king the least reason to look upon me as a rebel, or an abettor of rebels. I have punctually obeyed all his majesty's commands; am always ready to present myself at court whenever he is pleased to require it: in a word, I have had the good fortune to continue as faithful in the performance of those promises I made to the king my benefactor, as in that of the duties of a good citizen.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XXX.

Wherein is discussed the POLITICAL SCHEME

COMMONLY CALLED

The Great Design of HENRY IV.

AS this part of these Memoirs will be chiefly taken up with an account of the great design of Henry IV. or the political scheme, by which he proposed to govern, not only France, but all Europe; it may not be improper to begin it with some more general reflections on this monarchy, and on the Roman empire, upon whose ruins we know it has been formed, as well as all the other powers which at this day compose the christian world.

If we consider all those successive changes which Rome has suffered from the year of the world 3064, which is that of its foundation*, its infancy, youth, and virility, its declension, fall, and final ruin; these

* The opinion now most generally received is that of Varro, who places the time of the foundation of Rome near 200 years later.

vicissitudes, which it experienced in common with the great monarchies by which it was preceded, would almost incline one to believe, that empires, like all other sublunary things, are subject to be the sport, and at last sink under the pressure of time. And if we extend this idea still farther, we shall perhaps perceive, that they are all liable to be disturbed or interrupted in their courses, by certain extraordinary incidents; which, for any thing we can discover to the contrary, may be termed epidemical distempers, that very frequently precipitate their destruction; and their cure by this discovery becoming easier, we may at least recover some of them from those crisis's which threaten their destruction.

BUT if we endeavour to discover more visible and natural causes of the ruin of this vast and formidable empire, we shall perhaps soon perceive they were produced by a deviation from those wise laws, and that simplicity of manners, which were the original of all its grandeur, into luxury, avarice, and ambition; yet there was, finally, another cause, the effect of which could hardly have been prevented or foreseen by the utmost human wisdom; I mean, the irruptions of those vast bodies of barbarous people, Goths, Vandals, Huns, Herulians, Rugians, Lombards, &c. from whom, both separately and united, the Roman empire received such violent shocks, that it was at last overthrown by them: Rome was three times sacked by these Barbarians*; in 414, under Honorius, by Alaric, chief of the Goths; in 455, by Genferic, king of the Vandals, under Martin; and in 546, under Justinian, by Totila and the Goths. Now if it be true, that after this, the city retained the shadow of what she had been, if we must regard her as divested of the empire of the world, when her weakness and the abuses of her government made this event to be looked upon, not simply as inevitable, but as very near, and, in fact, already arrived; the epocha of her fall may then be marked long before the reign of Valentinian III. to whom it will be doing a favour, to call him the last emperor of the East†; for several of those emperors whom he succeeded were, in reality, no better than tyrants, by whom the empire was

* These three epochas are not quite just; the first was in 410, instead of 414; the second in 455, or 456; and the third in 524, under Tagus, successor of Totila, and the last king of the Goths: the sacking the city this last time lasted forty days.

† It would be unjust, surely, to refuse

the title of emperors of the East to Valentinian III. to Honorius, &c. The expressions here used by our author should not be understood in their most rigorous sense, but only as meaning an empire weakened, and approaching to its final destruction.

torn and divided, and the shattered remnants left to be the spoil of the Barbarians, who, indeed, by their conquests, acquired an equal right to them.

ROME, nevertheless, by intervals, beheld some faint appearances of a revival; those of which she was most sensible were under the reign of the great Constantine, whose victories once more united this vast body under one head; but when he transported the seat of his empire from Rome to Constantinople, he, by that step, without being sensible of it, contributed more to the destruction of a work which had cost him so much labour, than all the ill conduct of his predecessors had been able to effect; and this even he rendered irremediable, by dividing his empire equally between his three sons. Theodosius, who by good fortune, or from an effect of his great valour, found himself in the same circumstances with Constantine, would not perhaps have committed the same fault, had he not been influenced by the force of Constantine's example; but this, in a manner, necessarily obliged him to divide his empire in two; Arcadius had the East, Honorius the West: and from that time there never was any hopes nor opportunity of reuniting them.

ACCORDING to the order of nature, by which the destruction of one king becomes the instrument for the production of others; so, in proportion, as the most distant members of the empire of the East fell off from it, from thence there arose kingdoms; though indeed they did not at first bear that rank. The most ancient of these (its origin appearing to have been in the eighth year of the empire of Honorius is, undoubtedly, that which was founded in Gaul by the French, so called from Franconia, from whence they were invited by the Gauls, who inhabited the countries about the Moselle, to assist them in their deliverance from the oppression of the Roman armies. It being a custom among these Franks, or French, to confer the title of king upon whatever person they chose to be their leader; if the first or second of these chiefs have not borne it, it is certain, at least, that the third, which was Merovius, and more particularly Clavius, who was the fifth, were invested with it*, and some of them supported it with so much glory;

* The whole of what is here said, may be allowed to be right: according to Petau and Sirmond, the chiefs of the French bore the title of kings from the reign of Valentinian II. which was long

before the year 445, when Claudian, by the taking of Cambray, &c. first established himself on this side of the Rhine. They first established themselves on the other side of the Rhine, about the middle of the third

among others, Pepin and Charles Martel, to whom it would be doing an injustice to refuse them this dignity; that their worthy successor Charlemagne, in Gaul, revived an imperfect image of the now extinguished empire in the East: this indeed was facilitated by those natural advantages France enjoys of numerous inhabitants trained to war; and a great plenty of all things serving the different necessities of life, joined to a very great conveniency for commerce, arising from its situation, which renders it the center of four of the principal powers of Europe; Germany, Italy, Spain, and Britain, with the Low Countries.

LET us here just say one word upon the three races which compose the succession of our kings: in the first of them I find only Merovius, Clovis I. and Clovis II. Charles Martel, Pepin le Bref, and Charlemagne, in the second, who have raised themselves above the common level of their race. Take away these six from the thirty-five, which we compute in these two races, and all the rest, from their vices or their incapacity, appear to have been either wicked kings, or but the shadow of kings; though among them we may distinguish some good qualities in Sigibert and Dagobert, and a very great devotion in Lewis le Debonnaire, which, however, ended in his repenting the loss of empire and his kingdom, together with his liberty, in a cloister.

THE Carlovingian race having reigned obscurely, and ended so too, the crown then descended upon a third; the four first kings of which, in my opinion, appear to have been perfect models of wise and good government. The kingdom which came under their dominion had lost much of its original splendor, for from its immense extent in the time of Charlemagne, it was reduced to very near the same bounds which it has at this day; with this difference, that though they might have been desirous to restore its ancient limits, the form of the government, which rendered the kings subject to the great men and people of the kingdom, who had a right to chuse, and even to govern their sovereigns, left them no means by which they could succeed in such an attempt. The conduct, therefore, which they pursued was, to condemn arbitrary power to an absolute silence; and, in its place, to sub-

century, and extended themselves, nearly from the Texel, as far as Francfort. This revolt of a part of Gaul against the Romans, happened in 434, in the twelfth year of the reign of Valentinian III. and the author's opinion on the establishment of the

French in Gaul, is confirmed by a learned academic, who has cleared up this critical point as much as it was possible (the late abbé Du-Bos.) Hist. Crit. de l'etab. de la monarchie Franç. dans les Gaules. Tom. I. liv. i. ch. 17. liv. ii. ch. 7, 8.

stitute equity itself: a kind of dominion which never excites envy. Nothing now was done without the consent of the great men and the principal cities, and almost always in consequence of the decision of an assembly of the states. A conduct so moderate and prudent put an end to all factions, and stifled all conspiracies, which are fatal to the state or the sovereign. Regularity, œconomy, a distinction of merit, strict observance of justice, all the virtues which we suppose necessary qualifications for the good of a family, were what characterized this new government, and produced what was never before beheld, and what perhaps we may never see again, an uninterrupted peace for one hundred twenty-two years: what these gained by it for themselves in particular, and which all the authority of the Salic law could never have procured them, was, the advantage of introducing into this house an hereditary right to the crown. But they, nevertheless, thought it a necessary precaution, not to declare their eldest sons for their successors till they had modestly asked the consent of the people, preceded it by a kind of election, and usually by having them crowned in their own life-time, and seated with them upon the throne.

PHILIP II. whom Lewis VII. his father, caused to be crowned, and reign with him in this manner, was the first who neglected to observe this ceremony between the sovereign and his people: several victories, obtained over his neighbours and over his own subjects, which gained him the surname of Augustus, served to open him a passage to absolute power; and a notion of the fitness and legality of this power, by the assistance of favourites, ministers, and others, became afterwards so strongly imprinted in his successors, that they looked upon it as a mark of the most profound good policy, to act contrary to those maxims; the general and particular utility of which had been so effectually confirmed by experience. And this they did without any fear, or perhaps without any conception of the fatal consequences which such a proceeding, against a nation that adored its liberty, might, and even necessarily would incur *; of which they might easily have become sen-

* The abbé Du-Bos, from the same principle with our author, draws quite different conclusions, which, to me, appear to be as just, as these are the contrary, in that excellent work of his, the design of which is, to refute the error into which the author of these Memoirs has here fallen: "This error," says he, Disc.

Prelim. p. 51. "would lead one to suppose, that whatever has been done by the successors of Hugh Capet, in favour of the royal authority, whether in freeing the subjects from their vassalage to the lords, or in placing royal officers in stead of any consequence, or by divesting the lords of the power which
fible,

sible, from the means to which the people had immediate recourse, to shake off the yoke of tyranny with which they saw themselves menaced. The kings could never obtain of their people any other than that kind of constrained obedience, which always inclines them to embrace with eagerness, all opportunities of mutiny. This was the source of a thousand bloody wars: that by which almost all France was ravaged by the English; that which we had with Italy, Burgundy, Spain; all of them can be attributed to no other causes, than the civil dissensions by which they were preceded: and here the weakest side, stifling the voice of honour, and the interest of the nation, constantly called in foreigners to assist them in the support of their tottering liberties. These were shameful and fatal remedies; but from that time they were constantly employed, down even to our doors, by the house of Lorraine, in a league, for which religion was nothing more than the pretence. Another evil, which may at first appear to be of a different kind, but which, in my opinion, proceeds from the same source, was a general corruption of manners, a thirst for riches, and a most shameful degree of luxury: these, sometimes separately, and sometimes united, were alternate causes and effects of many of our miseries.

Thus, in a few words, I have exposed the various species of our bad policy, with respect both to the form of the government, successively subjected to the will of the people, the soldiers, the nobles, the states, and the kings; and in regard to the persons likewise of these last, whether dependent, elective, hereditary, or absolute.

FROM the picture here laid before us, we may be enabled to form our judgment upon the third race of our kings: we may find a thousand things to admire in Philip Augustus, Saint-Lewis, Philip le Bel, Charles

“ they exercised, of assembling their vassals, to make war upon other lords their neighbours; or by pursuing other methods which sovereigns only justly make use of; have all of them been only so many attempts to destroy the primitive constitution of the kingdom. Were this true, we could then consider Lewis le Gros, Philip Augustus, and the other most illustrious kings of the third race, in no other light than as so many tyrants; though they have only reclaimed the imprescriptible rights of their crown and people, from those usurpers, who

“ in the ninth and tenth centuries, had seized on both. Indeed these princes, by thus recovering a part of their rights, have been so far from doing any injury to the ancient constitution of the kingdom, that they have thereby only restored, so far as in their power, its primitive state.” And this he afterwards proves to a demonstration, in the sixth book of the same work. See also the *Memoirs* of M. de Foncemagne, both with respect to the Salic law and the succession to the crown, which we have cited before.

le Sage, Charles VII. and Lewis XII. But it is to be lamented, that so many virtues, or great qualities, have been exercised upon no better principles; with what pleasure might we bestow upon them the titles of great kings, could we but conceal that their people were miserable: what might we not, in particular, say of Lewis IX? of the forty-four years which he reigned, the first twenty of them exhibits a scene not unworthy to be compared with the eleven last of Henry the Great. But I am afraid all their glory will appear to have been destroyed in the twenty-four following; wherein it appears, that the excessive taxes upon the subjects, to satisfy an ill-judged and destructive devotion; immense sums transported into the most distant countries, for the ransom of prisoners; so many thousand subjects sacrificed; so many illustrious houses extinguished; caused a universal mourning throughout France, and all together a general calamity.

LET us for once, if it is possible, fix our principles; and being, from long experience, convinced, that the happiness of mankind can never arise from war, of which we ought to have been persuaded long ago; let us upon this principle, take a cursory view of the history of our monarchy. We will pass by the wars of Clovis and his predecessors, because they seem to have been, in some degree, necessary to confirm the recent foundations of the monarchy: but what shall we say of those wars, in which the four sons of Clovis, the four sons of Clotaire I. and their descendants, were engaged, during the uninterrupted course of one hundred and sixty years? and of those also, by which, for the space of one hundred seventy-two other years, commencing with Lewis le Debonnaire, the kingdom was harassed and torn? What follows is still worse: The slightest knowledge of our history is sufficient to convince any one, that there was no real tranquillity in the kingdom from Henry VIII. to the peace of Vervins: and, in short, all this long period may be called a war of near four hundred years duration. After this examination, from whence it incontestibly appears, that our kings have seldom thought of any thing but how to carry on their wars, we cannot but be scrupulous in bestowing on them the title of, Truly Great kings; though we shall, nevertheless, render them all the justice which appears to have been their due: for I confess (as indeed it would be unjust to attribute to them only, a crime which was properly that of all Europe) that several of these princes were sometimes in such circumstances as rendered the wars just, and even necessary; and from hence, when indeed there were no other means to obtain it, they acquired a true and lasting glory. For herein, from the manner in which several of these

these wars were foreseen, prepared for, and conducted, we may in their councils discover such master-strokes of policy, and in their persons such noble instances of courage, as are deserving of our highest praises. From whence then can proceed the error of so many exploits, in appearance so glorious, though the effect of them has generally been the devastation both of France and all Europe? I repeat it again, of all Europe, which even yet seems scarce sensible, that in her present situation, a situation in which she has been, for several centuries, every attempt which shall tend to her subjection, or only to the too considerably augmenting of any one of her principal monarchies, at the expence of the others, can never be any other than a chimerical and impossible enterprize. There are none of these monarchies, but whose destruction will require a concurrence of causes infinitely superior to all human force. The whole, therefore, of what seems proper and necessary to be done, is to support them all in a kind of equilibrium; and whatever prince thinks, and in consequence acts otherwise, may indeed cause torrents of blood to flow through all Europe, but he will never be able to change her form.

WHEN I observed, that the extent of France is not now so considerable as it was in the time of Charlemagne, my intention, most certainly, was not, that this diminution should be considered as a misfortune. In an age when we feel the sad effects of having had ambitious princes, from time to time, for our kings, were all to concur in flattering this fatal ambition, it would be the cause of still greater evils; and it may be generally observed, that the larger the extent of kingdoms, the more they are subject to great revolutions and misfortunes. The basis of the tranquillity of our own, in particular, depends upon preserving it within its present limits. A climate, laws, manners, and language, different from our own; seas, and chains of mountains almost inaccessible, are all so many barriers, which we may consider as fixed even by nature. Besides, what is it that France wants? will she not always be the richest and most powerful kingdom in Europe? It must be granted. All therefore which the French have to wish or desire is, that heaven grant them pious, good, and wise kings; and that these kings may employ their power in preserving the peace of Europe; for no other enterprize can truly be to them either profitable or successful.

AND this explains to us the nature of the design which Henry IV. was on the point of putting in execution, when it pleased God to take him
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him to himself, too soon by some years for the happiness of the world. From hence likewise we may perceive the motives to his pursuing a conduct so opposite to any thing that had hitherto been undertaken by crowned heads; and here we may behold what it was that acquired him the title of Great. His designs were not inspired by a mean and despicable ambition, nor guided by base and partial interests: to render France happy for ever was his desire; and he cannot perfectly enjoy this felicity, unless all Europe likewise partake of it; so it was the happiness of Europe in general which he laboured to procure, and this in a manner so solid and durable, that nothing should afterwards be able to shake its foundations.

I MUST confess I am under some apprehensions, lest this scheme* should at first be considered as one of those darling chimeras, or idle

* The Memoirs of Sully are the only monument which has preserved to posterity an account of the great design of Henry IV. We find no traces of it in any of the historians, authors of Memoirs, or other writers, that were cotemporary with that prince; their silence in this matter proceeded, no doubt, from their not knowing enough of it to say any thing with certainty about it. The world did not begin to descant upon it till the *Memoirs of Sully*, wherein it is so clearly described, were published; and among all those who have considered it ever since about the middle of the seventeenth century, I find scarce any who have questioned the possibility of executing it; doubtless, because they lived near enough to the times in which it was formed, to be convinced, even from the mouths of those who had been witnesses of the preparations and dispositions which were made, that all the measures had been taken precisely in the same manner as related by the duke of Sully; and consequently, that it would have had but few of those obstacles to encounter which have since been raised against it.

The author of a manuscript discourse in the king's library, which to me appears to be the most ancient Memoirs we have of that time, seems not in the least to have doubted of success in its execution. And M. de Perseux, who in the third part of

his history of Henry the Great, has given a short but very accurate account of the scheme, says positively that it would have succeeded; and farther confirms his assertion by proofs, which he gives, p. 388, and the following. The continuator of Thuanus, in what little he has said of it, anno 1609, and 1610, does not appear to have been of a different sentiment. The marechal de Bassompierre also, in his Journal, tom. I. seems to be in its favour. To these authorities we may also join that of the author of the life of the duke d'Epemon, and some others, who all seem to be of the same opinion. Indeed, till the beginning of the present century, all authors appear to have been unanimous in this point; and several of our modern historians have joined them herein.

Vittorio (Mem. Recond. tom. I. p. 29, 514. tom. II. p. 45, &c.) is the first that I know by whom this great enterprise has been treated as absurd and impossible: but the ignorance which he shews in the whole affair, even in those points which are the least contested; his attachment to the Spanish politics, and his distance from the persons of Henry IV. and his minister, which is every way apparent in all he says on the subject, render him, in this respect, very justly exceptionable: his sentiments have been adopted by the author of the History of the Mother and Son, tom. I. political

political speculations, in which a mind susceptible of strange and singular ideas, may be so easily engaged: those who shall thus think of it, must be of that sort of people on whom the first impressions upon a prejudiced imagination, have the force of truth; or those, who by their distance from the times, and their ignorance of the circumstances, confound the wisest and noblest enterprizes that have ever been formed, with those chimerical projects which princes, intoxicated with their

p. 44. and for a similar reason of attachment to the queen, mother of Lewis XIII. But this writer, such as he is, producing no better authority for his opinion, than the age of Henry IV. who was then near sixty, appears also to have been so entirely unacquainted with the affair, that we may, without scruple, pronounce, he was ignorant of the disposition which had been made for the complete execution of it within the space of three years, and that he condemns the design without understanding it.

I have much greater reverence for the authority of some modern politicians, who consider it as a kind of impossibility, thus to change the face of all Europe, in the manner proposed by Henry IV. and who imagine, that in our days a much more happy expedient has been discovered, whereby to obtain the equilibrium of Europe, than by reviving the ancient council of the Amphictyons: what I mean, is the precaution now observed, of having all the principal powers of Europe accede to, and become the guarantees of every particular treaty. But all those calamities which we have suffered in consequence of war, do but too plainly evince its insufficiency. In regard to the main stress of the question, I agree with them, that Europe could not now, but with great difficulty, be constituted in the manner proposed by Henry the Great: nevertheless I believe, without pretending to subject any one to my opinion, that those who treat this prince's design as a chimera, do not pay all the necessary attention to the circumstances of those times, wherein Europe, from her frequent dangers of being subjected to the house of Austria, and by the bloody wars which a difference of religion had excited, and continued daily to excite, found herself in a manner com-

pelled to have recourse to extraordinary means to put a period to her miseries.

I cannot finish this remark better, than in the words of M. l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre, in his Discours sur le Grand Homme: "From hence we may perceive, that if Henry IV. king of France, had executed his celebrated and well-projected design, whereby to render peace perpetual and universal among the sovereigns of Europe, he would have procured the greatest benefit that it was possible, not only to his own subjects, but to all the christian kingdoms; and even, by a necessary consequence, to the world in general: a benefit of which all generations, present and to come, would have participated down to the latest time; a benefit, by which we should have been exempted from those terrible and numerous evils, which are the effects of foreign and domestic wars; a benefit, which would have been the source of all those sweets which naturally flow from an uninterrupted and universal tranquillity: if, I say, he had been so happy as to have executed this great design, it would have rendered him, beyond all comparison, the greatest man the world ever has, or probably ever will, produce." After some farther reflections upon the means still more practicable, this judicious author adds: "This prince, however, has always had the honour of being considered as the author of the most important invention, and most useful discovery, for the benefit of mankind, that has yet appeared in the world; the execution of which may, perhaps, be reserved by providence, for the greatest and most capable of his successors."

power, have in all ages amused themselves in forming. I confess, that if we attentively examine the designs which have been planned from motives of vanity, confidence in good fortune, ignorance, nay, from sloth, and even timidity itself, we must be surprized to behold soveraigns plunged blindly into schemes, specious perhaps in appearance, but which at bottom have not the least degree of possibility. The mind of man, with so much complacency, nay, even with so much ardour, pursues whatever it fancies great or beautiful, that it is sorry to be made sensible, that these objects have frequently nothing real or solid in them. But in this, as well as in other things, there is an opposite extreme to be avoided; which is, that as we usually fail in the execution of great designs, from not commencing and continuing them with sufficient vigour and spirit; so likewise we are defective in the knowledge of their true worth and tendency, because we do not thoroughly and properly consider them in all their dependencies and consequences. I have myself been more difficult to persuade in this matter, than perhaps any of those who shall read these Memoirs; and this I consider as an effect of that cold, cautious, and unenterprising temper, which make so considerable a part of my character.

I REMEMBER the first time the king spoke to me of a political system, by which all Europe might be regulated and governed as one great family, I scarce paid any attention to what he said, imagining that he meant no more by it than merely to divert himself, or perhaps to shew, that his thoughts on political subjects were greater, and penetrated deeper, than most others: my reply was a mixture of pleasantry and compliment. Henry said no more at that time. He often confessed to me afterwards, that he had long concealed from me what he meditated on this subject, from a principle of shame, which many labour under, lest they should disclose designs which might appear ridiculous or impossible. I was astonished when, some time after, he renewed our conversation on this head, and continued from year to year, to entertain me with new regulations and new improvements in this scheme.

I HAD been very far from thinking seriously about it. If by accident it came into my thoughts for a moment, the first view of the design, which supposed a re-union of all the different states of Europe; immense expences, at a time when France could scarce supply her own necessities; a concatenation of events which to me appeared infinite: these were considerations which had always made me reject the thought as vain; I even apprehended there was some illusion in it: I recollected
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some of those enterprizes in which we had endeavoured to engage Europe. I considered those in particular which had been formed by some of our kings, from much less considerable motives, and I felt myself disgusted with this, from the bad success of all the former. The disposition of the princes of Europe to take umbrage against France, when she would have assisted them to dissipate their fears from the too great power of Spain, this alone to me appeared an unsurmountable obstacle.

STRONGLY prejudiced by this opinion, I used my utmost efforts to deceive Henry, who, on his side, surprized not to find me of his sentiment in any one point, immediately undertook, and readily succeeded in convincing me, that my thus indiscriminately condemning all parts of his project, in which he was certain that every thing at least was not blameable, could proceed from nothing but strong prejudices. I could not refuse, at his solicitations, to use my endeavours to gain a thorough comprehension of it: I formed a clearer plan of it in my mind: I collected and united all its different branches: I studied all its proportions and dimensions, if I may say so; and I discovered in them a regularity and mutual dependence, of which, when I only considered the design in a confused and careless manner, I had not been at all sensible. The benefit which would manifestly arise from it to all Europe, was what most immediately struck me, as being in effect the plainest and most evident; but the means to effect so good a design were, therefore, what I hesitated at the longest. The general situation of the affairs of Europe, and of our own in particular, appeared to me every way contrary to the execution: I did not consider that, as the execution of it might be deferred till proper opportunity, we had all those resources whereby to prepare ourselves, which time affords those who know how to make the best use of it. I was at last convinced, that however disproportionate the means might appear to the effect, a course of years, during which every thing should as much as possible be made subservient to the great object in view, would surmount many difficulties. It is indeed somewhat extraordinary, that this point, which appeared to be, and really was, the most difficult of any, should at last become the most easy.

HAVING thus seen all parts of the design in their just points of view, having thoroughly considered and calculated, and from thence discovered and prepared for all events which might happen, I found myself confirmed in the opinion, that the design of Henry the Great was,

upon the whole, just in its intention, possible, and even practicable in all its parts, and infinitely glorious in all its effects: so that, upon all occasions, I was the first to recal the king to his engagements, and sometimes to convince him by those very arguments which he himself had taught me.

THE constant attention this prince paid to all affairs transacted round him, from an effect of those singularly unhappy circumstances, by which, in almost every instant of his life, he found himself embarrassed, had been the cause of his forming this design, even from the time when, being called to the crown by the death of Henry III. he considered the humbling of the house of Austria as what was absolutely necessary for his security; yet, if he was not beholden to Elizabeth * for his thought of the design, it is, however, certain, that this great queen had herself conceived it long before, as a means to revenge Europe for the attempts of its common enemy. The troubles in which all the following years were engaged, the war which succeeded in 1595, and that against Savoy after the peace of Vervins, forced Henry into difficulties which obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of other affairs; and it was not till after his marriage, and the firm re-establishment of peace, that he renewed his thoughts upon his first design, to execute which, appeared then more impossible, or at least more improbable, than ever.

HE, nevertheless, communicated it by letters to Elizabeth, and this was what inspired them with so strong an inclination to confer together in 1601, when this princess came to Dover, and Henry to Calais. What the ceremony of an interview would not have permitted them to do, I at last begun by the voyage which I made to this princess. I

* The present duke of Sully is possessed of the original of an excellent letter of Henry the Great, supposed to have been wrote by him to queen Elizabeth, though this princess is not named, neither in the body of the letter, nor in the superscription, which is in these words: *To her who merits immortal praise.* The terms in which Henry herein speaks of a certain political project, which he calls, *The most excellent and rare enterprize that ever the human mind conceived—a thought rather divine than human;* the praises which he bestows upon *this discourse so well connected and demonstrative of what would be necessary for the*

government of empires and kingdoms—; on those conceptions and resolutions from which nothing less may be hoped than *most remarkable issues both of honour and glory.* All these passages can relate to none but Elizabeth, nor mean any other than the great design in question, concerning which it from hence evidently appears, that the queen of England had by letters disclosed her thoughts to Henry. The letter from which these extracts are taken, is dated from Paris, the 12th of July; but without the date of the year. *Lettres de Henry le Grand.*

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found her deeply engaged in the means by which this great design might be successfully executed; and, notwithstanding the difficulties which she apprehended in its two principal points, namely, the agreement of religions, and the equality of the powers, she did not to me appear at all to doubt of its success, which she chiefly expected, for a reason, the justness of which I have since been well convinced of; and this was, that, as the plan was only contrary to the design of some princes, whose ambitious views were sufficiently known to all Europe, this difficulty, from which the necessity of the design more evidently appeared, would rather promote than retard its success. She farther said, that its execution by any other means than that of arms, would be very desirable, as this has always something odious in it: but she confessed, that indeed it would be hardly possible to begin it any other-wise. A very great number of the articles, conditions, and different dispositions, is due to this queen; and sufficiently shew, that in respect of wisdom, penetration, and all the other perfections of the mind, she was not inferior to any king, the most truly deserving of that title.

IT must indeed be considered as a very great misfortune, that Henry could not at this time second the intention of the queen of England, who wished to have the design put in immediate execution; but when he thus laid the foundation of the edifice, he scarce hoped to see the time when the finishing hand would be put to it. The recovery of his own kingdom from the various maladies by which it was afflicted, was a work of several years; and unhappily he had himself seen forty-eight when he began it: he pursued it, nevertheless, with the greatest vigour. The edict of Nantz had been published with this view, and every other means was used which might gain the respect and confidence of the princes of Europe. Henry and I, at the same time, applied ourselves with indefatigable labour to regulate the interior affairs of the kingdom. We considered the death of the king of Spain as the most favourable event that could happen to our design, but it received so violent a shock by the death of Elizabeth, as had like to have made us abandon all our hopes. Henry had no expectation that the powers of the north, nor king James, the successor to Elizabeth, when he was acquainted with his character, would any of them so readily consent to support him in his design, as this princess had done. However, the new allies which he daily gained in Germany, and even in Italy, comforted him a little for the loss of Elizabeth. The truce between Spain and the Low Countries may also be numbered among incidents favourable to it.

YET, if we consider all the obstacles which afterwards arose in his own kingdom, from the protestants, the catholics, the clergy, nay even from his own council, it will appear as if all things conspired against it. Could it be imagined that Henry, in his whole council, should not find one person, besides myself, to whom he could, without danger, disclose the whole of his designs? and that the respect due to him, could scarce restrain those who appeared most devoted to his service, from treating what, with the greatest circumspection, he had entrusted them with, as wild and extravagant chimeras? But nothing discouraged Henry, who was an able politician and a better judge than all his council, and than all his kingdom, when he perceived that, notwithstanding all these obstacles, affairs began, both at home and abroad, to appear in a favourable situation, he then considered the success as infallible.

NOR will this his judgment, when thoroughly considered, be found so presumptuous as, from a slight examination, it may to some appear. For what did he hereby require of Europe? Nothing more than that it should promote the means by which he proposed to fix in the position, towards which, by his efforts, it for some time had tended. These means he rendered so easy to execute, that it would scarce require what many of the princes of Europe would voluntarily sacrifice, for advantages much less real, less certain, and less durable. What they would gain by it, besides the inestimable benefits arising from peace, would greatly exceed all the expences they would be at. What reason then could any of them have to oppose it? and, if they did not oppose it, how could the house of Austria support itself against powers, in whom the desire and pleasure of depriving it of that strength which it had used only to oppress them, would have raised against it as many open as it had secret enemies; that is, all Europe entire? Nor would these princes have any reason to be jealous of the restorer of their liberty; for he was so far from seeking to re-imburse himself for all the expences which his generosity would hereby engage him in, that his intention was voluntarily and for ever to relinquish all power of augmenting his dominions; not only by conquest, but by all other just and lawful means. By this he would have discovered the secret to convince all his neighbours that his whole design was to save, both himself and them, those immense sums which the maintenance of so many thousand soldiers, so many fortified places, and so many military expences require; to free them for ever from the fear of those bloody catastrophes

fo common in Europe; to procure them an uninterrupted repose; and, finally, to unite them all in an indissoluble bond of security and friendship, after which they might live together like brethren, and reciprocally visit like good neighbours, without the trouble of ceremony, and without the expence of a train of attendants, which princes use at best only for ostentation, and frequently to conceal their misery. Does it not indeed reflect shame and reproach on a people who affect to be so polished and refined in their manners, that all their pretended improvements have not yet (I will not say procured them tranquillity, but only) guarded them from these barbarities which they detest in nations the most savage and uncultivated? and to destroy these pernicious seeds of confusion and disorder, and to prevent the barbarities of which they are the cause, could any scheme have been more happily and perfectly contrived than that of Henry the Great?

HERE then is all that could be reasonably expected or required. It is only in the power of man to prepare and act, success is the work of a more mighty hand. Sensible people cannot be blamed for being prejudiced in favour of the scheme in question, from this circumstance only, that it was formed by the two potentates whom posterity will always consider as the most perfect models of the art of governing. In regard to Henry in particular, I insist that it belongs only to princes, who, like him, have had a constant succession of obstacles to encounter in all their designs. These, I say, are the princes who alone are privileged to judge what are real obstacles; and, when we behold them willing to lay down their lives in support of their opinions, surely we may abide by their sentiments, without fear of being deceived. For my own part, I shall always think with regret, that France, by the blow which it received from the loss of this great prince, was deprived of a glory far superior to that which his reign had acquired*. There remains only to explain the several parts of the design, and the manner in which they were to be executed. We will begin by what relates to religion.

Two religions principally prevail in Christendom, the roman and the reformed; but, as this latter admits of several variations in its worship,

* From hence we may discover what credit should be given to Siri, when he says, that the sole passion of Henry the Great was to amass riches; that his minister forced him into the design against

his inclination; and that the duke of Sully, whom he believes to be the sole author of it, was himself prepossessed in its favour only from mere obiternity, or perhaps from motives of self-interest.

which.

which render it, if not as different from itself as from the roman, at least as far from being re-united, it is therefore necessary to divide it in two, one of which may be called the reformed, and the other the protestant religion. The manner in which these three religions prevail in Europe is extremely various. Italy and Spain remain in possession of the roman religion, pure and without mixture of any other. The reformed religion subsists in France with the roman, only under favour of the edicts, and is the weakest. England, Denmark, Sweden, the Low-Countries, and Switzerland, have also a mixture of the same kind, but with this difference, that in them the protestant is the governing religion, the others are only tolerated. Germany unites all these, and even in several of its circles, as well as in Poland, shews them equal favour. I say nothing of Muscovy and Russia. These vast countries, which are not less than six hundred leagues in length, and four hundred in breadth, being in great part still idolaters, and in part schismatics, such as Greeks and Armenians, who have introduced so many superstitious practices in their worship, that there scarce remains any conformity with us among them; besides, that they belong to Asia at least as much as to Europe, we may indeed almost consider them as a barbarous country, and place them in the same class with Turkey, though for these five hundred years, we have ranked them among the christian powers.

EACH of these three religions being now established in Europe, in such a manner that there is not the least appearance that any of them can be destroyed, and experience having sufficiently demonstrated the inutility and danger of such an enterprize, the best therefore that can be done, is to preserve, and even strengthen all of them in such a manner, nevertheless, that this indulgence may not become an encouragement to the production of new sects or opinions, which should carefully be suppressed on their first appearance. God himself, by manifestly supporting what the catholics were pleased to call the new religion, has taught us this conduct, which is not less conformable to the Holy Scripture, than confirmed by its examples; and, besides, the unsurmountable difficulty of forcing the pope's authority to be received in those places where it is no longer acknowledged, renders what is here proposed absolutely necessary. Several cardinals equally sagacious and zealous, and even some popes, as Clement VIII. and Paul V. were of this opinion.

ALL, therefore, that remains now to be done, is to strengthen the nations, who have made choice of one of these religions, in the principles they profess, as there is nothing in all respects so pernicious as a liberty in belief; and those nations, whose inhabitants profess several, or all these religions, should be careful to observe those rules which they find necessary to remedy the ordinary inconveniences of a toleration, which, in other respects, they probably experience to be beneficial. Italy, therefore, professing the roman religion, and being moreover the residence of the popes, should preserve this religion in all its purity, and there would be no hardship in obliging all its inhabitants, either to conform to it, or quit the country. The same regulations, very nearly, might be observed in regard to Spain. In such states as that of France, where there is at least a governing religion, whoever should think the regulation too severe, by which calvinism would be always subordinate to the religion of their prince, might be permitted to depart the country. No new regulations would be necessary in any of the other nations; no violence on this account, but liberty unrestrained, seeing this liberty is become even a fundamental principle in their governments.

THUS we may perceive every thing on this head might be reduced to a few maxims, so much the more certain and invariable, as they were not contrary to the sentiments of any one. The protestants are very far from pretending to force their religion upon any of their neighbours, by whom it is not voluntarily embraced. The catholics, doubtless, are of the same sentiments, and the pope would receive no injury in being deprived of what he confesses himself not to have possessed for a long time. His sacrificing these chimerical rights would be abundantly compensated by the regal dignity with which it would be proper to invest him, and by the honour of being afterwards the common mediator between all the christian princes, a dignity which he would then enjoy without jealousy, and for which it must be confessed this court, by its sagacious conduct, has shewn itself the most proper of any.

ANOTHER point of the political scheme, which also concerns religion, relates to the infidel princes of Europe, and consists in forcing those entirely out of it who refuse to conform to any of the christian doctrines of religion. Should the grand duke of Tuscany, or czar of Russia, who is believed to be the ancient khan of Scythia, refuse to
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enter into the association after it is proposed to him, he ought to be treated like the Sultan of Turkey, deprived of his possessions in Europe, and confined to Asia only, where he might, as long as he pleased, without any interruption from us, continue the wars in which he is almost constantly engaged against the Turks and Persians.

To succeed in the execution of this, which will not appear difficult, if we suppose that all the christian princes unanimously concurred in it, it would only be necessary for each of them to contribute, in proportion to their several abilities, towards the support of the forces, and all the other incidental expences, which the success of such an enterprise might require. These respective quotas were to have been determined by a general council, of which we shall speak hereafter. The following is what Henry the Great had himself conceived on this head. The pope for this expedition should have furnished eight thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, ten cannons, and ten galleys; the emperor and the circles of Germany, sixty thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, five large cannons, and ten galleys or other vessels; the king of France twenty thousand foot, four thousand horse, twenty cannons, and ten ships or galleys; Spain, Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, the like number with France, observing only, that these powers should together supply what belonged to the sea service in the manner most suitable to their respective conveniences and abilities therein; the king of Bohemia five thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and five cannons; the king of Hungary twelve thousand foot, five thousand horse, twenty cannons, and six ships; the duke of Savoy, or king of Lombardy, eight thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, eight cannons, and six galleys; the republic of Venice ten thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, ten cannons, and twenty-five galleys; the republic of the Swiss cantons, fifteen thousand foot, five thousand horse, and twelve cannons; the republic of Holland twelve thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, twelve cannons, and twelve ships; the Italian republics ten thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, ten cannons, and eight galleys; the whole together amounting to about two hundred and seventy thousand foot, fifty thousand horse, two hundred cannons, and one hundred and twenty ships or galleys, equipped and maintained at the expence of all those powers, each contributing according to his particular proportion.

THIS armament of the princes and states of Europe appear so inconsiderable and so little burdensome, when compared with the forces which they usually keep on foot to awe their neighbours, or perhaps
their

their own subjects, that were it to have subsisted, even perpetually, it would not have occasioned any inconvenience, and would have been an excellent military academy; but, besides that the enterprizes for which it was destined, would not always have continued; the number and experience of it might have been diminished in proportion to the necessities, which would always have been the same. Though I am persuaded such an armament would have been so highly approved of by all these princes, that, after they had conquered with it whatever they would not that any stranger should share with them in Europe, they would have sought to join to it such parts of Asia as were most commodiously situated, and particularly the whole coast of Africa, which is too near to our own territories for us not to be frequently incommoded by it. The only precaution to be observed in regard to these additional countries, would have been to form them into new kingdoms, declare them united with the rest of the christian powers, and bestow them on different princes; carefully observing to exclude those who before bore rank among the sovereigns of Europe.

THAT part of the design which may be considered as purely political, turned almost entirely on a first preliminary, which, I think, would not have met with more difficulty than the preceding article. This was to divest the house of Austria of the empire, and of all the possessions in Germany, Italy, and the Low-Countries: in a word, to reduce it to the sole kingdom of Spain, bounded by the ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Pyrenean mountains. But that it might, nevertheless, be equally powerful with the other sovereignties of Europe, it should have Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca; and, in the other islands on its own coasts, the Canaries, the Azores, and Cape-Verd, with its possessions in Africa, Mexico, and the American islands which belong to it: countries, which alone might suffice to found great kingdoms: finally, the Philippines, Goa, the Moluccas, and its other possessions in Asia.

FROM hence a method seems to present itself, whereby the house of Austria might be made amends for what it would be deprived of in Europe, which is to increase its dominions in the three other parts of the world, by assisting it to obtain, and by declaring it the sole proprietor, both of what we do know, and what we may hereafter discover in those parts. We may suppose, that on this occasion, it would not have been necessary to use force to bring this house to concur in such a design; and, indeed, even on this supposition, it was not the prince of this house

reigning in Spain, to whom these parts of the world were to be subjected, but to different princes, of the same or of different branches, who in acknowledgment of their possessions, should only have rendered homage to the crown of Spain, or, at most, a tribute, as due to the original conquerors. This house, which is so very desirous of being the most powerful in the world, might hereby have continued to flatter itself with so pleasing a preëminence, without the other powers being endangered by its pretended grandeur.

THE steps taken by the house of Austria to arrive at universal monarchy, which evidently appears from the whole conduct of Charles V. and his son, have rendered this severity as just as it is necessary; and I will venture to say, that this house would not have had any reasonable cause to complain of it. It is true, it would be deprived of the empire; but when impartially considered, it will appear that all the other princes of Germany, and even of Europe, have an equal right to it. Were it necessary to prove this, we need only recollect on what conditions Charles V. himself, the most powerful of them all, was acknowledged emperor; conditions, which, at Smalcalde, he solemnly swore to observe, in presence of seven princes or electors, and the deputies of twenty-four protestant towns; the landgrave of Hesse and the prince of Anhalt being speakers for them all. He swore, I say, never to act contrary to the established laws of the empire, particularly the famous golden bull, obtained under Charles IV. unless it were to amplify them, and even that only with the express consent and advice of the sovereign princes of Germany; not to infringe nor deprive them of any of their privileges; not to introduce foreigners into their council; not to make either war or peace without their consent; not to bestow honours and employments but on natives of Germany; not to use any other but the German language in all writings; not to levy any taxes by his own authority, nor apply any conquests which might be made, to his own particular profit. He, in particular, formally renounced all pretences of hereditary right in his house to the imperial dignity; and, according to the several articles of the golden bull, he swore never in his life-time to recognize a king of the Romans. When the protestants of Germany, after they had in a manner driven Ferdinand out of it, consented to have the imperial crown placed on his head, they were careful to make him renew his engagements in regard to all these articles, and to all these new regulations relative to the free exercise of their religion.

As to the possessions of the house of Austria in Germany, Italy, and the Low-Countries, of which it was to be deprived, not to mention here how much it is indebted for them to a tyrannical usurpation, it would, after all, be only depriving it of territories which it keeps at so prodigious an expence (I speak, in particular, of Italy and the Low-Countries) as all its treasures of the Indies have not been able to defray: and besides, by investing it with the exclusive privilege above-mentioned, of gaining new establishments, and appropriating to its own use the mines and treasures of the three other parts of the world, it would be abundantly indemnified; for these new acquisitions would be at least as considerable, and undoubtedly far more rich, than those. But what is here proposed must not be understood as if the other nations of Europe were excluded from all commerce to those countries; on the contrary, it should be free and open to every one, and the house of Austria, instead of considering this stipulation, which is of the greatest consequence, as an infringement of its privileges, would rather have reason to regard it as a farther advantage.

FROM a farther examination and consideration of these dispositions, I do not doubt but the house of Austria would have accepted the proposed conditions without being forced to it: but, supposing the contrary, what would a resistance have signified? The promise made to all the princes of Europe, of enriching themselves by the territories of which this house was to be divested, would deprive it of all hopes of assistance from any of them.

UPON the whole then it appears, that all parties would have been gainers by it, and this was what assured Henry the Great of the success of his design: the empire would again become a dignity to which all princes, but particularly those of Germany, might aspire: and this dignity would be so much the more desirable, though, according to its original institution, no revenues would be annexed to it, as the emperor would be declared the first and chief magistrate of the whole christian republic; and as we may suppose this honour would afterwards be conferred only on the most worthy, all his privileges in this respect, instead of being diminished, would be enlarged, his authority over the Belgic and Helvetic republics would be more considerable, and upon every new election they would be obliged to render him a respectful homage. The electors would still continue to enjoy the right of electing the emperor, as well as of maintaining the king of the Romans; with this re-

striction only, That the election should not be made twice together out of the same family. The first to have been elected in this manner, was the elector of Bavaria, who was also, in consequence of the partition, to have had those territories possessed by the house of Austria which joined to his own on the side of Italy.

THE rest of these territories were to have been divided and equally distributed by the kings of France, England, Denmark, and Sweden, among the Venetians, the Grisons, the duke of Wirtemberg, and the marquis of Baden, Anspach, and Dourlach. Bohemia was to have been constituted an elective kingdom, by annexing to it Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia. Hungary was also to have been an elective kingdom, and the pope, the emperor, the kings of France, England, Denmark, Sweden, and Lombardy, were to have had the right of nomination to it: and because this kingdom may be considered as the barrier of Christendom against the infidels, it was to have been rendered the most powerful and able to resist them; and this was to have been done by immediately adding to it the monarchy of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola; and by afterwards incorporating with it whatever might be acquired in Transilvania, Bosnia, Sclavonia, and Croatia. The same electors were to have obliged themselves, by oath, to assist it upon all occasions; and they were to have been particularly careful never to grant their suffrages from partiality, artifice, or intrigue; but always to confer the dignity on a prince who, by his great qualifications, particularly for war, should be generally acknowledged as most proper. Poland being, from its nearness to Turkey, Muscovy, and Tartary, in the same situation with Hungary, was also to have been an elective kingdom, by the same eight potentates; and its power was to have been augmented, by annexing to it whatever should be conquered from the infidels adjoining to its own frontiers, and by determining in its favour those disputes which it had with all its other neighbours. Switzerland, when augmented by Franche-compté, Alsace, Tirol, and other territories, was to have been united into a sovereign republic, governed by a council or senate, of which the emperor, the princes of Germany, and the Venetians, were to have been umpires.

THE changes to be made in Italy were, that the pope should be declared a secular prince, and bear rank among the monarchs of Europe, and under this title should possess Naples, Apulia, Calabria, and all their dependencies, which should be indissolubly united to St. Peter's patrimony: but in case the holy father had opposed this, which indeed could scarce

scarce have been supposed, the disposition must then have been changed, and the kingdom of Naples would have been divided and disposed as the electoral king should have determined. Sicily was to have been ceded to the republic of Venice, by letters from the same eight principal potentates, upon condition that it should render homage for it to every pope, who should bear the title of Immediate chief of the whole Italian republic; otherwise, for this reason, called The republic of the church. The other members of this republic were to have been Genoa, Florence, Mantua, Modena, Parma, and Lucca, without any alterations in their government: Bologna and Ferrara were to have been rendered free cities; and all these governments were every twenty years to have rendered homage to the pope their chief, by the gift of a crucifix of the value of ten thousand crowns.

OF the three great republics of Europe, it appears, upon the first glance, that this would have been the most brilliant and the richest. Nevertheless, it would not have been so; for what belonged to the duke of Savoy was not comprized herein. His territories were to have been constituted one of the greatest monarchies of Europe, hereditary to males and females, and to have born the title of the kingdom of Lombardy; wherein, beside the territory so called, the Milanese and Montferrat would also have been comprized; and the duke of Mantua, in exchange for these, was to have the duchy of Cremona. An authentic testimony of the institution would have been given by the pope, the emperor, and the other sovereigns of the christian republic.

AMONG all these different dismemberings, we may observe that France received nothing for itself, but the glory of distributing them with equity. Henry had declared this to be his intention long before. He even sometimes said, with equal moderation and good sense, that were these dispositions once firmly established, he would have voluntarily consented to have the extent of France determined by a majority of suffrages*. Nevertheless, as the districts of Artois, Hainault, Cambray, Cambresis, Tournay, Namure, and Luxembourg, might more suitably be annexed to France than any other nation, they were to have been ceded to Henry; but to have been divided into ten distinct go-

* What then does Siri mean, when he entertains us with the design which he falsely affirms Henry the Great had to join Lorraine to France, tom. I. p. 555? and to get Savoy ceded to him, tom. II. p. 61?

What he says of the dispositions, in regard to the Pope and the Venetians, &c. tom. II. p. 180, is equally false. This writer seems indeed to have been in the pay of the house of Austria.

vernments, and bestowed on so many French princes or lords, all of them bearing rank as sovereigns.

IN regard to England it was precisely the same: this was a determined point between Elizabeth and Henry, the two princes who were authors of the scheme, probably from an observation made by this queen, that the Britannic isles, in all the different states through which they had passed, whether under one or several monarchs, elective, hereditary, masculine, or feminine, and among all the variations of their laws and policy, had never experienced any great disappointments or misfortunes, but when their sovereigns had meddled in affairs out of their little continent. It seems, indeed, as if they were concentered in it even by nature, and their happiness appears to depend entirely on themselves, without having any concerns with their neighbours, provided that they seek only to maintain peace in the three nations subject to them, by governing each according to its own laws and customs. To render every thing equal between France and England, Brabant from the duchy of Limbourg, the jurisdiction of Malines, and the other dependencies on Flemish Flanders, Gallican or Imperial, were to have been formed into eight sovereign fiefs, to be given to so many princes or lords of this nation.

THESE two parts excepted, all the rest of the seventeen United Provinces, whether belonging to Spain or not, were to have been erected into a free and independent state, under the title of the Belgic republic; though there was one other fief to be formed from them, bearing the title of a principality, to be granted to the prince of Orange; also some other inconsiderable indemnities for three or four other persons. The succession of Cleves was to have been divided among those princes whom the emperor would have deprived of it, as the means whereby to gratify them at the expence of the house of Austria, as well as some other princes of the same district, to whom the imperial towns situated therein, would have been granted. Even Sweden and Denmark, though they were to be considered as under the influence of the same law which England and France had imposed on themselves, would, by this distribution, have enlarged their territories, and acquired other considerable advantages. An end would have been put to the perpetual trouble which agitated these two kingdoms; and this, I think, would have been rendering them no inconsiderable service. All these cessions, exchanges, and transpositions towards the north of Germany, were to

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have been determined by the kings of France, England, Lombardy, and the republic of Venice.

AND now perhaps the purport of the design may be perceived, which was to divide Europe equally among a certain number of powers, in such a manner, that none of them might have cause either of envy or fear, from the possessions or power of the others. The number of them was reduced to fifteen; and they were of three kinds: six great hereditary monarchies, five elective monarchies, and four sovereign republics. The six hereditary monarchies were France, Spain, England or Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and Lombardy; the five elective monarchies were the Empire, the Papacy or Pontificate, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia; the four republics were, the Venetian, the Italian, or what, from its dukes, may be called the ducal, the Swiss, Helvetic or Confederate, and the Belgic or Provincial republic.

THE laws and ordinances proper to cement an union between all these princes, and to maintain that harmony which should be once established among them, the reciprocal oaths and engagements in regard both to religion and policy, the mutual assurances in respect to the freedom of commerce, and the measures to be taken to make all these partitions with equity, and to the general content and satisfaction of the parties: all these matters are to be understood; nor is it necessary to say any thing of the precaution taken by Henry in regard to them. The most that could have happened would have been some trifling difficulties, which would easily have been obviated in the general council, representing all the states of Europe; the establishment of which was certainly the happiest invention that could have been conceived, to prevent those innovations which time often introduces in the wisest and most useful institutions.

THE model of this general council of Europe had been formed on that of the ancient Amphictyons of Greece, with such alterations only as rendered it suitable to our customs, climate, and policy. It consisted of a certain number of commissaries, ministers, or plenipotentiaries from all the governments of the christian republic, who were to be constantly assembled as a senate, to deliberate on any affairs which might occur; to discuss the different interests, pacify the quarrels, clear up and determine all the civil, political, and religious affairs of Europe, whether within itself or with its neighbours. The form and manner of proceeding

proceeding in the senate would have been more particularly determined by the suffrages of the senate itself. Henry was of opinion that it should be composed of four commissaries from each of the following potentates: The Emperor, the Pope, the kings of France, Spain, England, Denmark, Sweden, Lombardy, Poland, and the republic of Venice; and of two only from the other republics and inferior powers, which all together would have composed a senate of about sixty-six persons, who should have been rechose every three years.

IN regard to the place of meeting, it remained to have been determined, whether it would be better for the council to be fixed or ambulatory, divided in three, or united into one. If it were divided into three, each containing twenty-two magistrates, then each of them must have been fixed in such a center as should appear to be most commodious, as Paris or Bourges for one, and somewhere about Trente and Cracovia for the two others. If it were judged more expedient not to divide their assembly, whether fixed or ambulatory, it must have been nearly in the center of Europe, and would consequently have been fixed in some one of the fourteen cities following: Metz, Luxembourg, Nancy, Cologne, Mayence, Treves, Francfort, Wirtzburg, Heidelberg, Spire, Strasbourg, Bale, Bizancon.

BESIDES this general council, it would perhaps have been proper to have constituted some others, of an inferior degree, for the particular convenience of different districts. For example, were six such created, they might have been placed at Dantzick, Nuremberg, Vienna, Bologna, Constance; and the last, wherever it should be judged most convenient for the kingdoms of France, Spain, England, and the Belgic republic. But whatever the number or form of these particular councils might have been, it would have been absolutely necessary, that they should be subordinate, and recur, by appeal, to the great general council, whose decisions, when considered as proceeding from the united authority of all the sovereigns, pronounced in a manner equally free and absolute, must have been regarded as so many final and irrevocable decrees.

BUT let us quit these speculative designs, in which practice and experience would perhaps have caused many alterations; and let us come to the means actually employed by Henry to facilitate the execution of his great design.

To gain one of the most powerful princes of Europe, with whom to concert all his designs, was what Henry had always considered as of the utmost consequence: and this was the reason, that after the death of Elizabeth, who had indissolubly united the interest of the two crowns of France and England, every means was used which might inspire her successor, king James, with all her sentiments. Had I but succeeded in the solemn embassy, the particulars of which I have related already, so far as to have gained this prince's consent to have his name appear openly with Henry's, this military confederacy, especially if it had, in like manner, been strengthened with the names of the kings of Denmark and Sweden, would have prevented the troubles and difficulties of many negotiations: but nothing farther could be obtained of the king of England, than the same promises which were required of the other courts; namely, that he would not only not oppose the confederacy, but when Henry had made his designs public, would declare himself in his favour, and contribute towards it in the same manner as the other powers interested therein. A means was, indeed, afterwards found to obtain the execution of this promise, in a manner so much the more easy, as it did not disturb the natural indolence of this prince; and this was, by getting what he hesitated to undertake in his own name, executed by his son, the prince of Wales, who, as soon as he had obtained his father's promise, that he would at least not obstruct his proceedings, prevented Henry's utmost wishes; being animated with a thirst of glory, and desire to render himself worthy the esteem and alliance of Henry; for he was to marry the eldest of the daughters of France. He wrote me several letters upon this subject, and expressed himself in the manner I have mentioned. He also farther said, that the king of France might depend on having six thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, which he would oblige himself to bring into his service whenever they should be required: and this number was afterwards augmented by two thousand more foot, and eight cannons, maintained in all respects at the expence of England for three years at least. The king of Sweden did not shew himself less zealous for the common cause; and the king of Denmark also appeared to be equally well disposed in its favour.

In the mean time we were indefatigable in our negotiations in the different courts of Europe, particularly in the circles of Germany and the United Provinces, where the king, for this purpose, had sent Boisfife, Fresne-Canaye, Baugy, Ancel, and Bongars. The council of the

States were very soon unanimous in their determinations: the prince of Orange sent the sieurs Malderet and Brederode from them, to offer the king fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse. They were soon followed by the landgrave of Hesse, and the prince of Anhalt, to whom, as well as to the prince of Orange, the confederacy was obliged for being increased by the duke of Savoy; by all of the reformed religion in Hungary, Bohemia, and Lower Austria; by many protestant princes and towns in Germany; in fine, by all the Swiss Cantons of this religion. And when the succession of Cleves, which the Emperor shewed himself disposed to usurp, became another incentive to the confederacy, there was then scarce any part of Germany that was not for us; which evidently appeared from the result of the general assembly at Hall. The elector of Saxony, who perhaps remained alone of the opposite party, might have been embarrassed in an affair, out of which he would probably have found it difficult to extricate himself; and this was to have been done, by suggesting to him the branch of John Frederic, deprived of this electorate by Charles V.

THERE were several of these powers, in regard to whom I am persuaded nothing would have been risked, by disclosing to them the whole intent and scope of the design. On the contrary, they would probably have seconded it with the greater ardour, when they found the destruction of the Austrian grandeur was a determined point. These powers were, more particularly, the Venetians, the United Provinces, almost all the protestants, and especially the evangelics of Germany. But as too many precautions could not be taken, to prevent the catholic powers from being prejudiced against the new alliance in which they were to be engaged; a too hasty discovery, either of the true motives, or the whole intent of the design, was therefore cautiously avoided. It was at first concealed from all without exception, and afterwards revealed but to a few persons of approved discretion, and those only such as were absolutely necessary to engage others to join the confederacy. The association was for a long time spoke of to others only as a kind of general treaty of peace, wherein such methods would be projected, as the public benefit, and the general service of Europe, might suggest as necessary to stop the progress of the excessive power of the house of Austria. Our ambassadors and agents had orders only to demand of these princes a renewal or commencement of alliance, in order more effectually to succeed in the projected peace; to consult with them upon the means whereby to effect it; to appear as if they were sent only, in conjunction with them, to endeavour

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your the discovery of these means; but yet to second them, and according to the disposition in which they were, to insinuate, as if by accidental conjecture, some notion of a new method more proper to maintain the equilibrium of Europe, and to secure to each religion a more undisturbed repose than they had hitherto enjoyed. The proposals made to the kings of England and Sweden, and the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, for alliances by marriage, proved very successful: it was absolutely determined, that the Dauphin should espouse the heiress of Lorrain, which duchy still continued, as before, to depend on the Empire.

BUT no precaution appeared so necessary, nor was more strongly recommended to our negotiators, than to convince all the princes of Europe of the disinterestedness with which Henry was resolved to act on this occasion. This point was indefatigably laboured, and they were convinced of it, when, on the supposition that it would be necessary to have recourse to arms, we strongly protested, that the forces, the treasures, and even the person of Henry, might be depended on; and this in a manner so generous on his side, that, instead of expecting to be rewarded, or even indemnified for them, he was voluntarily inclined to give the most positive assurances, not to reserve to himself a single town, nor the smallest district. This moderation, of which at last no one doubted, made a suitable impression, especially when it was perceived to be so much the more generous, as there was sufficient to excite and satisfy the desires of all. And, in the interim, before the solemn publication of this absolute renunciation, which was to have been made in the manifestoes that were preparing, Henry gave a proof of it, that was an absolute demonstration to the pope.

No one being ignorant that as it was, at least, intended to deprive Spain of those of its usurpations which were the most manifestly unjust; Navarre and Roussillon would infallibly revert to France; the king therefore voluntarily offered to exchange them for the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and at the same time to make a present of both to the Pope and the republic of Venice. This, certainly, was renouncing the most incontestible right he could have to any of the territories of which this crown was to be deprived; and by submitting this affair, as he did, to the determination of the Pope and the Venetians, he the more sensibly obliged them, as both the honour and profit which might arise therefrom would be in their favour. The Pope, therefore, on the first proposition made to him, even prevented Henry's

intentions; he immediately demanded, whether, as affairs were then circumstanced, the several powers would approve his taking upon him the office of common mediator, to establish peace in Europe, and convert the continual wars among its several princes, into a perpetual war against the infidels; which was a part of the design he had been very careful to acquaint him with: and the Pope sufficiently shewed, that he was desirous nothing should be done without his participation; and that he was still less disposed to refuse the advantage offered to him.

PAUL V. when a favourable opportunity offered, explained himself more openly on this head. Ubaldini, his nuncio, told the king, that his holiness, for the confederacy against the house of Austria, would, on various pretences, engage to raise ten thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and ten cannons; provided that his majesty would promise to defray the necessary expences of their subsistence for three years; would give all possible security for the cession of Naples, and the other rights of homage, according to promise; and would sincerely consent to the other conditions, in regard to the treaty which he should think necessary to impose. These conditions, at least the principal of them, were, that only catholics should be elected emperors; that the roman religion should be maintained in all its rights, and the ecclesiastics in all their privileges and immunities; and the protestants should not be permitted to establish themselves in places where they were not established before the treaty. The king promised Ubaldini, that he would religiously observe all these conditions; and farther, he relinquished to the Pope the honour of being the arbitrator of all those regulations to be made in the establishment of the new republic.

THE removing of these difficulties in regard to the Pope, was of no inconsiderable consequence; for his example would not fail to be of great force in determining the other catholic powers, especially those of Italy. Nothing was neglected which might promote the favourable dispositions in which they appeared to be, by punctually paying the cardinals and petty princes of Italy their pensions, and even by adding to them several other gratuities. The establishment of a new monarchy in Italy was the only pretence these petty courts had for not joining in the confederacy; but this vain apprehension would be easily dissipated. The particular advantages which each would acquire, might alone have satisfied them in this respect; but if not, all opposers might have been threatened with being declared, after a certain time, divested

of all right to the proposed advantages, and even of all pretensions to the empire, or the elective kingdoms; and that the republics amongst them should be converted into sovereignties, and sovereignties into republics. There is but little probability that any of them would even have demurred what to do. The punishment of the first offender would have compelled the submission of all these petty states, who were besides sufficiently sensible of their importance. But this method was not to be used but on failure of all others; and even then, no opportunity would have been neglected of shewing them favour.

AND now we are arrived at the point to which every thing was advanced, at the fatal moment of the death of Henry the Great; and the following is a circumstantial detail of the forces for the war, which all the parties concerned had, in conjunction with him, agreed to furnish: The contingents of the kings of England, Sweden, and Denmark, were each eight thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and eight cannons; to be raised and maintained, in all respects, at their expence, at least for three years; and this expence, reckoning ten livres a month for each foot soldier, thirty livres for each trooper, the pay of the officers included, and the year to be composed of ten months, would amount, for each of these states, to three millions three hundred and seventy thousand livres for three years; the expence of the artillery, fifteen hundred livres a month for each piece, being also included. The princes of Germany, before mentioned, were to furnish twenty-five thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and forty cannons: they had themselves computed the expence at nine or ten millions for three years. The United Provinces, twelve thousand foot, two thousand horse, and ten cannons: the expence twelve millions. Hungary, Bohemia, and the other evangelics of Germany, the same number, and nearly at the same expence. The Pope, ten thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and eight cannons. The duke of Savoy, eighteen thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twelve cannons. The Venetians, twelve thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twelve cannons. The expence of these last mentioned armaments the king himself had engaged to defray. The total of all these foreign forces, allowing for deficiencies, which might probably have happened, would always have been, at least, one hundred thousand foot, from twenty to twenty-five thousand horse, and about one hundred and twenty cannons.

THE king, on his side, had actually on foot two good and well furnished armies; the first, which he was to have commanded in person, consisted of twenty thousand foot, all native French, eight thousand
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Switzers,

Switzers, four thousand Lanquenets or Walloons, five thousand horse, and twenty cannons. The second, to be commanded by Lesdiguières, in the neighbourhood of the Alps, consisted of ten thousand foot, one thousand horse, and ten cannons; besides a flying camp, of four thousand foot, six hundred horse, and ten cannons; and a reserve of two thousand foot, to garrison such places where they might be necessary *. We will make a general calculation of all these troops.

THE twenty thousand foot, at twenty-one livres a month to each man, including the appointments of generals and officers, would, by the month, require four hundred and twenty thousand livres, and by the year, five millions and forty thousand livres; the eight thousand Switzers and four thousand Lanquenets, three millions; the five thousand horse, at sixty livres a month to each, by the month, would require two hundred and forty thousand livres, and by the year, two millions eight hundred and forty thousand livres: this computation is made so high as sixty livres a month to each, because the pay of the officers, and particularly of the king's white troops, composed of a thousand men of the first rank in the kingdom, who served as volunteers, was therein included. The expence of the twenty large cannons, six culverins, and four demi-culverins, supposing all necessary furniture for them provided, would amount to three thousand six hundred livres a month for each piece; the thirty together would consequently require one hundred and eight thousand livres. Extraordinary expences and losses, in regard to the provisions and ammunition for his army, might be computed at one hundred and fifty thousand livres.

AND for expences, whether ordinary or extraordinary, in spies, for the sick and wounded, and other unforeseen contingencies, computing at the highest, a like sum of one million eight hundred thousand livres. To supply the deficiencies which might happen in the armies of the confederate princes, to pay the pensions, and to answer other particular exigences which might arise in the kingdom, three hundred thousand livres a month; for the year, three millions six hundred thousand

* There are some variations in our Memoirs in regard to the number of men, both in the royal grand army, which, in different places, is said to be composed of thirty, thirty-two, and thirty-six thousand foot, of four, five, six, and eight thousand horse, and from thirty to fifty cannons; and in that of the confederate princes of

Germany, sometimes computed even at forty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse; similar differences do often occur in regard to those of Italy, and the other confederate princes: neither are the calculations of the expences always the same, nor quite just in their estimates.

livres. The army of Lefdiguieres would require three millions a year; and as much for each of the armies of the Pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy. These four last articles together, make twelve millions a year; which, added to the preceding sums, amount in the whole to about thirty millions one hundred and sixty thousand livres a year.

It remains only to triple this total for the three years, during which it was supposed there might be occasion for the forces, and the whole amount will appear to be between ninety and ninety-one millions, which might nearly be necessary to defray the expences of the intended war; I say nearly, for in this calculation I have not included the flying camp, nor the two thousand men for garrisons: the first of these two articles, at the rate of eighteen livres a month to each foot soldier, and fifty livres to each trooper, would require a farther sum of about one hundred and thirty thousand livres a month; which, for a year, would be one million five hundred thousand livres, and four millions five hundred thousand livres for three years: the second article for the three years, would require about twelve hundred thousand livres.

On a supposition that the expence of France, on this occasion, would not have amounted to more than between ninety and ninety-five millions; which supposition is far from being hazardous, because we have here computed every thing at the highest it would bear; it is easy to shew, that at the expiration of the three years, Henry would have remaining in his coffers thirty millions over and above what would be expended. The total amount of all the receipts from the several funds, formed and to be formed for these three years, being one hundred twenty-one millions five hundred and forty thousand livres, as appears from the three estimates which I drew up and presented to his majesty.

THE first of these estimates, which contained only a list of the sums actually deposited in the Bastile, amounted to twenty-two millions four hundred and sixty thousand livres, in several coffers, marked Phelipeaux, Puget, and Bouhier: the second was another list, of the sums actually due from the farmers, partisans, and receivers-general; which might be considered as in possession, and produced another total of eighteen millions six hundred and thirteen thousand livres; these two totals together made forty-one millions seventy-three thousand livres, which the king would immediately have at his disposal: to acquire the

rest of these hundred and twenty-one millions, I had no recourse, in the third estimate, to any new taxations. The whole remainder would arise solely from the offers of augmentation upon the several royal revenues which the farmers and partisans had made for a lease of three years, and from what the officers of justice and the finances had voluntarily engaged to furnish, provided they might be permitted the free enjoyment of certain privileges: so that in these one hundred twenty-one millions, I had not comprehended the three years receipts of the other royal revenues. And in case it were afterwards necessary to have recourse to means somewhat more burthensome, I had given the king another estimate, whereby, instead of these one hundred twenty-one millions, it appeared that one hundred seventy-five millions might have been raised. I also demonstrated, that upon any pressing emergency, this kingdom could open itself resources of treasure that are almost innumerable.

It was very much to be wished, that the sums of money and the number of men to be furnished by the other confederates, would be equally well secured by such estimates: but whatever deficiencies might have happened, having forty-one millions to distribute where-ever it might be found necessary, what obstacles could Henry have to fear from a power who was known to be destitute of money, and even of troops? no one being ignorant, that the best and most numerous forces which Spain had in its service were drawn from Sicily, Naples, and Lombardy; or else were Germans, Switzers, and Walloons.

EVERY thing therefore concurring to promote success, and good magazines being placed in proper parts of the passage, the king was on the point of marching, at the head of his army, directly to Mezières; from whence, taking his rout by Clinchamp, Orchimont, Beaurain, Offais, Longpré, &c. after having caused five forts to be erected in these quarters, and therein placed his two thousand men destined for that purpose, with the necessary provisions and ammunition, he would, near Duren and Stavelo, have joined the two armies, which the princes of Germany and the United Provinces would have caused to march thither; and then beginning by occupying all those passages through which the enemy might find entrance into the territories of Juliers and Cleves, these principalities, which were a pretext for the armament, would consequently have immediately submitted to him, and would have been sequestered, till it should appear how the Emperor and the king of Spain would act, in regard to the designs of the confederate princes.

THIS was the moment fixed on to publish and make known throughout Europe, the declarations, in form of manifestos, which were to open the eyes of all in regard to their true interests, and the real motives which had caused Henry and the confederate princes thus to take up arms. These manifestos were composed with the greatest care; a spirit of justice, honesty, and good faith, of disinterestedness and good policy, were every where apparent in them: and without wholly discovering the several changes intended to be made in Europe, it was intimated, that their common interest had thus compelled its princes to arm themselves; and not only to prevent the house of Austria from getting possession of Cleves, but also to divest her of the United Provinces, and of whatever else she unjustly possessed; that their intentions were to distribute these territories among such princes and states as were the weakest; that the design was such, as could not surely give occasion to a war in Europe; that, though armed, the kings of France and the North rather chose to be mediators in the causes of complaint which Europe, through them, made against the house of Austria, and only sought amicably to determine all differences subsisting among the several princes; and that whatever was done on this occasion should be not only, with the unanimous consent of all these powers, but even of all their people, who were hereby invited to give in their opinions to the confederate princes: such also would have been the substance of the circular letters which Henry and the associated princes would at the same time have sent to all places subject to them; that so the people being informed, and joining their suffrages, an universal cry from all parts of Christendom would have been raised against the house of Austria.

As it was determined to avoid, with the utmost caution, whatever might give umbrage to any one, and Henry being desirous to give still more convincing proofs to his confederates, that to promote their true interests was his sole study and design; to these letters already mentioned he would have added others to be written to different courts, particularly to the electors of Cologne and Treves, the bishops of Munster, Liege, and Paderborn; and the duke and duchess of Lorrain; and this conduct would have been pursued, in regard even to our enemies, in the letters which were to be written to the arch-duke, and the infanta his wife, to the Emperor himself, and to all the Austrian princes, requesting them, from the strongest and most pressing motives, to embrace the only right and reasonable party; in all places, nothing would

have been neglected, to instruct, convince, and gain confidence; the execution of all engagements, and the distribution or sequestration of whatever territories might require to be so disposed, would have been strictly, and even scrupulously, observed; force would never have been employed, till arguments, intreaties, embassies, and negotiations, should have failed; finally, even in the use of arms, it would have been not as enemies, but pacifiers; the queen would have advanced as far as Metz, accompanied by the whole court, and attended by such pomp and equipage as were suitable only to peace.

HENRY had projected a new method of discipline in his camp, which very probably, would have produced the good effects intended by it, especially if his example had been imitated by the other princes his allies; he intended to have created four marshals of France, or at least four camp marshals, whose sole care should have been to maintain universal order, discipline, and subordination: the first of these would have had the inspection of the cavalry, the second of the French infantry, the third of the foreign forces, and the fourth of whatever concerned the artillery, ammunition, and provisions; and the king would have required an exact and regular account from these two officers, of whatever was transacted by them in their respective divisions. He applied himself with equal ardour to make all military virtues to be revered and honoured in his army, by granting all employs and places of trust to merit only, by preferring good officers, by rewarding good soldiers, by punishing blasphemies and other impious language, by shewing a regard both for his own troops and those of his confederates, by stifling a spirit of discord, caused by a difference of religions; and, finally, by uniting emulation with that harmony of sentiments which contributes more than all the rest to obtain victory.

THE consequence of this enterprise, with regard to war, would have depended on the manner in which the Emperor and the king of Spain would receive the propositions and reply to the manifestos of the confederate princes; it seems probable that the Emperor, submitting to force, would have consented to every thing: I am even persuaded he would have been the first to demand an amicable interview with the king of France, that he might at least extricate himself with honour out of the difficulties in which he would have been involved; and he would probably have been satisfied with assurances, that the imperial dignity, with all its rights and prerogatives, should be secured to him for his life. The arch-dukes had made great advances; they engaged to
 permit

permit the king, with all his troops, to enter their territories and towns, provided they committed no hostilities in them, and paid punctually, in all places, for whatever they required: if these appearances were not deceitful, Spain being abandoned by all, must, though unwillingly, have submitted to the will of its conquerors.

BUT it may be supposed, that all the branches of the house of Austria would, on this occasion, have united, and, in defence of their common interests, would have used all the efforts of which they were capable. In this case, Henry and the confederate princes, by declaring war in form against their enemies, and depriving the Spaniards of all communications, especially with the Low Countries; and having, as we have said, united all their forces, given audience to the princes of Germany, promised assistance to the people of Hungary and Bohemia who should come to implore it of them; and finally, secured the territory of Cleves: these princes, I say, would then have caused their three armies to advance towards Bale and Strasbourg to support the Switzers, who after having, for form's sake, asked leave of the Emperor, would have declared for the union. The United Provinces, though at a considerable distance from these armies, would yet have been sufficiently defended by the flying camp, which Henry would have caused to advance towards them; by the arms of England and the North, to whose protection they would be entrusted; by the care which at first would have been taken to get possession of Charlemont, Maeftrich, Namur, and other places near the Meuse; and finally, by the naval forces of these provinces, which in conjunction with those of England would have reigned absolute masters at sea.

THESE measures being taken, the war could have fallen only in Italy or Germany; and supposing it to have happened in the former, the three armies of Henry, the prince of Orange, and the princes of Germany, quitting Franche-Comté, after having fortified it in the same manner as the Low Countries, by a small body of troops, would have marched with their forces towards the Alps, where they would have been joined by those of Lefdiguieres, the Pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy; who then would have declared themselves openly; the duke of Savoy, by requiring a portion for his duchess, equal to what had been given to the infanta Isabella; and the other powers, by demanding the execution of the agreement in regard to Navarre, Naples, and Sicily: and thus, from all parts of Europe, war

would be declared against Spain. If the enemy should appear inclined to draw the war into Germany, then the confederates, having left a considerable number of troops in Italy, would have penetrated even into the heart of Germany, where from Hungary and Bohemia, they would have been strengthened by those powerful succours which were there preparing.

THE other events, in consequence of these dispositions, can only be conjectured, because they would greatly depend on the degree of alacrity with which the enemy should oppose the rapidity of our conquests, and on the readiness with which the confederates, especially those at the extremity of Germany, should make good their engagements. Nevertheless, I am persuaded, that from the dispositions as here laid down, there are none but must regard the house of Austria as penetrated by the blow whose force was for ever to annihilate its power, and open a passage to the execution of the other projected designs, to which this attack could only be considered as the preliminary: I will add too (and here the voice of all Europe will vindicate me from the imputation of partiality) that if the force necessary to render such an enterprize successful does always depend on the person of the chief who conducts it, this could not have been better conferred, than upon Henry the Great. With a valour alone capable of surmounting the greatest difficulties; and presence of mind, which neither neglected nor lost any opportunities of advantage; with a prudence which, without precipitating any thing, or attempting too many things at a time, could regularly connect them together, and perfectly knew what might and what might not be the result of time; with a consummate experience; and finally, with all those other great qualifications, whether as a warrior or politician, which were so remarkable in this prince; what is there which might not have been obtained? This was the meaning of that modest device which this great king caused to be inscribed on some of the last medals that were struck under his reign, *Nil sine concilio*.

S U P P L E M E N T

T O

The LIFE of the DUKE of SULLY,

After his RETREAT.

THE first time we find the duke of Sully mentioned by the historians after his retreat, is upon his appearance at the assembly of protestants, held at Châtelleraut, in the year 1611. His mind was still embittered by the treatment he had met with at court; he was well informed that the duke of Bouillon, who, contrary to his real interest and character, was preparing to go thither to support the queen's rights against the protestants, had put himself at the head of his enemies, and was endeavouring to deprive him of the government of Poitou, and of his post of grand-master of the ordnance, which the queen regent had promised to bestow upon him, in reward for the services she expected from him upon this occasion; it is not therefore surprising that, in such a conjuncture, the duke of Sully should act there with vigour and spirit. Those who favour the duke of Bouillon have, through resentment that he failed in his attempt, accused the dukes of Sully and Rohan of seeking to rekindle the war between the protestants and the catholics; but they are the only persons who speak in this manner. All the other writers agree that the conduct of M. de Sully was wholly free from blame; and indeed his enemies acted with so much heat and malignity against him, that the author of the French Mercury, whom I shall follow in this period of the duke of Sully's History, condemns him for not taking the only measures that remained to secure his repose. Here follows a short account of what passed, with regard to the duke of Sully, at the assembly of Châtelleraut, or of Samur; for his enemies, being apprehensive that he

Anno 1611.
P. 75.

would

would be too powerful if it was held at Châtelleraut, caused it to be transferred to Samur.

THE duke of Bouillon making no secret of his intentions to reduce the calvinists his brethren, and the duke of Sully in particular, to the last extremity, the common interest re-united the latter with Du-Plessis-Mornay and the principal protestant ministers, who, till then, as has been seen through the course of these Memoirs, had acted with great reserve towards him, and great distrust of his sentiments. They began by refusing the dignity of president of their assembly to the duke of Bouillon, and conferred it on Du-Plessis; and made him sensible how much they were offended at the part he had acted, by continually opposing him; so that he could not obtain any of those demands which might probably have been granted to an agent of the catholic religion, which was a convincing proof that the queen regent committed a great error when she made choice of the duke of Bouillon to serve her on this occasion. However, a kind of reconciliation was made between him and the duke of Sully, through the interposition of Du-Plessis; and from that time the duke found no more obstacles to hinder him from interesting the protestant body in his particular cause, which became one of the chief subjects of their deliberations.

THE assembly addressed him, entreated, and enjoined him, (these are the terms made use of by the French Mercury) not to resign his employments, promised to support him, &c. To which the duke of Sully answered by a speech, in which he asked the advice of the assembly upon four things. 1st, If he ought to take no notice of the proceedings of his enemies with respect to him? 2d, If, on the contrary, he ought himself to make a demand of being again restored to his places? 3d, If it was more eligible to accept of a recompence for them? and lastly, If this recompence ought to be honour and security rather than profit? For it was to conceal the design they had of ruining him entirely, that the court made a proposal to him to receive a marshal's staff, or a considerable sum of money in exchange for his post of grand-master of the ordnance, and his government of Poitou. M. de Sully concluded this discourse, in which he could not forbear mingling some complaints of the rigour which the council of the queen regent used towards him, with excusing himself for not having sooner laid before them the hardships he suffered on account of the great difficulty he found to persuade himself that there were really such plots formed

against him, as well as of his fears of displeasing some persons to whom he owed all imaginable respect.

THIS discourse was as agreeable to the protestants as it was displeasing to Bouillon and the rest of the queen's agents. In their answer they gave indeed very high praises to the duke of Sully's administration; but they taxed him with being ungenerous, and of having entertained a design to force the queen to restore him to his place in the ministry. M. de Sully answered this accusation by another remonstrance, in which he referred his interests to the assembly. The duke of Bouillon perceiving what was likely to be the event, took off the masque a second time, and began to cabal with all the protestants whom he thought there was a possibility of gaining. In effect, he drew over some; but all his endeavours to gain the duke of Rohan were fruitless: and having neither been able, with all his address, to hinder the greater number from adhering to the party of his adversary, or to suspend the conclusion, they passed on to their deliberations, the result of which was, that they would assist M. de Sully, if his administration was enquired into, *by unlawful ways.*

BULLION, and the rest of the queen's creatures, put every thing in motion to obtain a recantation or restriction. As for the duke of Bouillon, he broke out in a rage and exclamation: he gave the most violent counsels to the queen, who contented herself, however, with sending letters in the king's name to the assembly, which Du-Plessis, for fear of the consequences they might produce, thought proper to suppress. They now had recourse to mediums and modifications. All the other articles were amicably settled, and that which regarded M. de Sully was suffered to rest, because it was apparent to the whole world that they could not, with any shadow of justice, accuse him of being an unfaithful minister, much less an enemy to the state; and because the duke of Bouillon, being disgusted with the queen for disappointing him in his expectations of reward, ceased on a sudden to act with the same heat and animosity. The duke of Sully, therefore, remained in the same situation as when he retired from court.

THE following year the war between the two religions was upon the point of being resumed, by an incident for which our Memoirs seem to prepare us. Brassac, whom his majesty had appointed to be king's lieutenant of St. John D'Angely, after the death of Des-Ageaux, was driven out of that city by the duke of Rohan, whose whole conduct,

duct, from that time, sufficiently declared that his sentiments were very different from those of his father-in-law. Although the regent was then in a condition to give him law, and all the protestants were greatly in fear of her, yet this affair was terminated wholly to the duke's advantage, who obtained all that he demanded. M. de Sully signed the agreement, which was made in the synode of Privas, between the duke of Rohan on one side, and the queen's agents on the other. This was all the share he had in this great rupture.

THE two following letters, which I have transcribed from the originals, in the cabinet of the present duke of Sully, prove that the queen-mother had recourse to Maximilian on many occasions, and that he laboured with great diligence to prevent or appease the troubles which afterwards arose between the princes and the grandees of the kingdom.

A Letter from the Queen-mother to the Duke of SULLY.

“ COUSIN,

“ I HAVE sent the sieur de Bethune your brother to confer with you concerning the present occurrences, and have charged him to assure you of my affection, and of my reliance on the continuance of yours, for the service of the king, monsieur my son. You may give absolute credit to what he shall say to you on both these subjects, as you would to the person of your good cousin.

Paris, Feb. 12, 1614.

“ MARY.”

IT is superscribed, “ To my Cousin, the Duke of Sully, peer, and grand master of the ordnance of France.”

Another Letter from the Queen to M. de SULLY.

“ COUSIN,

“ HAVING received your letter of the 1st instant on the 9th, I delayed answering it till my arrival in this province, to the end that being better informed of the particular things which happened, and the state affairs are in at present, I might tell you with more certainty my opinion of them all in general: but I have found here so much

“ confusion and tumult, so many complaints and infringements of the
 “ agreement of St. Menoult, that I confess I know not where to begin,
 “ or what to desire you to do for me on this occasion. Declarations are
 “ every where made, and assurances given me of zeal and fidelity for the
 “ service of the king my son, and the publick good, which are indeed very
 “ acceptable; but I find effects so contrary to all this, that I no sooner
 “ entertain any favourable hopes, than they vanish in an instant. I do not
 “ write this upon your own particular account; for I depend upon
 “ your affection to the good of your country and our own happiness,
 “ in proportion to the experience I have had of it, and the assurance
 “ you have given me; but I write to condole with you upon the
 “ changeableness and uncertainty of such proceedings. I have within
 “ these two days received your last letter here; the bearer of this will
 “ tell you what I think of it.

“ I do not doubt but that you have, with a freedom and zeal be-
 “ coming a good subject and an honest man, made those remonstrances
 “ to my nephew the prince of Conde, which you have given me an
 “ account of in your letter, and I am rejoiced to hear that he has
 “ taken them well of you: but, if he approves of your advice, what
 “ hinders him from following it? By so doing he will get rid of those
 “ perplexities in which you tell me he is involved; he will receive of
 “ me every reasonable proof he can desire of my good will, and all the
 “ respect and deference due to his quality. If to assure him of this,
 “ any thing depends upon me, I shall be glad to know it, and to have
 “ your opinion: but I have not yet received those letters, which he told
 “ you he wrote to me upon that subject. I wish they may be such as
 “ may give me that satisfaction, both with respect to him and his
 “ friend, for the service of the king my son, as he has often made me
 “ hope for, and even request; and, this done, I shall make him such
 “ returns as he shall have just reason to be contented with: as likewise
 “ all those who shall follow his example.

“ I HAVE not yet seen the duke of Vendôme; so that I know not
 “ what I ought to hope from his obedience; for I have advice that he
 “ continues to fortify Lamballe, and has engaged a great number of
 “ soldiers, who have served, or rather disserved him during these last
 “ commotions, and especially since the contract of St. Menoult, to
 “ which the king my son and myself are endeavouring to apply the ne-
 “ cessary remedies, by the advice of the states of the country, which

“ we are to propose to-morrow. As I promise myself that you
 “ will always continue faithful to the interests of the king my son, and
 “ that you will readily embrace every opportunity of serving him, you
 “ may make what use you think proper of this for that purpose; and
 “ I beseech God, cousin, &c. Written at Nantz, August 18, 1614.

“ Your good cousin,

“ MARY.”

In the year 1616 the revolt of the protestants broke out. On this occasion the duke of Sully gave a convincing proof that he preferred the welfare of the state to the interest of his party, and even to his own particular interest; for, when it was proposed to him to re-unite the party of the prince of Condé with that of the protestant, a design which, according to all appearance, would have ruined the kingdom, the duke of Sully, whose suffrage was of the utmost consequence, refused absolutely to give it, and remained constantly attached to the king. Let us see what marshal Bassompierre says on this subject in his Memoirs. “ M. de Sully, ever solicitous for the good of the state, maintained himself in the esteem and respect of both parties, and endeavoured to set them right, as long as they could subsist in the state they were, by sending information sometimes to the queen-mother, and sometimes to the prince; and, on August the 26th, the duke of Sully demanded an audience of the queen. He then told her, that matters were brought to such extremity, that it was not possible they could continue eight days longer in the same situation; that as the ballance was now held, the whole authority must necessarily fall into the hands of the prince; that it was still in her own choice whether to keep or suffer herself to be dispossessed of her's. He declared that she was not secure in Paris, and that she and her children would be safer in the field, with a thousand horse, than in the Louvre, while the minds of the nobles and people were thus enraged. He said, that his duty, and the obligations he had to the deceased king, required that he should make her these remonstrances; and that, if there was no other remedy for the present evils but the loss of his life, he would sacrifice it willingly for the preservation of the king, herself, and the state; and then, taking leave of her, he implored her to consider well what he had said: and added, that, if she did not apply the only, fit, and reasonable remedy to these commotions, she would be answerable for all the consequences of them, since she had been warned beforehand of what was likely to happen.”

THE author of the History of the Mother and Son renders, in spite of himself, this justice to the duke of Sully. “ M. de Sully, says he, demanded an audience of the queen, that he might confer with her upon an affair, which he said was of no less importance than the preservation of the king’s life and her’s. The queen had taken physic that day ; but, upon a matter of such consequence, she thought she could not dispense with herself from seeing him. The king happened, by chance, to be present ; as were likewise the sieurs Mangot and Barbin. The duke of Sully then made a speech, in which he expatiated upon the bad designs of the princes, and the inevitable dangers which he foresaw for the king. The sieurs Mangot and Barbin told him, that it was not enough to discover an evil ; he ought likewise to propose some proper remedies to obviate it. To this he only added, that the attempt was hazardous, and that they must expect to see very fatal consequences ; then, quitting the queen’s closet, he said, Sire, and you, madam, I entreat your majesties to think well on what I have said : I have discharged my conscience ; would to God you were in the midst of twelve hundred horse : I see no other remedy.” Saying this he went away.

Tom. II.
p. 61, 62.

IT must be confessed, that to the hatred which this writer bore the duke of Sully, is owing the following recital : “ The prince of Condé being arrested, the ministers told the queen, that, unless she released him, all was lost. M. de Sully, whose vehemence of temper would not allow him time for reflection, nor to give his advice in the present exigence on what might be apprehended for the future, without blaming past proceedings, said, that whoever had counselled the queen to arrest the prince, had ruined the state. The queen replied, that she was astonished to hear him speak in that manner ; and that he must certainly have lost his reason, since he did not remember what he himself had said to the king and her but three days before. These words threw him into such confusion that he withdrew immediately, to the great astonishment of all the lords who were present. His wife endeavoured afterwards to excuse him, by alledging that it was the terrors he laboured under at that time which had forced him to speak so, having been informed that the princes and nobles of the prince of Condé’s party had resolved to murder him, through a suspicion that he was the cause of the prince’s detention, by the discoveries he had made of their design.”

Ibid. p. 94.

WITHOUT examining here whether the duke of Sully contradicted himself in the advice he gave the queen at these two different times, we shall grant that the resolution they had taken to arrest the prince of Condé, was both prudent and necessary; and the inference I shall draw from these circumstances is, that the minister never swerved from his attachment to the interest of the king and the public good, on any occasion so favourable to the protestant party, where he himself ran great risks.

HE observed the same conduct during the rest of his life. He was invested with the king's authority in the assemblies of Rouen and Loudun: he supported, like a good citizen and a loyal subject, his majesty's party against the protestants, when the war was declared under the administration of cardinal Richelieu: he was present at the siege of Montauban and other encounters: he even performed all the functions of grand-master of the ordnance at the siege of St. Jean D'Angely, and the train of artillery there was furnished and conducted with the greatest care. He kept this office till his death, although the writer of the duke of Bouillon's life says that it was taken from him. Lewis XIII. gave him a marshal's staff, September 18, 1634. The preceding year Pope Urban VIII. wrote him a letter in Latin, to which M. de Sully sent an answer by his grand-son the prince of Henrichemont, and which produced a second brief from the Pope, in Latin likewise, dated July 16, 1633.

IN the same year he lost the marquis de Rosny, his eldest son, whose conduct had been a continual source of affliction to him, not only because the marquis followed none of the wise counsels he gave him, and joined himself to the enemies of the state, but because the duke of Sully felt, in more ways than one, the extreme disorder of his son's affairs. And here it is necessary we should give some account of the duke of Sully's domestic concerns, which will serve to explain several parts of these Memoirs where the marquis of Rosny is mentioned, and particularly what is said of him in the twenty-ninth book.

THE duke of Sully, besides two daughters, the eldest of whom was married to the duke of Rohan, and the youngest to the marquis of Mirepoix, had three sons; Maximilian de Bethune, marquis of Rosny, he had by his first wife Anne de Courtenay; and Cæsar and Francis de Bethune, by his second Rachel de Cochefilet. The great estates he was possessed of being acquired since his second marriage, the children by that

that marriage seemed intitled to the largest share of them; nevertheless, the duke of Sully thinking himself obliged to secure to the marquis de Rosny such an estate as might enable him to support the grandeur of his house, of which he was the eldest, to the posts of grand-master of the ordnance, superintendant of the fortifications, and to the governments of Mante and Gergeau, the reversion of which he obtained for him, and which he estimated at sixty thousand livres a year, he added, among other gifts, a donation of lands producing a yearly revenue of fifty thousand livres, consisting of the duchy of Sully, the marquise of Rosny, the principality of Henrichemont and Boisbelle, with all their dependencies, the property of which, however, he reserved to himself during his life. The deed of entail, which is dated March 17, 1609, has in it this singular clause: "That on the supposition that none of those, whether male or female, chose to fulfil the
 "aforesaid terms and conditions, the said lord, who makes this settlement, gives, by the present writing, the aforesaid lands to the king or
 "his descendants, according to their seniority, on condition that the
 "said lands shall never be disunited from the crown; and that he who
 "shall possess them, if he be not the king or the king's eldest son,
 "shall be obliged, and his descendants after him, together with his
 "own name and arms, to bear the surname and arms of Bethune."

BUT afterwards being solicitous to prevent any occasion for disunion in his family, M. de Sully the following year made two other donations and conveyances of his other possessions in the same form, and by an act of the same kind, in favour of Cæsar and Francis de Bethune his youngest sons: namely, of the land and lordship of Villebon to Cæsar; and to Francis de Bethune, called count of Orval, of the lands of Montrond, Orval, Bruyeres, Epincuil, Beauchefal, La-Roche-Guillebaut, and Le-Châtelet, in Berry. The value of each of these donations is estimated at ten thousand livres a year. It is there stipulated that the fortifications, arms, ammunition and furniture, as well those which were in all these castles when the donation was made, as those which should be found there at the death of the duke of Sully, should be comprehended in the donation; and if either of his two sons, to whom they were made over, should die without heirs, his portion was to go intire to the survivor. This happened four years after; for, Cæsar de Bethune dying unmarried in 1614, the count of Orval re-united in himself the two articles of conveyance. In 1620 his father married him to Jacqueline de Caumont, daughter of the grand-marshal de La-Force, and grand-daughter of the:

the first marshal Biron; and he confirmed, by the marriage contract, the act of entail, made in the year 1610.

BEFORE and after the duke of Sully had made these dispositions of his estates, the marquis of Rosny continued to hold his possessions jointly with his father. This community of goods was wholly to the advantage of the son, his mother's estate alone being not sufficient to supply his expences: but it exposed the duke of Sully to the prosecution of his son's creditors. The duke paid his debts several times; but they became so considerable, by the prodigality and the bad management of the marquis of Rosny, that he took a resolution, at length, to leave him to himself. Such was the beginning of his domestic troubles.

THIS was soon followed by others more considerable; for after the death of the marquis of Rosny, his creditors, taking the advantage of the community of goods, made an attempt to seize upon some of the possessions of the duke of Sully. The prince of Henrichemont*, his grandson, joined with them to annul these conveyances, in which he was greatly assisted by the circumstances the duke of Sully was then in, who, to get himself clear of the prince of Condé, had been obliged to do and undo many establishments, and had gained and sold, and gained again at several times, a great part of the lands contained in those conveyances; such as, Villebon, Montrond, &c. This kept the duke of Sully in continual perplexity with disputes and law-suits, part of which, however, were amicably settled by the marriage of the prince of Henrichemont with the daughter of the chancellor Seguier†, in the year 1639; upon which the duke of Sully, who was then upon good terms with the prince of Condé, having Villebon restored, and all his other acquisitions secured to him, made over again, in the year 1640, a new conveyance, confirming the former, by which he gave other lands, in the place of those that might be alienated.

THE discontent of the prince of Henrichemont broke out again upon this new conveyance, and set on foot a law-suit, of which Lewis XIII. and his first minister took the cognizance to themselves, and which continued during the years 1640 and 1641; the petitions and principal

* Maximilian-Francis de Bethune, the third of that name, duke of Sully, prince of Henrichemont and Boisselle, marquis of Rosny, lieutenant-general for the government of Dauphiny and the Pais-Vexin,

governor of Mante and Meulan: he died in 1661.

† Charlotte Seguier, daughter of the chancellor Seguier.

pieces of this suit have been printed: the duke of Sully complains there bitterly, that his grandson and the chancellor Seguier, who supported him, sought to take advantage of some failures in the formalities of the settlements, unavoidable perhaps in affairs so long and so complicated. But it would be improper here to enter into a discussion of this point of the law. Supposing that all possible right was not on the side of the duke of Sully, yet it must be confessed, that the voice of nature, and a principle of gratitude, ought to have carried it in favour of a man who had raised his family to such a degree of splendor: however that may be, the duke of Sully had the mortification to find himself, by a decree of council given in December, 1641, obliged to revoke his conveyance of four of those estates which had been given in the room of the former that had been alienated. He was then eighty-two years old, and it is probable that, jealous as he was of the paternal authority, and convinced in his own mind, that in all he had done he had exactly followed the laws of equity, this stroke affected him so sensibly, that it contributed to shorten his life: he died eight days afterwards at Villebon, December 22, 1641.

His bowels were put into a kind of leaden urn, and deposited in the vault of the collegiate church of Saint-Anne in Villebon, and upon the vault over it this inscription:

*Here lie the bowels of the most high, most puissant, and most illustrious lord,
Maximilian de Bethune, duke of Sully, peer and marshal of France.*

His body was to be carried to Aumône, or Hotel Dieu of Nogent, but the mausoleum which was erecting for him there, not being finished, it was laid in a leaden coffin, and placed in the duke of Sully's chamber in the castle of Villebon, where he died. The ceilings, the floors, and walls of this apartment, were hung with black cloth: it was left there exposed to view, under a canopy of black velvet, with bands of silver stuff, and the arms of Bethune at the four corners.

IN the mean time, the duchess of Sully caused a closet to be built in the lower gallery of the castle of Villebon, in order to place a statue in it, which she designed to erect to the memory of her husband; and for this purpose she bought a block of white marble, the finest that could be procured, and sent for one of the most excellent sculptors of that time from Italy. In the front of this closet is written, in large characters, the ten commandments, as they stand in the book of Exodus; on one of the sides, the epitaph of the deceased; upon the other, his

coat

coat of arms, with all the ensigns of his office; the top, and all the rest of the closet, is filled with pictures, emblems, and mottos, which it is not necessary to describe here: it is enlightened by a long window, which takes up the farther end. The statue is placed in the midst of the closet, standing upon a pedestal of white marble likewise; it is a little larger than the life, and represents the duke of Sully, armed from his neck to his feet, with a crown of laurel upon his head, and the ducal mantle on his shoulders; in his right hand, stretched out, he holds the marshal's staff; and his left is leaning upon his coat of arms: the marshal's staff, as well as his casque, adorned with a plume of feathers, which lies at the left side of the statue, are cut out of the same block. This whole piece is so beautiful and so highly finished, that it may vie with the ancient monuments of Greece and Rome. Over the door of the closet is written, in cartouche:

Rachel de Cocheflet, Duchess Dowager of Sully, after the death of Maximilian de Bethune, Duke of Sully, her husband, with whom she lived forty-nine years in marriage, to honour his memory, and in testimony of her grief for his loss, has erected this statue, in the year 1642.

THE body of this lady being, after her death, deposited by that of her husband, the mausoleum, which we are going to describe, was common to them both: it is a round chapel, built on the side of that of Saint James de l'Aumône, or the Hospital of Nogent, called from their name Nogent le Bethune; it has no communication with the church, because the duke and duchess of Sully were so unhappy as to die in the principles of the pretended reformed religion. Under this chapel is a vault, where both their bodies are interred. The walls on the inside of this chapel are adorned with the coats of arms and alliances of the house of Bethune; the dome is only coloured with a plain blue, sprinkled with flowers de luce: the effigies of the duke and duchess are of white marble, as large as the life; they are kneeling upon a pedestal, three feet in height, with their faces turned towards the east: by an inscription upon the pedestal we are told, that this work, which is very well executed, was the performance of B. Boudin, in the year 1642. Behind the statue of the duke of Sully, is this inscription:

Here lies the body of the most high, most puissant, and most illustrious, Lord, Maximilian de Bethune, Marquis of Rosny, who shared in all the fortunes of king Henry the Great, among which was that memorable battle which gave the crown to the Victor; where by his valour, he gained

gained the white standard, and took several prisoners of distinction. He was by that Great Monarch, in reward of his many virtues and distinguished merit, honoured with the dignities of Duke, Peer, and Marshal of France, with the governments of the Upper and Lower Poitou, with the office of Grand Master of the Ordinance, in which, bearing the thunder of his Jupiter, he took the castle of Montmelian, till then believed impregnable, and many other fortresses of Savoy; he was likewise made Superintendant of the Finances, which office he discharged singly with a wise and prudent economy, and continued his faithful services till that unfortunate day when the Cæsar of the French nation lost his life by the hand of a parricide. After the lamented death of that great King, he retired from publick affairs, and passed the remainder of his life in ease and tranquillity. He died at the castle of Villebon, December 22, 1641, aged eighty-two years.---Here also lies the most high, most puissant, and most illustrious lady, Madame Rachel de Cochefflet, his wife, who died at Paris in the ninety-seventh year of her age, in the year 1659.

THE way to this chapel is through a long court, planted with a walk of elms; at the entrance of which is a portal, of very beautiful architecture, with the arms of the house of Bethune in raised work, and all the additions belonging to the arms of the duke of Sully. The house of Bethune bears *d'argent, facé de gueules*, supported by two savages armed with clubs.

BEFORE Villebon was restored to the duke of Sully, he divided his residence between Sully, La Chapelle-d'Angillon, which is a very fine house and barony dependent on the duchy of Sully, and Rosny, which of all his houses, he most embellished, as he reckoned upon this being always kept in his family: he was building the wings when he had the misfortune to lose the king, his benefactor; and, as a witness of his grief for that loss, he left those wings imperfect, and in the same condition they were in at the time of that sad event. But when he became again possessed of Villebon, the beauty of that castle, its situation in a most agreeable country, its contiguity to Paris, for Villebon is not more than twenty leagues distant from that city, and the advantage of being in the center of several great estates which he had purchased with the money arising from the sale of those he had been obliged to part with to the prince of Condé; all these considerations determined him to fix his stay there during six whole months of the year, which were the autumn and the winter: he used, in the spring,

to make some short journies to Sully; but that place was become very disagreeable to him, on account of the conduct of his eldest son: the rest of the year he passed at La Chapelle-d'Angillon, at Rosny, and his other estates.

THE life he led in his retreat was accompanied with decency, grandeur, and even majesty; such as might be expected from a character so grave and so full of dignity as his. Besides a great many gentlemen and pages, by whom he was attended, and ladies and maids of honour about the person of the dukes of Sully, he had one company of guards, with their officers, and another of Swiss; and so great a number of domestics, that there are but few examples of subjects who have kept so grand and so numerous an household. Monsieur, the present duke of Sully, has conversed with the son of an ancient surgeon belonging to his ancestor the duke of Sully, the last of this branch, who died at the age of eighty-eight years, and who was about fourteen when the duke of Sully, of whom we are speaking, died: this man told him, that he had accompanied his father in his visits to the sick in the castle of Villebon; and had reckoned fourscore of them, without perceiving that the service of the house suffered the least disorder or delay upon that account.

M. de Sully always continued his custom of rising very early in the morning; after some time spent in prayers and reading, he set himself to work with his four secretaries: this work consisted in putting his papers in order, in digesting his Memoirs, in answering the several letters he received, in regulating his domestic affairs, and, lastly, in taking cognizance of those which related either to his governments or his posts; for he continued, till his death, governor of the Upper and Lower Poitou and of Rochelle, grand master of the ordnance, grand surveyor of France, and superintendent of the fortifications. He usually passed the whole morning in these occupations; except that he sometimes went out to take the air half an hour or an hour before dinner; they then rung a great bell which was upon the bridge, to give notice that he was going out; the greatest part of his household ranged themselves on each side, from the bottom of the stair-case to the door of his apartment; his equeries, gentlemen, and officers, walked before him, preceded by two Swiss with their halberts; the duke came next, with some of his friends and relations on each side of him, with whom he conversed; then followed the officers of his French and Swiss guards; and the procession was always closed by four Swiss.

AT his return, he went into the hall, where he dined: this was a very large room, in which he had caused the most memorable actions of his own life, together with those of Henry the Great, to be painted; at the upper end of the table two armed chairs were placed for the duke and duchess; all his children, married as well as unmarried, of whatever rank or dignity, had only stools; for at that time, the subordination between parents and their children was so great, that they were not permitted to sit in their presence, without being commanded to do so. His table was served with taste and magnificence; he admitted to it none but the nobility in his neighbourhood, some of the principal gentlemen, and the ladies and maids of honour who belonged to the duchess of Sully: except his guests, all the company retired as soon as the dessert was brought in. After dinner they withdrew into a cabinet adjoining to the hall where they dined: this was called the cabinet of illustrious men, because it was adorned with the portraits of popes, kings, princes, and other great and celebrated persons, from whom he had received them; many of these portraits are still to be seen at Villebon.

IN another adjoining hall magnificently furnished, the captain of his guards had a second table, served with almost as much grandeur as the first; here sat the younger sort, and indeed those only whom, on account of the disproportion of age, he chose not to receive at his own table. The present duke of Sully has been told by several persons of quality, that when they have accompanied their fathers in the visits they made to his ancestor, he kept only them at his own table, saying to the young men, *You are not old enough to eat with us, we should grow weary of one another.*

WHEN he had staid some time with the company, he retired to his own apartment, where for two or three hours he employed himself in the same manner as in the morning. If the season and the weather permitted it, he took a walk in the afternoon, attended with the same train as before: he often went into his gardens, and passing through a little covered alley, which separated the flower from the kitchen garden, ascended by a stone stair-case (which the present duke of Sully has caused to be destroyed) into a large walk of linden trees, upon a terrace on the other side of the garden. It was then the taste to have a great number of narrow walks, very closely shaded with four or five rows of trees or palisades: here he used to sit upon a settee painted green, and

large enough to hold two persons, and leaning his elbows upon a large grated window, which has been lately taken away likewise, amused himself with beholding, on the one side, an agreeable landscape; and on the other, a second alley, on a terrace, extremely beautiful which furrounded a large piece of water, called the New Pond, and terminated by a wood of lofty trees, called the Great Park. In this park also he used sometimes to walk, and often was drove about it in his chariot or coach, with the duchess his wife. The interval between these airings and supper, he spent in the same occupations as the morning: at supper, the same form was observed as at dinner: after which, every one retired to their respective apartments.

THE duke of Sully, on account of his religion, could not be admitted into any order: he therefore made one for himself. In the inventory of his effects there were several diamond rings for that use. He wore about his neck, and more especially after the death of Henry IV. a chain of gold or diamonds, to which hung a large gold medal which had in relieve the figure of that great prince. He used often to take this medal out of his bosom, stop, and contemplate it, and then kiss it with the utmost reverence and affection: he never would quit it, not even when he went to court, any more than his ancient dress, which he always preserved, for he would not subject himself to the change of fashions. It is well known what happened to him one day when he went to court in consequence of a message from Lewis XIII. "Monsieur de Sully, said the young prince to him, I sent for you as being one of the chief ministers of the king my father, and a man in whom he placed great confidence, to ask your advice, and to confer with you upon some affairs of importance." The duke of Sully seeing none but young courtiers about the king, who, to make their court to the constable de Luynes, ridiculed his dress and the gravity of his manners, made this answer: "Sire, I am too old to change my habits, but for some good cause. When the late king your father, of glorious memory, did me the honour to send for me to confer with me upon matters of importance, the first thing he did was to send away the buffoons." The young king seemed not to disapprove of this freedom: he ordered every one to withdraw, and remained alone with M. de Sully.

THE most exact order, subordination, and peace, reigned throughout his numerous household: no person knew better how to make himself be served, respected, and obeyed, than the duke of Sully.

The

The catholics in his service saw no difference between his treatment of them and his protestant domestics, except the great care he took to oblige the former to an exact performance of all the duties of good roman catholics. This was one effect of that esteem, and even inclination, which, in the course of these Memoirs, he has always shown for the true religion, and which would probably have led him to embrace it, but for the considerations he there mentions. The misfortune was, that, being persuaded he could work out his salvation in either of the two religions, he was too much governed by his own delicacy, which would not suffer him to have the appearance of being swayed either by ambition or interest, in taking a resolution which would have gratified both in so high a degree. All his children, except the duchess of Rohan, died in the bosom of the roman church.

THE duchess his wife, although brought up in the principles of the roman catholic religion, quitted it after the death of M. de Châteaupers her first husband, to marry the duke of Sully. The lords of Villebon had, in the church of that parish, which is a collegiate, a chapel on the side next the castle, which they caused to be demolished, and built in its place two galleries, of which the lower one was so inclosed, that those who were within could not be seen by the congregation; and the one above, to which the ascent is by a little stair-case of wood, is also obscured by a grate. It is publicly known, that the two duchesses, of Sully and Rohan, came often into the lower gallery to hear the psalms during the canonical hours. They washed with their own hands all the linen that was used in the service of the altar. The present duke of Sully heard this circumstance from Catherine de La-Porte, one of his ancestors. This lady, who lived a long time with the duchess of Rohan, her aunt, heard from her an anecdote which no one at that time was ignorant of, namely, that the duke of Sully always gave a most gracious reception to the capuchins that visited him, and had so great an esteem for them, that during his last sickness, and a few days before he died, he desired to confer with some of these religious; but that, when they presented themselves for that purpose upon the bridge of the castle, the duchess of Sully gave orders that they should not be admitted, and threatened to have them thrown into the moat.

THIS lady employed her time in regulating the interiour of her household; in having leases drawn out, and the accounts of the farmers and receivers given in; and always visited the several estates of her husband, when necessary. In her leisure hours she amused herself with
working

working tapestry and embroidery with her ladies and maids of honour. The beauty and elegance of her work is still admired in some pieces of tapestry that remain in the possession of the duke of Sully, out of a great number which have been either lost or carried into other families.

THE works of the duke of Sully are more durable. Besides all the other monuments of his liberality, of which we have had occasion to speak, he has immortalised his memory by a great number of fine buildings in several parts of the kingdom, particularly in his government of Poitou. He would, if he had continued in the administration till his death, have procured all the roads in that province to have been made easy and commodious for travelling. It was he who caused that magnificent bridge and causeway to be built at Châtelleraut, which is still to be seen there.

THERE was scarce one of his estates, those especially which had castles on them, where he did not leave marks of his magnificence, to which he was chiefly incited by a principle of charity, and a regard to the public good. He built most part of the Hôtel Dieu of Nogent. This city and lordship, which was distinguished by the surname of Nogent-Le-Rotrou, was by the prince of Condé's erecting it into a duchy, called D'Enguien; but, when it came into the possession of the duke of Sully, it lost both these names, and was called the earldom of Nogent-le-Bethune. He at first designed to carry on very considerable buildings in the castle of this city, but he met with so many obstacles from the religious of St. Denis, that he was determined to turn all his views upon Villebon. Messieurs D'Estouteville, to whom that house had formerly belonged, had left it built only up to the first story: he raised it and completed it after the model of the Bastile, of which he was governor, but with more beauty. The front presents three sets of chambers covered with slates between the towers. The towers have flat roofs, covered with lead, with pinacles, and the battlements alternately round and pointed; the spouts are of the same metal with cast cannon, and the inner spouts which receive those of the corners of the house, are likewise of cast metal, eight feet high, terminating in dolphins heads. The grand stair-case is extremely large and luminous. At the first story is a large room, with the beams and joints gilt; as likewise the chimney, which is of beautiful workmanship. The apartments are very numerous, and have their chimneys gilt, and the greatest part of their pannels. The park is enclosed with stone walls, and contains a great number of pools and reservoirs. The gardens, which
join

join the house on three sides, the courts, and court-yards, are all the work of the duke of Sully.

To give employment to the poor, who offered themselves during a famine, and whom he thought it no real charity to support in idleness, he made a pond about seven hundred and twenty yards long, and a hundred and twenty broad. This he called Chapel Pond. The earth which was dug out, he threw up into four terraces parallel to the canal, which reach to the new pond, another piece of water above the Chapel Pond. Between these terraces and the canal, were two levels of turf, which the present duke of Sully had cut into squares, into grass plats and bowling-greens. All those who offered were set to work indifferently, even to little children, some of whom did not carry, at a time, more than half a pound of earth: and for this purpose an infinite number of hand-carriages of all sizes had been provided. To each of these poor people was given in the morning a piece of bread; at dinner-time a dish of soup; and at supper-time another piece of bread: together with wages in money in proportion to their age and labour. This work, which the duke of Sully never would have undertaken merely for the decoration of his house, cost him fourscore thousand livres.

EVERY body knows that he built the castle of Rosny completely, surrounded it with dry ditches extremely wide, where, when batteries were placed, the shot crossed each other in a surprizing manner; a thing very rare at that time. He raised that fine terrace which runs across the sea to a prodigious extent, and those great gardens filled with groves and grottoes with water-works.

HE embellished Sully with gardens, of which the plants are the finest in the world; and with a canal, very long and very broad, which is supplied with fresh water by the little river of Sangle, which he turned that way, and which afterwards is lost in the Loire. He erected a machine to convey the water to all the basins and fountains, of which the gardens are full. The machine is yet in being; but the water-works have been suffered to go to ruin. With regard to the castle, he had it covered with slates: he wainscoted, painted, and gilt, almost all the apartments, and worked in the walls the galleries which pass from the little lodges, at the gate, to the main castle. The court-yard, and a second court-yard, which was formerly called the Little Park, are likewise his work. There are, in this second court, several eminences,

cies, or enormous heaps of earth, which appear plainly to be the work of men. This expence, which produced no good, and of which the effect is even disagreeable, might surprize those who do not know that the duke of Sully had no other way of supporting a multitude of poor people who demanded work in a time of scarcity. St. Ithier was anciently a little church, almost close to the castle: he removed it to the middle of a city, where he built, at his own cost, a very fine church covered with slate. I shall not mention several other works for which this city is obliged to him: among others, an hospital, which he founded there.

THE principal apartment of this castle, is that which he fitted up in memory of Henry the Great, and which is called, for that reason, the King's apartment. He determined to leave another monument of his gratitude to this great prince, in the great hall of Sully. This hall, which, next to that of Montargis, is the largest in France, has a prospect of the Loire. Henry IV. is there painted, in a picture of the first size, upon a very fine sorrel horse. This is the most perfect, and the most like, of all the pictures of that prince. It is hung over the chimney, which is uncommonly large, adorned with carved work, and covered, both on the front and the sides, with squares of painting, containing each an emblem or a device relating either to the king or the duke of Sully. One of these pieces has something singular: it is in the front, where the sun is represented casting a weak and pale light, with the moon below it, shining with extraordinary brightness; and lower yet, the earth, which seems obscured by the great brightness of the moon. This is the only emblem that has no motto; and may be therefore supposed to contain something mysterious.

THE duke of Sully likewise repaired and enlarged the castle of La-Chapelle D'Angillon, built by mademoiselle D'Albert: he embellished it with gardens and terraces, and a park about two hundred and thirty acres, surrounded with stone walls, which, tho' strongly built, are now almost ruined by the negligence of his successors. Facing the meadow is a great terrace, remarkable for its height and length, all faced with hewn stone, with pilasters of brick and stone from space to space, which contributed at once to the strength and beauty of the work. At the foot of this terrace was a mean church, which the duke of Sully pulled down and rebuilt, with great expence and magnificence, at the foot of the citadel of La-Chapelle, of which he is considered not only as the lord, but as the founder.

THE castle of Montigny is indebted to him, among other embellishments, for a fine avenue of trees; and, behind the house, a wall or kind of court, very agreeable, with four rows of elms.

To conclude, it was he that built, and cut in the rock, the famous castle of Montrond, which was long considered as impregnable. The way to it was by a winding path, very broad, cut likewise in the rock; as were also the out-works of the palace, within which there was a well never dry, and sheltered against all violence from without. The prince of Condé, as has been already shown, obliged the duke of Sully to give him up Montrond, which, in the times of confusion, was his principal fortrefs against the king, whose army was stopped by it eighteen months, and at last took it only by stratagem; after which the fortifications were blown up, and the place destroyed.

END OF THE MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

THE
T R Y A L
OF
FRANCIS MARYLAND
IN THE
Matter of King Henry IV. 1679.

IN SENATE, FEBRUARY 18, 1879.
REPORT OF THE
COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE,
IN ANSWER TO A RESOLUTION PASSED
BY THE SENATE, FEBRUARY 18, 1879.
ALBANY: J. B. WHITTAKER, STATE
PRINTING OFFICE, 1879.

THE
LAND OFFICE
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN ANSWER TO A RESOLUTION PASSED
BY THE SENATE, FEBRUARY 18, 1879.
ALBANY: J. B. WHITTAKER, STATE
PRINTING OFFICE, 1879.

THE
T R Y A L
OF
FRANCIS RAVAILLAC,
FOR THE
Murder of King HENRY IV. 1610.

INTERROGATORIES *exhibited to the accused of the murder of the late king, on the 17th of May, 1610. at the suit of the attorney-general, by* ACHILLES DE HARLAY, *first president; NICOLAS POTIER, president; JOHN COURTIN and PROSPER BAVIN, counsellors of our lord the king in his court of parliament, commissioners appointed by the said court for that purpose.*

THE prisoner sworn; and asked his name, age, rank, and place of abode?
He said, that his name was Francis Ravaillac, born and dwelling at Angoulême, between thirty-one and thirty-two years of age.

He was asked if he was married?

He answered, No.

Whether he ever had been married?

He answered, No.

THE TRYAL OF RAVAILLAC.

How he had spent his youth ? and to what he had applied himself ?
He said, that he had been employed in soliciting law-suits in this court.

Whether he had been bred up to the practice of the law ?

He said, that he had solicited law-suits for fourteen years ; that he lodged at the Rats, opposite to the Green pillar, in Harp-street, at a cobler's ; and near the three pair of beads, in Calender-street.

How long he had been in this city the last journey ?

He said about three weeks.

Whether he has had any intention to go back again ?

He said, Yes.

How far he had gone back ?

He said, he had gone beyond the town of d'Estampes, at the sign of the *Ecce Homo*.

He was asked, what made him return ?

He said, a desire to kill the king.

He was asked, what was his motive ?

He answered, that among other reasons there was this, that the king had not, as he was able to do, brought back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic, apostolic, and roman church.

He was asked, what other reasons he had ?

He answered, that he was come to this city to speak to the king, and admonish him to bring back those of the pretended reformed religion to the catholic church ; and for that purpose he had been several times at the Louvre to meet with his majesty ; that he had been at madame d'Angoulême's, to get somebody to introduce him ; and likewise at the house of the cardinal Du-Perron, to whom he never spoke, but only to his chaplains, whose names he could not tell, but should know them if he saw them ; that he spoke of it to father Daubigny, a jesuit, in his last journey, which was before Christmas ; he spoke of it to the parson of Saint Severin, and to the father Saint-Mary-Magdalen, provincial of the feuillants.

It was asked him, where he spoke to father Daubigny ?

He said, he spoke to him in the church of Saint-Antony's-street, at the conclusion of mass.

He was asked, at what time he talked to him ?

He said, that he set out from his own country thirteen days before Christmas ; that he was fourteen days coming to this city ; that three or four days after his arrival, he went to the house of Jesuits near Saint-Antony's gate, where the said father Daubigny said mass ; after which, he desired one of the lay-brothers to procure him the means

of speaking to the said Daubigny ; which he did ; and he told him several visions which had preceded the meditations that he had made by the permission of his provincial Francis Mary Magdalen of the feuillants.

He was asked, why he used the expression, *My provincial* ?

He said, because the said Mary Magdalen had received him as lay-brother at the feuillants.

It was asked, how long he had wore the habit of a feuillant ? and why he had quitted it ?

He said, that he had worn it about six weeks ; and they had taken it from him, because he had visions in his meditations.

On being asked again about it, he said he had desired it again, but it was refused him on account of the said meditations.

Upon this he began to weep, and said, God had given him that habit, and his grief was, that they would not restore it to him.

He was asked, if he knew the superior, and his name ?

He said, that he did not know him nor his name ; but that he had asked for the habit again, only because it being our Lord's pleasure that he should continue in the world, from which it was his wish to retire, he resolved to serve as a lay-brother.

This he uttered with tears.

He said, that he had a great deal of uneasiness, in not having staid with the feuillants in the favour of God.

He was asked, what visions he had spoke of to father Daubigny ?

He said, that he had told him, that while he was a prisoner for debt at Angoulême he had visions, representing fire, sulphur, and incense ; and being released from prison, the Saturday after Christmas, having at night made his meditation, as was his custom, in bed, with his hands clasped, and his feet crossed, he felt his face and his mouth covered with something which he could not discern, because it was midnight ; and being in that state, he felt in himself a desire to sing the Psalms of David ; he begun the psalm, *Dixit Dominus*, and sung it through ; and afterwards, *Miserere*, and *De profundis*, at full length ; and that it seemed to him, that he had a trumpet in his mouth, which made a sound as loud as that which is made in war.

The next day in the morning, as soon as he got out of bed, having made his meditation on his knees, and recollected in God, as his manner was, he sat down in a low chair before the hearth, and having combed his head, it being not yet light, he perceived one of the sticks yet on fire ; and having finished dressing himself, he found part of a bundle of twigs, which he put to the stick that had kept fire, and kneeling.

kneeling down upon the ground, set himself to blow it, when immediately, on both sides of his face, both to the right and to the left, he saw, by the glimmering of the fire which was produced by his breath, hosts like those which are used at the communion of catholics in the church of God; and below his face, at the right side of his mouth, he saw a roll of the same size with that which the priest elevates at the celebration of divine service. Of this revelation he gave an account to father Daubigny, who, fearing that his head was disordered, told him, that he was not to think of all this, but to tell his beads, and pray to God: but that he was determined in his own mind to address himself to some great man to speak to the king.

It was enquired, if he had asked Daubigny whether, if he should have visions that incited him to kill the king, he ought to confess them?

He answered, that he had said nothing to him but what he had already told, except that his purpose was to speak to the king to drive out all the followers of the pretended reformed religion, and convert them to the roman catholic church.

It was asked, what Daubigny said to this?

He said, that he should put all these things out of his head, say his prayers, and tell his beads.

It was asked, whether he had no other conversation with him? and whether he never saw him but that time?

He answered, No.

Why did he chuse to address himself to Daubigny rather than to any other?

He answered, that it was because, when he was turned out of the feuillants, he had a mind to become a jesuit, or to entreat him to speak to his provincial to replace him among the feuillants; but that, not having found him the first time, one of the lay brethren told him, that they never receive in their house those who had been in another order.

He said farther, that, not having been able to speak to the king, he went back to the jesuits to speak a second time to the said Daubigny, and spoke to him as he has already said, and shewed him a little knife on which there was a heart and a cross, telling him, that the heart of the king should be disposed to make war amongst the huguenots.

He was asked, what hindered him from speaking to the king?

He said, that it was the grand provost who had given him the torture with the gun while he was kept prisoner at the Hôtel de Retz.

He was asked to whom he had applied himself that he might speak with the king?

He said, to the archers, and they carried him to speak to the provost, who told him that the king was sick.

He was asked, when he was at the Louvre?

He said, that it was after Christmas, and some two or three days afterwards he met his majesty near St. Innocent's in his coach, and, desiring to speak to him, he cried out in these words: *Sire, I speak to you in the name of our Lord Jesus, and of the Holy Virgin*; but the king put him back with a little stick, and would not hear him. He then considered of retiring into his own country, and went away. And, being at Angoulême, he went to look for friar Gilles there, who had been formerly visitor of the franciscan friars in Paris, to whom he confessed his visions and meditations, telling him, that he saw it to be the will of our Lord to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic church: that the visitor told him he need not doubt of it. A few days afterwards, and the first Sunday in Lent, he went to mass at the monastery of the franciscan friars in Angoulême, where he reconciled himself with God, made his confession to a friar of the order, whose name he does not know, and in his confession told the voluntary murder.

He was desired to explain what he meant by the word *voluntary*?

He said, his meaning was, that he returned into this city with an intention to murder the king, which, nevertheless, he did not tell his confessor, who did not desire the meaning of those words.

Upon being further questioned, he said, that he then lost that intention, but that, when he returned to this city, he resumed his intention.

He was asked, when he came to the city?

He said, that he travelled on foot, and arrived eight days after his setting out.

He was asked, how he had employed himself during his stay in Paris?

He said, that he lodged at the Three Half Moons, in the suburbs St. James; and afterwards, that he might be near the Louvre, he went to lodge at the Three Pigeons, in the suburb St. Honore; from thence he went to take a lodging at an inn, near the *quinze vingts*, but, there being too many guests there, he was refused; upon which he took up a knife that lay upon a table, not upon account of his being refused a lodging, but because it seemed to him a very fit one for the execution.

execution of his design, and he kept it for some days, or three weeks, in a bag in his pocket.

He farther said, that, having desisted from his intention, he set out upon his journey home, and went as far as Estampes; that, as he was walking, he broke the point of the knife against a cart near the garden of Chanteloup, and, coming opposite to the *Ecce Homo*, of the suburb of Estampes, he again took it into his head to kill the king, and, no longer resisting the temptation as he had done formerly, he returned to Paris with that resolution, because the king did not convert the followers of the pretended reformation, and because he had heard it reported, that the king intended to make war upon the Pope, and transfer the seat of the holy see to Paris.

He was then asked, where he lodged? and who procured him lodgings in this city?

He said, that he sought for an opportunity to kill the king; and that, for this purpose, he sharpened, with a stone, the point of the knife which had been broke, and waited till the queen was crowned, and come back to the city, supposing that there would not be so much confusion in France, if he killed the king after the coronation, as if he had done it before.

He was told, that, since he deferred killing the king through a hope that there would be fewer commotions after the coronation, the said coronation could not prevent the troubles which the king's death must necessarily bring along with it.

He said, that he submitted to the will of God.

He was asked, where he went to meet the king?

He said, that he went to the Louvre, where he had been several times since he had resolved upon killing him; that he went there last Wednesday, and intended to kill him between the two gates, as he was going into his coach; that he followed him as far as St. Innocent's, near the place where he happened to meet him before, when he would not speak to him; and observing that the coach was stopt by two carts, and that his majesty turned his face and leaned towards that side where monsieur d'Epéron sat, he struck him twice in the side with his knife, passing his arm above the coach-wheel.

He was asked, what was his own opinion of the action he had committed?

He said, that he thought he had committed a great fault, for which he asked pardon of God, of the queen, the dauphin, the whole court, and of every one who was injured by it,

We shewed him the knife, which lay before us: it was double edged at the point, with the handle made of a stag's horn. He acknowledged it to be the same with which he had stabbed the king, and that it was immediately taken from him by a gentleman on horseback.

He was told, that he could have no reason for committing so wicked and traitorous an act, and that he had certainly been incited to it by some other person?

He said, that no person whatever had incited him to do it, but the common discourse among the soldiers, who said, that if the king, who would not tell his design to any one, intended to make war upon the Holy Father, that they would not assist him, although they were to die for it; that for this cause he yielded to the temptation which prompted him to kill the king, because he made war against God, in as much as the Pope is God, and God the Pope.

He was asked, what time it was that he heard this discourse amongst the soldiers?

He said, that it was after he went to lodge at the Three Half Moons.

It was objected to him, that he was guilty of a falsehood in declaring that to be the cause of his committing the parricide, because he had said before, that, having laid aside his design of killing the king, he set out on his journey to his own country; and that, when he came to Estampes, he resumed that design, upon the discourse of the soldiers.

He answered, that he had spoke to them before, notwithstanding which he had altered his intention; but, when he came to Estampes, he resumed it, upon remembering what the soldiers had said to him.

He desired us to shew him a paper which he had about him at the time he was seized, whereon was painted the arms of France, with a lion on each side; one holding a key, the other a sword. We shewed this paper to him, and he acknowledged it to be the same which he had brought with him from Angoulême, with an intention to kill the king.

He was asked, whether, when he was at the house of a man whose name was Beliard, he had heard the said Beliard say, that the Pope's nuncio had told the king, in the name of his holiness, that, if he made war, he would excommunicate him.

He said, Yes; and also that his majesty had answered, that it was his predecessors who had placed the Popes upon the throne; and that, if the Holy Father should excommunicate him, he would dispossess him of it; whereupon he resolved to kill the king, and with that intention he wrote these two lines over the lions:

*Ne souffre pas qu'on en ta presence
Au nom de Dieu aucune irreverence.*

Do not suffer the name of God to be prophaned in thy presence.

He was asked, whether the knife, when he took it off the table, had the same handle that it has now ?

He said, No : that the handle was of whalebone, which, being broke, he gave the knife to his landlord's brother, whose name was John Barbier, a turner by trade, living in the suburbs of St. James, and desired him to put a handle of horn upon it ; but he did not tell him why he preferred that to any other.

He was asked, if this Beliard was one of the pretended reformed religion ?

He said, No ; that he was a catholic : nevertheless he held that discourse with him which put it into his head to kill the king.

He was told, that he ought not to have taken so wicked and abominable a resolution upon the discourse of one man only.

He said, he had taken a resolution to kill the king, not only upon what he had heard this man say, but also upon the discourse of the soldiers at Paris, and that of the sieur de St. Gorges, among others, who said, that, if the king would make war upon the Holy Father, he would obey him, being thereto obliged ; and that, if the king did wrong, he only was to answer for it.

We shewed him a heart of Cost-mary root, which he acknowledged to have been taken from him ; and he said, it had been given him by monsieur Guillebaut, canon of Angoulême, to cure him of a fever, saying, that there was within it a little bit of wood of the real Holy Cross, consecrated by the capuchin friars, which had that virtue ; and for that purpose he had sent Mary Moseau, his landlady, to the capuchins for it, and ever since he had wore it about his neck.

We ordered it to be opened in his presence ; but there was no wood to be found in the inside.

Upon which he said, that it was not him who was deceived, but the person who gave it him.

We shewed him a pair of beads, which, he said, he had bought in St. James's-street seven or eight days ago ; that he had said his prayers with them, and wore them ever since constantly.

He was asked, what persons he kept company with after he had resumed his intention to kill the king ?

He said, he kept company with none but the friars of his own country, who are at the convent of the dominican friars, whither he used to go to hear mass and vespers.

He was asked, what discourse he had with them? and if he had spoke to them of his visions?

He said, that he had told them what he had told to others.

He was asked, if he was acquainted with a man whose name was Colletet? and what discourse they had together?

He said, that he knew him only by lodging in the same room with him; that they lay together, but that he had not spoke to him of his design.

He was asked, if he had any discourse with any other friars?

He said, not in this last journey.

If he had had any discourse with a franciscan friar of Angoulême?

He said, Yes: but that he had not spoke to him of his enterprize, and of his imaginations.

He was told, that he did not say the truth; for that he had spoke to him of his imaginations, asking his opinion whether he, who had such imaginations, ought to declare them to his confessor?

To this he answered, that he had not spoke to a franciscan of his own country, but to another whom he met near Bourg de La-Royre, with whom he joined company; and, because he had no acquaintance in this city, he gave him part of his own lodgings, and carried letters from his friends to procure him admission into the convent, that he also carried his bundle for him; and that the name of this friar was Le-Febure.

It was observed to him, that, during the reading of his examination, when the wounds he had given the king were mentioned, he had asked pardon of God for that crime, but that the true means to obtain it, was to acknowledge the truth; that his pretence for committing that action was so slight, that he must certainly have been prompted to it by some one who was concerned in the success of that miserable stroke, of which we feel the effects.

He said, that, since he has been under confinement, he had been urged by several persons to make this confession, and even by the archbishop of Aix; but that he had been prompted by no person whatever, but by his own desires; and that, however he might be tormented, he should never say any thing else; that, if torments could have forced him to confess, he had suffered sufficiently by the torture which a huguenot of his own private authority gave him, when he kept him prisoner at the Hôtel de Retz, by which he had the bone of his thumb broke.

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He was told, that he had been chose to commit this action as a proper instrument of mischief; he whose whole life had been wicked, and who had begun with using a father and a mother ill, and reducing them to beggary.

He said, that it would not be found so; and that his father and mother, who were still living, would witness the contrary, as well as the people where he dwelt; that he had been indeed accused and condemned for it, but it was by false witnesses; for he was innocent.

He was asked, when he was at Brussels?

He said, that he never was out of the kingdom; and that he did not know where Brussels is.

The examination being read to the said Ravailac, he persisted in his answers, and signed his name

RAVAILLAC.

The examination taken next morning, at the palace, by us the commissioners, the first president being sick.

THE prisoner being sent for as before, and his oath taken, He was asked, what was his rank and condition? and if he had a father or mother alive?

He said, that he is a practitioner of the law, and that, before his confinement, he employed himself in instructing youth; and that his father is likewise a practitioner of the law, and that his mother is separated from his father.

We having again ordered his examination to be read to him, he persisted in his answers, without adding or diminishing any thing, except only that he omitted saying, as he did now, that he had been carried to the commission of that crime, because the king would not permit justice to be done upon the huguenots, for the attempt they made last Christmas to murder all the catholics, for which attempt many of the huguenots had been taken prisoners, and brought into this city; yet he had been told, by several persons, were not punished.

He was told, that it was false; and that, although he had heard it, he should not have believed it, nor have been induced to commit a deed so wicked and abominable.

He said, that this was one of his circumstances which helped to strengthen the temptation.

He was told, that it was the advice and instruction of others which strengthened it.

He said, that no one was engaged in the design but himself.

He was asked, if he lived in the same country with his father and mother?

He said, that he lived with his father and mother, but that his father neither loved him nor his mother.

He was asked, how he maintained himself?

He said that he had eighty scholars, and that, with what he gained from them, he supported himself in the journeys he had made to this city.

He was asked, if his father and mother observed his conduct?

He said, that his father had not lived with them these six years; that he hated him; and that he had lived with his mother only, his sisters having likewise left her.

He was asked, what means he had of living?

He said, that his father and mother lived upon alms, and he himself upon what he gained from his scholars, one of whom gave him bacon, another flesh, another corn, wine, &c. and by what his friends furnished him with.

He was asked, who were his friends?

He said, that they were the fathers and mothers of his scholars.

He was asked, why he did not stay in his own country, since he could get a livelyhood there?

He said, that he thought he should prefer the honour of God to all things.

He was told, that it was not for the honour of God to kill his king, but that it was an act of the devil.

He said, that it was a wicked temptation, which did not proceed from God, but was a punishment to him for his sins.

He was asked, if he was not filled with horror at the commission of an act so abominable, and of so fatal consequence to all France?

He said, that he was sorry for having committed it, but that since it was done, he implored God to give him grace, that he might be able to continue till death in good faith, lively hope, and perfect charity; and that he hoped God was more merciful, and his will to save him more powerful, than the act which he had committed was to damn him.

He was told, that he could not be in the grace of God, after having committed so wicked an action.

He said, that he hoped our all-powerful Lord would not make him suffer for it.

He

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He was told, that he ought not to hope for the mercy of God, unless he acknowledged the truth, and declared who the persons were who had incited and persuaded him to so wicked a deed.

He said, that his only reason for committing it was, what he had declared before at his examination.

He was asked, if he had imparted his intention to any one.

He said, that he had not to any person whatever.

He was told, that he was too mean and inconsiderable a person to have conceived such a design, and that he must have been advised and supported by others.

He said, that no person advised him.

He was told, that he was so much the more wicked, if he undertook such an enterprize without being advised to it; therefore he would do well to declare who were his advisers.

To this he answered, that the reason why he did not declare this pernicious intention to priests, and men who have the care of souls, was, that he was well assured if he had disclosed to them his design of killing the king, it was their duty to seize his person, and put him into the hands of justice; since whenever the public is concerned, priests are obliged to reveal all confessions; for this reason therefore he would not open himself to any person, through a fear that he might be punished with death, as well for his intention of killing the king, as if he had really done it, for which he asked pardon of God.

He was told, that the church commands, that all evil thoughts should be revealed in confession, and to neglect it is a deadly sin.

He said, that he acknowledged this.

He was told, that he had mentioned it.

He said, he had not.

He was asked, if he had spoken of it to a franciscan friar?

He said, No.

He was told, that he did not speak the truth, for that he had mentioned it to a franciscan friar, asking him, whether, if a man had strange visions, such as to kill the king, he ought to declare them in his confession?

He said, that it was true he had consulted a friar upon this head, but did not tell him that he would do it.

He was asked, who it was that he consulted?

He said, a young franciscan friar, named Le-Febure, to whom he put this question, Whether if a man was assaulted with a temptation, such as to kill a king, and should confess it to the penitentiary, he should be under a necessity of revealing it? but being interrupted by another

another friar, he could not know the friar's opinion concerning the case that he put to him.

He was told, that he did not say the truth, and that the franciscan did make him an answer; and he was asked, if he would believe the franciscan if he owned it?

He said, that he would not believe him; but that it was his opinion, that if the friar had given him an answer, it was, that he ought to reveal his imaginations; but he was interrupted, and therefore would not give him an answer; neither did he, the accused, propose the question to him, as if he was the man who had the temptation, but in general, as if it should happen to any man.

He was told, that he did not acknowledge the truth, and that he did declare his intentions to him.

He said, that it was very unlikely that he should do so; that he had applied, as well to lay-men as to others, even to an equerry belonging to queen Margaret, whose name was De-Ferrare; he declared his visions to him, and intreated him to procure him an opportunity to speak to the king; that the equerry answered, he must first have proofs that he was a good man, and one who was fit to speak to the king: to which he, the accused, made answer, that he thought he was good enough to speak to the king. He added, that probably if he had spoke to his majesty, he would have lost his temptation. That he afterwards applied to the secretary of madame de Angoulême, who told him that the king was sick; yet he went again to the house of the cardinal Du-Perron, where he had the answer he formerly repeated, That he would do better to return to his own house.

He was told, that it was good counsel, and he ought to have followed it.

He said, that it was true, but he was so weakened by his sins that he had no power over himself; and that the devil made him fall into this temptation.

He was told, that the devil made use of others to tempt him.

He said, that no man had ever spoke to him on the subject.

He was told, that he could not hope for the grace of God, unless he discharged his conscience.

He said, that he had some fears, but he also had great hopes of the grace of God.

He was told, that he could not expect it but by declaring the truth.

He said, that if he had been employed by any one in France, or by a foreigner, and should be so abandoned by God as to die without declaring it; he should not believe that he would be saved, or that there would

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would be any paradise for him, because *abissus abissunt*, &c. as he had learned of the preachers of our Lord; that one abyfs of sins leads into others; that it was to double his crime, that the king, more especially the queen, the whole house of France, the court, the nobility, and all the people, should, on his account, be induced to offend God, while their minds remained in a perpetual inquietude, suspecting unjustly, sometimes one, sometimes another, of their subjects; none of whom, he believed, were so imprudent, as to entertain a thought of being disloyal to their princes.

He was told, that if that was his opinion, he ought the more readily to declare who had persuaded him to the crime.

He said, that no Frenchman, foreigner, or any other, had ever advised, persuaded, or spoke to him on this subject; neither had he, the accused, ever mentioned it to any one: he was not so wicked as to have committed that deed for any other cause than what he had declared to us, namely, that he believed the king intended to make war upon the Pope.

He was told, that this was a false pretence.

He said, that he was very sorry for what he had done, and that he earnestly begged of every one to lay aside their suspicions of his having been set on to murder the king, and to believe that he only was concerned in that deed; and that they would not look with an evil eye, or bear any one ill will, since he alone was guilty.

He was asked, if he had ever been in service?

He said, that he had served the late monsieur Rosieres, a counsellor of Angoulême; and that he had lived likewise with some attorneys, who are now dead.

He was asked, if he had ever served any nobleman, as a page, footman, or valet de chambre?

He said, that he had not; but when he lived with counsellor Rosieres, as his clerk, he likewise served him as a valet de chambre.

He was asked, if he had seen the coronation last Tuesday, and if he had followed the king?

He said, he had not.

He was asked, if he had been on the road to Saint-Denis?

He said, not this last journey, but at Christmas last, when he went to beg alms of the bakers.

He was asked, if he had been there last week?

He said, he had not gone farther than Saint-Jean-en-Greve, and le Pont Notre-Dame.

He was asked, if he had any magical characters about him? and who had given them to him?

He said, he should have thought it a wicked thing to have them.

His examination being read to him, he persisted in his answers, and signed his name,

RAVAILLAC.

Underneath which he wrote these lines:

*Que toujours en mon cœur,
Jesus soit le vainqueur.*

In my heart let Jesus be always conqueror.

Father James Daubigny, priest of the college of jesuits, was this day sent for into court by us the commissioners, in the presence of Ravaillac; both of them acknowledged the oaths they had taken.

THE said Ravaillac acknowledged, that the said father Daubigny was the person whom he had heard say mass some time after last Christmas, in their church in Saint Antony's street; that having been told he was the friend of father Mary Magdalen the feuillant, he went to seek him, to intreat him to procure his admission into that order; that after mass was over, he spoke to him by means of a lay brother, and declared to him, that he had great visions and imaginations, importing, that the king ought to reduce the followers of the pretended reformation; and that he shewed the said Daubigny a little knife, whereon was a heart and a cross; believing, that the king ought to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic and roman church.

The said Daubigny replied, that all this was false, and that he had never seen the said Ravaillac.

The said Ravaillac answered, by the same token you gave me a penny, which you asked of one that was near you.

To this the said Daubigny answered, that the prisoner was a very bad man; and after having committed so wicked an action, he had sins enough to answer for, without being the cause of an hundred thousand others, which might be committed.

The prisoner was then told, that if he had any objections to make to father Daubigny, he must make them immediately.

He said that he had none; that he looked upon the said father Daubigny to be an honest man, a good religious, and that he would believe him.

In like manner, the said Daubigny being told of the ordinance,

that he must make his objections to the prisoner immediately, for they would not afterwards be received.

He said, that he had nothing else to say, but that the prisoner was a very wicked man, and had uttered several falsehoods.

The examination of the said Daubigny being read in the presence of the said Ravaillac, he, the said Daubigny, persisted in his answers, and declared that they were true.

But the said Ravaillac declared, that he had spoke to the said Daubigny; that he went to look for him when he came out of the Louvre, and told him that he had temptations; and that when he was in prison making his meditations, by permission of father Mary Magdalen, his hands and feet had sent forth a stench of sulphur and fire; which were proofs of the existence of a purgatory, contrary to the erroneous opinion of heretics; that he had visions of the sacred hosts on each side of his face, having before sung the psalms of David; and, in a word, that he had related all those circumstances to him which he had declared to us the day before in his examination: and that the said Daubigny said to him, in answer, that he, the said Ravaillac, ought to apply to some great men to admonish the king: however, since he had not done it, it was more proper for him to pray to God, he being of opinion, that those visions he spoke of were merely imaginary, and the effects of a disordered brain, as might be perceived by his looks; that he ought to eat good soup, go to his own country, tell his beads, and pray to God.

To this the said Daubigny replied, that these were all dreams and lies.

We having caused the questions that were put to the said Ravaillac concerning the said Daubigny, with his answers, to be read to him in the presence of Daubigny, the said Ravaillac persisted in his answers, and declared that they were true.

The said Daubigny replied, that all which the said Ravaillac had deposed against him was false, as he had before declared to us.

Upon this, Ravaillac, being farther questioned, replied, that he had never seen the said Daubigny but that one time.

Their examination being read to them, they persisted in their answers, and signed their names.

The examination taken on the 19th of the said month of May, in the Morning, at the Palace, by us the commissioners.

THE said Ravaillac being brought into court, and his oath taken, he was required to declare, who those persons were that had prompted him to so wicked an undertaking.

He.

He said, that all which now remained for him to declare was, his intention and earnest desire to free himself from the load of his sins; that the whole nation was, upon his account, led to believe that he had been bribed by the enemies of France to kill the king, or by foreign kings and princes, who were desirous of aggrandising themselves, as was too common among the kings and great potentates of the earth, who do not consider whether their motive for making war is agreeable to the will of God; or else through a covetous desire of appropriating unjustly to themselves the territories of other princes; but that the truth was, he, the prisoner, had not been incited to that action by any person whatever; for if he could have been so wicked as to have committed it for money, or for the interest of foreigners, he would have acknowledged it in the presence of God, before whom he now maintained the truth: that he therefore intreated the queen, the court, and the whole nation, to believe him, and not to charge his soul with the crime they commit, in supposing that he was prompted to that parricide by any other; for that this sin would fall heavy on him the prisoner, for being the cause of the uncertainty they were in which gave rise to their suspicions; and he therefore implored them to lay those suspicions aside, since no one but himself was able to judge of the fact, and it was such as he had confessed.

It was remonstrated to him, that, since he had neither been injured in his person or goods by any command or ordinance of the king's, it was not probable he would make an attempt upon his sacred person, whom he knew to be God's anointed, unless he had been persuaded to it by some other persons, and had received money from them; he being a poor man, in want of the necessaries of life, and the son of parents who lived upon alms.

He said, that it is sufficiently proved to the court through the course of his examination, if he had, through the force of money, or by the persuasions of persons who were ambitious of the scepter of France, been prevailed upon to murder the king, he would not have come three times expressly from Angoulême to Paris, which was a hundred leagues distant from each other, to admonish the king to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic, apostolic, and roman church, as being persons who acted contrary to the will of God and his church; for a man who could be so wicked as to suffer himself to be corrupted, through avarice, to assassinate his prince, would not have come three several times to admonish him as he had done; and that, since he had committed this parricide, the sieur de La-Force, cap-

tain of the guards, has acknowledged that he, the prisoner, had been at the Louvre, and earnestly entreated him to procure the means of speaking to the king; and that the said sieur de La-Force told him he was a furious papist, asking him if he knew monsieur D'Epéron; to which he, the prisoner, replied, that he did know monsieur D'Epéron, and that he himself was not a furious papist; but that, when he had taken the habit in the monastery of St. Bernard, father Francis de St. Peter was appointed to be his spiritual father; and, since he was a true roman, and apostolic catholic, he was desirous of living and dying such: and he intreated the said sieur de La-Force to bring him to the speech of the king; for he durst not declare to him the temptation he had so long to kill the king, all he wanted was to tell it to his majesty, to the end that he might no longer be troubled with his bad intention.

He was asked, whether, when he took those journeys to advise the king to make war upon the followers of the pretended reformation, he designed, in case his majesty had not complied with his desires, to have committed the wicked act he had done?

He said, he did not intend it in that case; for he should have laid aside his design, and have thought it was better to make him that remonstrance than to kill him.

It was objected to him, that he had not changed his wicked intention, since, after his last journey from Angoulême, in Easter, he had not sought for an opportunity to speak to the king, which was a proof that he left Angoulême with a resolution to do what he had done.

He said, it was true.

He was asked, if, from Easter-day to that on which he left Angoulême, he had received the holy communion?

He said, he had not; and that he received it the first Sunday in Lent; but that he had, nevertheless, caused the holy sacrifice of the mass to be celebrated in St. Paul's church at Angoulême, which was his parish church, as acknowledging himself unworthy of the most holy and august sacrament, full of mystery and incomprehensible virtue, because he was troubled with the temptation which prompted him to kill the king, and would not in such a state approach the precious body of his God.

It was objected to him, that, since he perceived he was not worthy of that mystery which he called incomprehensible, he could not assist with any devotion at that holy sacrifice celebrated by the priest, of which all christians participate, receiving spiritually that which he who consecrates receives actually.

To this he was silent. He continued some time pensive and in thought, and then said, that he did not well know what to answer to their remonstrance; afterwards he said, that he remembered that it was his great affection for the most holy sacrament of the altar, which induced him to have it celebrated; and that he hoped he should participate of the communion by means of his mother, who was going to receive her God in that sacrifice; because he was always of opinion, that she was more pious, and had more love for her God than he had. Saying this he shed many tears.

He was told, that he could have no reverence for, nor any faith in the holy communion and sacrifice of the mass, since he had, for a long time, been under the influence of the devil, and been accustomed to invoke demons, whom he caused to appear to him, when he lodged in this city, about four years ago.

He said, that he never had invoked demons.

He was asked, if he knew a man named Dubois, born in Limoges? and whether they lodged together in this city, and lay in the same chamber?

He said, he did know him: that they lodged together at the sign of the Rats, opposite to the Green Pillar in Harp-street.

He was asked, if he would believe what the said Dubois should say?

He said, Yes, he would believe him.

He was asked, whether, as he lay in bed with the said Dubois, he did not use some magical incantation invoking the demons? and in what manner?

He said, that this was so far from being true, that he did not even lie in the same chamber with the said Dubois, but in a garret over the room where he, the said Dubois, lay: that, about midnight, the said Dubois, repeating *Credo in Deum*, earnestly entreated him, several times, to come down to him; saying, Ravaillac, my friend, come down; and crying aloud, My God, have mercy upon me: that thereupon he, the prisoner, would have gone down to him to know why he cried out for help in such a manner, but he was hindered by some persons in the room with him, who were terrified with the cries of the said Dubois: but that he, the prisoner, going down to Dubois some time afterwards, he told him, that he had seen a black dog of a monstrous size, and very terrible, which came and laid its two fore-paws upon the bed; and that the terror this vision threw him into made him utter those cries, and entreat that he, the prisoner, would come into his room and stay with him; upon which he, the prisoner, advised the said Dubois to have recourse

recour'd to the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the altar, in order to get rid of his horrible visions, and to cause mass to be said the next morning; and that they went together accordingly the next morning to the convent of the franciscan friars, and caused the holy mass to be said, to draw down the grace of God upon them, and to preserve them from the incursions of the devils, the common enemies of mankind.

It was objected to him, that it was not at all probable that the said Dubois should have called to him, who lay so high; or that he should have heard his voice.

He answered, that nothing was more likely, it being one of the properties of the voice to ascend; but that, since the court would not believe him, the truth of what he said would be attested by those persons who were in the room where he lay, and who hindered him from going to the said Dubois; that they were his landlady, Mary Moiseau, and a cousin of hers, named John Le-Blond, who came into his room on account of the great noise they had heard, and for which he had quitted the room of the said Dubois, where he had lain before.

He was told, that he had no desire to get rid of his temptation, and therefore would not receive the communion on Easter-day, lest it should have the power to divert him from his purpose.

He said, that his reason for not receiving the communion was, that he had on Easter-day, taken a resolution to kill the king, and upon that account he would not really, and, in fact, receive the precious body of our Lord; but had a desire to hear the holy mass before he set out, believing that the sacrament, which his mother received that day, would be sufficient both for her and him, as he then begged of God that it might, and as he did now, and would to his death implore him, that he might be made partaker of all the holy communions, taken by the religious of both sexes, by good men seculars, and others in the catholic, apostolic, and roman church, receiving in the faith of our holy mother the church, the precious body of our Redeemer; and that, being thus received by them he might be made partaker of it, as believing himself a member of one only Jesus Christ.

He was told, that, having resolved upon so wicked an act, he was in the state of mortal sin, and in danger of damnation, and could not partake of the grace of God, and the communion of good christians, while he continued to have this wicked intention; and that he ought to have altered it, if he hoped to be in the grace of God as a good catholic and christian, as he would be thought to be.

He said, that he did not, in the least, doubt but that he was prompted to it by the motions of his own mind, against the will of God, the author

thor of all truth, contrary to the devil, who is the father of lies: but that now, through the remonstrance of the court, he acknowledged that he either could not or would not resist that temptation, it being out of the power of men to hinder him from committing that wicked action; that he now declared the whole truth, without suppressing or concealing any thing; therefore he hoped that God, who was all good and merciful, would grant him pardon and remission of his sins, he being more powerful to save him, provided he made confession and received absolution, than men were to hurt him; and that he beseeched the Holy Virgin Mary, Monsieur St. Peter, Monsieur St. Francis, (here he wept) Monsieur St. Bernard, and all the celestial court of Paradise, to be his advocates and intercessors with the most sacred majesty, to the end that he might interpose his cross between his soul and hell; and by that he hoped to be made a partaker of the merits of our Saviour Christ's passion, most humbly beseeching him that he would give him grace to continue associated with the merits of all those treasures he gave to the apostolic power on earth, when he said, *Thou art Peter, &c.*

His examination being read to him, he persisted in his answers, and signed his name

RAVAILLAC:

On the 27th of May, 1610, in the Morning, at the Palace.

The Confrontation of the Witnesses before us, ACHILLES DE HARLAY, Knight, first President; NICHOLAS POTIER, President; PROSPER BAVIN and JOHN COURTIN, Counsellors, &c.

PAUL Noster, exempt of the guards, was confronted with the prisoner; both of them acknowledged the oath they had taken.

The accused said, that the witness was the person who took him prisoner, and the witness, that the accused was the prisoner whom he took.

The prisoner then was told, that, if he had any objections to make against the witness, he must make them immediately, according to the ordinance of the realm.

He said, that he had none.

The deposition of this witness being read to him, he persisted in it; and the prisoner acknowledging that it was true, they both signed it.

The prisoner was then confronted with James de Pluviers, Esq; of St. Michael.

The oath idem, &c.

The

THE TRYAL OF RAVAILLAC.

The prisoner was then confronted with Jerome de La-Roby, equerry to the king.

The oath idem, &c.

The prisoner was then confronted with Gamaliel Edovart, one of the king's footmen.

The oath idem, &c.

The prisoner said, that he knew him to be one of the king's footmen, but that he did not know if he was the person who seized him after he committed the act; and, being put in mind of the ordinance, he said, he had no objection to make to him.

The prisoner was then confronted with Peter Dubois.

The oath idem, &c.

The prisoner acknowledged, that what he said was true; but that it was by his advice that the witnesses had been to hear mass at the convent of the franciscan friars, at which he likewise was present.

They both signed their names.

*May 27th, 1610, the Court sat in the Afternoon in the Chamber de
LA-BEUVETTE.*

WHE the presidents, and several of the counsellors being present, the prisoner, Francis Ravailac, was brought into court, who having been accused and convicted of parricide committed of the late king, he was ordered to kneel, and the clerk of the court pronounced the sentence of death given against him; as likewise that he should be put to the torture to force him to declare his accomplices.

His oath being taken, he was exhorted to redeem himself from the torments preparing for him, by acknowledging the truth, and declaring who those persons were that had persuaded, prompted, and abetted him, in that most wicked action, and to whom he had disclosed his intention of committing it.

He said, By the salvation I hope for, no one but myself was concerned in this action.

He was then ordered to be put to the torture of the brodequin*, and the first wedge being drove, he cried out, "God have mercy upon my soul, and pardon the crime I have committed; I never disclosed my intention to any one." This he repeated as he had done in his interrogation.

* The brodequin is a strong wooden box, made in the form of a boot, just big enough to contain both the legs of the criminal, which being put therein, a wooden

wedge is then drove with a mallet between his knees, and after that is forced quite through, a second wedge of a larger size, is applied in the same manner.

When the second wedge was drove, he said with loud cries and shrieks, "I am a sinner, I know no more than I have declared, by the oath I have taken, and by the truth which I owe to God and the court: all I have said was to the little franciscan, which I have already declared: I never mentioned my design in confession, or in any other way: I never spoke of it to the visitor of Angoulême, nor revealed it in confession in this city. I beseech the court not to drive my soul to despair."

The executioner continuing to drive the second wedge, he cried out, "My God, receive this penance as an expiation for the great crimes I have committed in this world: Oh God! accept these torments in satisfaction for my sins. By the faith I owe to God, I know no more than what I have declared. Oh! do not drive my soul to despair."

The third wedge was then drove lower near the feet, at which a universal sweat covered his body, and he fainted away. The executioner forced some wine into his mouth, but he could not swallow it; and, being quite speechless, he was released from the torture, and water thrown upon his face and hands. Some wine being forced down his throat, his speech returned, and he was laid upon a mattraß in the same place, where he continued till noon. When he had recovered his strength, he was conducted to chapel by the executioner; and messieurs Fillefalsqs and Gamaches, two doctors of the Sorbonne, being sent for, his dinner was given him; but before the divine entered into a conference with him, the clerk admonished him to think of his salvation, and confess by whom he had been prompted, persuaded, and abetted in the wicked action he had committed, and so long designed to commit; it not being probable, that he should of himself have conceived and executed it, without communicating it to any other.

He said, that if he had known more than what he had declared to the court, he would not have concealed it, well knowing, that in this case he could not have the mercy of God, which he hoped for and expected; and that he would not have endured the torments he had done, if he had any farther confession to make. He said, he acknowledged that he had committed a great crime, to which he had been incited by the temptation of the devil; that he entreated the king, the queen, the court, and the whole kingdom, to pardon him, and to cause prayers to be put up to God for him, that his body might bear the punishment for his soul. And being many times admonished to reveal the truth, he only repeated what he had said before. He was

THE TRYAL OF RAVAILLAC.

then left with the doctors, that they might perform the duties of their office with him.

A little after two o'clock the clerk of the court was sent for by the divines, who told him, that the condemned had charged them to send for him, that he might hear and sign his confession, which he desired might be revealed, and even printed, to the end that it might be known to the whole world; which confession the said doctors declared to have been, That no one had been concerned with him in the act he had committed; That he had not been solicited, prompted, or abetted, by any other person whatever, nor had discovered his design to any one; That he acknowledged he had committed a great crime, for which he hoped to have the mercy of God, which was still greater than his sins, but which he could not hope to obtain if he concealed any thing.

Hereupon the clerk asked the condemned, if he was willing that his confession should be known and revealed? and, as above, admonished him to acknowledge the truth for the salvation of his soul. He then declared upon his oath, that he had said all he knew, and that no one had incited him to commit the murder.

At three o'clock he came from the chapel; and as he was carrying out of the Conciergerie, the prisoners, in great numbers, thronged about him, with loud cries and exclamations, calling him Traitor, Wicked Wretch, Detestable Monster, Damned Villain, and the like; they would have struck him, had they not been hindered by the archers, and the other officers of justice, who kept them off by force.

When he was put into the tumbrel, the crowd was so great, that it was with the utmost difficulty the archers and officers of justice could force themselves a passage; and as soon as the prisoner appeared, that vast multitude began to cry out, as above, Wicked Wretch, Traitor, &c.

The enraged populace continued their cries and exclamations till he arrived at the Greve; where, before he was taken out of the tumbrel to mount the scaffold, he was again exhorted to reveal his accomplices; but he persisted in his former declaration, that he had none; again imploring pardon of the young king, the queen, and all the whole kingdom, for the crime he had committed.

When he had ascended the scaffold, the two doctors comforted him, and exhorted him to acknowledge the truth; and after performing the duties of their function, the clerk approached him, and urged him to think of his salvation now at the close of his life, and to confess all he knew; to which he only answered as he had done before.

The

The fire being put to his right hand, holding the knife with which he had stabbed the king: he cried out, *Ob God!* and often repeated, *Jesu Maria!* while his breast, &c. were tearing with red-hot pincers, he renewed his cries and prayers; during which, being often admonished to acknowledge the truth, he persisted in denying that he had any accomplices. The furious crowd continued to load him with execrations, crying, that he ought not to have a moment's respite. Afterwards, by intervals, melted lead and scalding oil were poured upon his wounds; during which he shrieked aloud, and continued his cries and exclamations.

The doctors again admonished him, as likewise the clerk, to confess, and were preparing to offer up publicly the usual prayers for the condemned; but immediately the people, with great tumult and disorder, cried out against it, saying, that no prayers ought to be made for that wicked wretch, that damned monster. So that the doctors were obliged to give over. Then the clerk remonstrating to him, that the indignation of the people was a judgment upon him, which ought to induce him to declare the truth, he persisted to answer as formerly, saying, I only was concerned in the murder.

He was then drawn by four horses, for half an hour, by intervals.

Being again questioned and admonished, he persisted in denying that he had any accomplices; while the people of all ranks and degrees, both near and at a distance, continued their exclamations, in token of their great grief for the loss of their king. Several persons set themselves to pull the ropes with the utmost eagerness; and one of the noblest, who was near the criminal, alighted off his horse that it might be put in the place of one which was tired with drawing him. At length when he had been drawn for a full hour by the horses, without being dismembered, the people rushing on in crowds, threw themselves upon him, and with swords, knives, sticks, and other weapons, they struck, tore, and mangled his limbs; and violently forcing them from the executioner, they dragged them through the streets with the utmost eagerness and rage, and burnt them in different parts of the city.

May the twenty-first, 1610.

THE jailor caused the court to be informed, that he had heard the prisoner say something of consequence; upon which he was sent for, and the oath being administered to him,

He said, That the evening before, carrying the prisoner's supper to
 F f f 2 him,

him, with one of his men, the two archers who guarded him being present, he asked the prisoner where he was when the king went out of the Louvre? to which the prisoner replied, that he was sitting in the hall among the footmen: and being again asked, why he committed such an action? the prisoner answered, "Because of a great——" "but I will not tell you, but I will tell the court to-morrow; and I" "could not help doing it, as I shall prove by my body.

Then archer of the provost of l'Hotel, being sent for, the oath was administered to him.

He repeated what the jailor had said, adding, that the prisoner said, that his mother had a mark like his; for which reason he could not avoid doing what he did; and that perceiving the king's coach to stop, he saw a vision, which said to him, *Now is the time.*

Then was heard upon oath archer likewise of the provost of l'Hotel.

He also repeated what the jailor had said, adding, that the prisoner said, he was under the necessity of committing that action, by a mark which he and his mother had, that it came from heaven, and that he would declare it to the court, &c.

Sentence of Death against Francis Ravailac, May 27, 1610.

Extracted from the Registers of the Parliament.

THE court, consisting of the great chambers of the Tournelle and the Edict, being assembled, and having seen the criminal proceedings, formed by the presidents and counsellors in that behalf, appointed by commission, at the requisition of the king's attorney-general, against Francis Ravailac, a practitioner of the law of the city of Angoulême, prisoner in the Conciergerie of the palace; as also the information made against him, the interrogatories, confessions, answers, and cross-examinations of witnesses, and the state of the case by the king's attorney-general; and the said Ravailac having been heard and examined by the said court, touching the matters laid to his charge; and touching the verbal process of the interrogatories administered to him on the rack; which, by order of the said court, he underwent on the 25th of this month, for discovery of his accomplices: on consideration of the whole,

THE said court hath declared, and doth declare, the said Ravailac duly attainted of the crime of high-treason, divine and human, in the highest degree, for the most wicked, most abominable, and most detestable

testable parricide, committed on the person of the late king, Henry IV. of good and laudable memory; for reparation whereof, the court hath condemned, and doth condemn him, to make the *amende honorable*, before the principal gate of the church of Paris, whither he shall be carried and drawn in a tumbrel in his shirt, bearing a lighted torch of two pound weight, and that he shall there say and declare, that wickedly and traiterously he hath committed the aforefaid most wicked, most abominable, and most detestable parricide, and murdered the said lord the king, by stabbing him twice in the body with a knife; that he repents of the same, and begs pardon of God, the king, and the laws: from thence he shall be carried to the Greve, and, on a scaffold to be there erected, the flesh shall be torn with red-hot pincers from his breasts, his arms, and thighs, and the calves of his legs; his right hand, holding the knife, wherewith he committed the aforefaid parricide, shall be scorched and burned with flaming brimstone; and on the places where the flesh has been torn with pincers, melted lead, boiling oil, scalding pitch, with wax and brimstone melted together, shall be poured: after this, he shall be torn in pieces by four horses, his limbs and body burnt to ashes, and dispersed in the air. His goods and chattels are also declared to be forfeited and confiscated to the king. And it is further ordained, that the house in which he was born shall be pulled down to the ground (the owner thereof being previously indemnified) and that no other building shall ever hereafter be erected on the foundation thereof: and that within fifteen days after the publication of this present sentence, his father and mother shall, by sound of trumpet and public proclamation in the city of Angoulême, be banished out of the kingdom, and forbid ever to return, under the penalty of being hanged and strangled, without any farther form or process at law. The court have also forbidden, and doth forbid, his brothers, sisters, uncles, and others, from henceforth to bear the said name of Ravaillac, enjoining them to change it to some other, under the like penalties; and ordering the substitute of the king's attorney-general to cause this present sentence to be published and carried into execution, under pain of being answerable for the same; and before the execution thereof, the court doth order, that the said Ravaillac shall again undergo the torture, for the discovery of his accomplices.

Pronounced and executed the 27th day of May, 1610.

VOISIN.

Extract

Extract from the Registers of Parliament.

THE court, consisting of the great chambers of the Tournelle and the Edict, being assembled, and proceeded to judgment on the criminal process extraordinary, formed at the requisition of the king's attorney-general, on account of the most wicked, most cruel, and most detestable parricide, committed on the sacred person of the late king Henry IV. and having thereupon heard the king's said attorney-general; hath ordered, and doth order, that, at the instance of the dean and syndic of the faculty of divinity, the said faculty shall be assembled, as soon as may be, to deliberate; and having heard the tenor of the decree of the said faculty of the 13th of December, 1413, and the resolution founded on the opinion of one hundred forty-one doctors of the said faculty, since confirmed by the council of Constance; *That it is not lawful for any one, whoever he be, to make any attempt on the sacred persons of kings, and other sovereign princes.* The said decree thereon to be made by the said assembly, shall be subscribed by all the doctors of the said faculty, who shall have been present at the deliberations; and also by all the bachelors, who are members of the body of divinity; which said decree being communicated to the said attorney-general, and produced to this court, such order shall be made thereon as reason shall require.

Done in parliament, the 27th May, 1610.

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- Aldebrandin*, (Cardinal) Nephew and legate of Clement VIII. comes to France to treat of a peace. Sully's reception of him, and his prudent advice to him, ii. 44. His conferences at Lyons with the commissioners appointed by Henry IV. 47. Breaks them off upon account of the demolition of Fort St. Catherine, 48. Resumes the treaty with Sully, and concludes it, 50. His friendship for Sully, 432. Presents from Henry IV. iii. 29. See *Sully, Peace, Savoy*.
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- Alincourt*, (Charles de Neuville, Marquis of) governor of Pontoise, attempts to surprize Mante, i. 191. Concludes a treaty with Henry IV. 293. Obtains the government of Lyons, ib. Henry refuses to give him the post of grand-master of the ordnance, 439. The sum of money granted him by his treaty, 496. Is sent to Rome on occasion of the designed marriage between Henry IV. and Mary of Medicis, ii. 26. Gratuities and favours which he received from the queen regent, iii. 291. A great dispute in the council between him and Sully on the affair of Lyons, 293.
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- Angers.* Prince of Condé fails in his attempt upon this place, i. 84. Henry IV. stays some time there in his journey to Brittany: the business he transacts there, 450, 451. See *Henry, Mercœur, &c.*
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Ardebourg. The archduke Albert fails in his attempt upon this place, ii. 360.

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- Argentan.* The duke of Montpensier takes this city for the king, and defeats the Gautiers there, i. 145. See *Montpensier, League.*
- Argentier.* (L') One of the farmers of the revenue, i. 425. Sully causes him to be prosecuted, ii. 35. Bon-mot of Henry's on this subject, *ib.*
- Argenton.* Henry IV. dislodges the troops of the League from this place, i. 126.
- Argouges.* (Florent d') Treasurer of the queen's household, ii. 307. Brings a comptant to Sully, which that minister refuses to sign, 279—288.
- Ariat.* (N. d') Succours the inhabitants of Ville-mur against the forces of the League, i. 211. See *Joyeuse, Villennur.*
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- Armagnac.* (County of) Erected into a presidial, i. 447. Law-suit lost by Henry IV. to the sieur de Fontailles for this county, *ib.*
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- Armand.* (Father) A jesuit, labours successfully for the re-establishment of that society in France, ii. 271, 272.
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- Arnai-le-Duc.* (Encounter of) In which the protestants have the advantage, i. 2. Henry's discourse upon this battle, *ib.*
- Arnaud.* (Anthony) Advocate for the university of Paris against the jesuits, i. 308. See *Jesuits, University.*
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- Arnes.* (N. d') A protestant gentleman, escapes the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 24.
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- Arpentis.* (Lewis Du-Bois des) Governor of Touraine, i. 82. Services which Sully receives from him, 87.
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- (Antony d'). Commandant of the citadel of Metz, ii. 143.
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- Thou.* (Nicolas De-) Crowns Henry IV. at Chartres, i. 272.
- Thouars.* Sully goes there to visit La-Tremouille, ii. 325.
- Thurin.* (Philebert de) Draws up the process against marshal Biron, ii. 325.
- Tignonville.* (Mademoiselle de) Beloved by Henry IV. i. 42.
- Tillemus.* A protestant minister. His dispute with Du-Val, i. 520. His opposition to the expedition against Sedan, ii. 310.
- Tilly.* A gentleman attached to Sully. Wounded at the encounter at Chartres, i. 168.
- Tiron.* (Philip Des-Portes, abbot of) Employed in Villars's treaty with Henry IV. i. 287, 295. Gratuities which he received from this prince, 285.

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— (John de La-). Betrays the League, and delivers up Louviers to Henry IV. i. 173.

— (Father de La-). A jesuit, iii. 115.

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— (Francis de). Duke of Anjou. See *Anjou*.

— (Claude de). Daughter of Henry II. married to the duke of Lorraine, i. 11.

— (Margaret of) Queen of France. See *Margaret*.

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Vaucelas. (Andrew de Cuchefelet, earl of) Sent by Sully to the queen of England, ii. 237. Discovers in Spain the plots of the queen's party against the life of Henry IV. and informs him of it, iii. 119.

Vaucemain. Sully disposes of to him the abbey of Abbie, iii. 313.

Vaudemont. (Nicolas of Lorraine de) Henry III. marries his daughter, i. 35.

Vaudemont. (Louisa of Lorraine de) Queen of France, i. 36.

Vaudore. A protestant officer. Present at the battle of Coutras, i. 108.

Velaque. (John Ferdinand de) Constable of Castile. Sent-ambassador extraordinary from Spain to London, ii. 194. Plots against Henry IV. 244, 245. Employed to conclude the affair of thirty per cent. 357. Concludes, at London, the agreement betwixt Spain and England, 364. Henry IV's reception and conversation with him at Paris, 365.

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— (Alexander de Bourbon, chevalier de). See *Bourbon* (Alexander of).

— (Charles de Bourbon, duke of). i. 1.

— (Cæsar de Bourbon, duke of). Son to Henry IV. and the fair Gabriella legitimated, i. 344. Design of giving him the sovereignty of Franche-Comté, 352. He is made governor of La-Fere, 378. Betrothed to mademoiselle de Mercœur, 451. The dukes of Beaufort solicit at Rome for him, 477. He demands mademoiselle de Melun for the marquis of Cœuvres, but refused him, ii. 419, 420. Sent by Henry IV. to visit queen Margaret, 492. Difficulties in accomplishing his marriage with mademoiselle de Mercœur, iii. 76—78, 114. He accuses Sully of opposing his legitimation, 149. Henry IV. reconciles him with Sully and Rosny, 196—198. His apprehensions of the plots against this prince, 216.

— (Catherine-Henrietta) de Bourbon. See *Bourbon* (Catherine-Henrietta de).

Veneux. Tanneguy Le-) Endeavours to save the protestants at Rouen, at the massacre of Saint-Bartholomew, i. 31.

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Verac. A protestant gentleman, i. 87.

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Verdun. First president of the parliament of Toulon, ii. 536. Sully writes to him upon the affair of the registers and clerks offices, iii. 31. and upon other regulations, 91.

Vere. (Colonel) The Earl of Northumberland gives him a blow upon the face, ii. 245.

Vergius. (Doctor) Confessor to Philip II. i. 515.

Verneuil. Medavy treats with Sully for the surrender of this city, i. 278, 287. It is delivered to the king, 296.

Verneuil, near Senlis. Henry IV. gives this house to mademoiselle d'Entragues, ii. 135.

Verneuil. (Henry de Bourbon, duke of) ii. 136. The king gives him the bishoprick of Metz: the difficulties raised by the pope upon this occasion,

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- Verneuil.* (Catherine-Henrietta de Balzac d'Entragues, marchioness of) Mistress of Henry IV. i. 304. The beginning of her amours with this prince, ii. 6. Her character, *ibid.* Her artifice to make him give her a promise of marriage, *ibid.* She follows him to the campaign of Savoy, 22. Is delivered of a dead child, *ibid.* She procures to the count of Auvergne pardon and liberty, 117. Henry gives her the castle of Verneuil, 230. and legitimates the children he had by her. See *Verneuil* (Henry de Bourbon, duke of). Her hatred to Sully, whom Henry supports in opposition to her, 252. Presents which she receives from this prince, 266. Her plots with the malecontents, 268. Her unequal and bad temper, 331. Henry reproaches her in his letters: she haughtily refuses to deliver him his promise of marriage, 302. Her conversation agreeable to the king, 303. The queen's hatred to her, 308. Her great artifice in fomenting quarrels between the king and queen, and endeavours to ruin Sully, 309. The marquis forms a design to get the marriage cancelled between the king and queen: the weakness of this prince for her, 313, 314, 316. He at last obliges her to deliver up the promise of marriage, 328. She is arrested: Sully employed to interrogate her: her reproaches to this minister, and other particulars relating to this incident, 334. Henry will not allow of her quitting France, 337. Anecdotes upon this subject, 338. She makes the king pardon Auvergne and Entragues, and dictates her own conditions, 380, 382. Causes of her hatred to Sully, 407. Other quarrels between the king, queen, and her, iii. 46. Her children by the king, 58, 59. This prince communicates to Sully his uneasiness upon her account, 63. and makes him judge in her intrigue with Joinville, 67. Her son made bishop of Metz, 70. A bon-mot of her's upon the marriage of the prince of Conde: Coman accuses her of being engaged in the parricide of Ravallac, 209. Other particulars concerning this affair, 221—226.
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- Verriere.* Employed in the conversion of Henry IV. i. 246.
- Versenoy.* One of Sully's enemies, ii. 407. Grants made him by Henry IV. 542.
- Versoris.* Advocate for the jesuits against the university of Paris, i. 308.
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- Vezins.* Generously saves the life of Renier his enemy at the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, i. 32. Defends Cahors, 52. where he is killed, *ibid.*
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- Vienne.* Expeditions of king Henry IV. upon the borders of this river, i. 407. See *Fontaine-François*.
- Vignoles.* Distinguishes himself at the head of his regiment at Ivry, i. 154, 305. and at the siege of Laon, 312.
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- Villars.* (Honorat de Savoie, marquis of) Commands the royal army in Guyenne, i. 16, 46.
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