MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE of SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER OF

HENRY THE GREAT.

Newly translated from the French edition of M. de L'ECLUSE.

To which is annexed,

The TRIAL of FRANCIS RAVAILLAC, for the Murder of HENRY the GREAT.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

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M,DCC,LXX,

TO

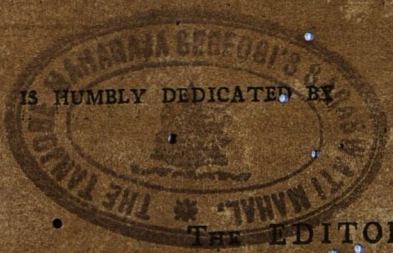
SIR JOSEPH YATES,

ONE OF THE JUDGES OF THE

COURT OF KING's BENCH,

THIS NEW EDITION OF THE

MEMOIRS OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS DUKE OF SULLY,



IS HUMBLY DEDICATED BY

THE EDITOR.

Edin. Sept. 1769.

M. DE L'ECLUSE'S PREFACE.

THE Memoirs of Sully have always been ranked among the beſt books we have. This truth being eſtabliſhed long ago, by the judgement of all our good critics, and of all the lovers of literature, I may ſave myſelf the trouble of a diſcuſſion, uſeleſs to thoſe who know the book.

With regard to thoſe who have never read theſe Memoirs, it is ſufficient to give them an idea of the work, to ſay, that they comprehend the hiſtory of what paſſed from the peace in 1570, to the firſt year of Lewis XIII. that is to ſay, the ſpace of more than forty years; a period that has furniſhed the moſt copious matter to the hiſtorians of our monarchy; and that they treat of the reign, or, to ſpeak more properly, of almoſt the whole life of Henry the Great. Theſe Memoirs preſuppoſe, indeed, ſome knowledge of the preceding troubles, which are only occaſionally mentioned; but they diſplay all the ſucceeding events in the moſt minute detail. Events equally numerous and diverſified; wars, foreign and civil; intereſts of ſtate and religion; maſterpieces of ſtate-adminiſtration; unexpected diſcoveries; efforts of ambition; ſtratagems of policy; embaſſies and negotiations; are all to be found here, and are but a part of what the book contains.

The Memoirs of Sully derive another, perhaps a ſtill greater value, from an infinitude of

more

more particular recitals, which are not the province of history, but an advantage peculiar to memoirs. They admit a multiplicity of subjects, and all the variety of incidents which one pleases to introduce; and, moreover, they are not subjected to the yoke that necessity has imposed upon history, to omit nothing of those over-general things, in writing of which a man feels himself perfectly disgusted.

Would one give a thorough knowledge of the prince he is about to speak of? The picture of his private life must incessantly be compared with that of his public life. He must exhibit him in the midst of his courtiers, with his domestics, in the moments when he observes himself least; and establish his character by his letters and his conversation. The passions delineate themselves better by a simple word, related as it was originally spoken, than by all the art which an historian can employ. This idea of memoirs is so perfectly answered by those of Sully, with regard to the prince who is the principal subject of them, that it is not till after having read them, that one truly knows Henry IV. What they exhibit to us of this great prince, in his good as well as his bad fortune, viewed as a private man or a king, as a warrior or as a politician; in fine, as a husband, father, friend, &c. is marked with traits so sensible, that one cannot keep himself from being interested in the particularities of his life, even the most indifferent. At the most, I can only except some military details, perhaps a little

little too frequent in the beginning of the work, and a ſmall number of others leſs pleaſing; tho' otherwiſe theſe recitals are always connected with the public affairs, and diverſified, like all the reſt, with the part which was borne in them by the Duke of Sully.

He is, ſo to ſpeak, the ſecond actor; and this double action makes no breach in the unity of intereſt, if I may here be permitted this expreſſion, becauſe that this miniſter ſays almoſt nothing of himſelf, which has not ſome relation to the ſtate, or to the perſon of his maſter. The reader will, doubleſs, be pleaſed to know what judgement was formed of theſe Memoirs when they firſt began to ſee the light; and I ſhall give him information from the author of an old diſcourſe, to be found among the MSS. (vol. 9590.) of the King's library. "One of the moſt beautiful images of "human prudence and fidelity," ſays he, "is to "be found in the account left to the public "by the Duke of Sully, in theſe two volumes, "of the nature of the counſels he had given, "and of the number of the ſervices he had "done, to his King and benefactor, as well for "the particular glory of his perſon, as for the "proſperity of his kingdom. And, in truth, "the fortune of Henry the Great, and the virtue of his prime miniſter, are two things "which appear alternately, or more properly, "go hand in hand. The miniſter, in this "work, ſerves and obliges the King, in all the "ways that a great prince can receive ſervice

"or

" or obligation from a ſubject, with his hand, " his courage, his ſword, and even with his " blood, and his wounds, by his valour or " diſcretion, as occaſion required. But he " particularly ſerved him in his council and ca- " binet, with the greateſt good ſenſe and moſt " quick-ſighted penetration, the moſt uncom- " mon diſintereſtedneſs and the moſt ſingular " ſincerity, that has ever been known in the " hiſtories, either of our own or of other " countries."

It is natural, in the reign of a prince like Henry IV. to look for great generals, profound politicians, and able miniſters; but what muſt ſurpriſe us is, to find in the ſame perſon, the warrior, the politician, the wiſe manager of buſineſs, the ſure and ſevere friend, as well as the intimate confident and favourite of his maſter. And what muſt appear ſtill more uncommon, is to ſee, in a work where the actions of two ſuch extraordinary perſons are collected after their deaths, a great king reduced to conquer his own kingdom, occupied with a miniſter in his way, not leſs great, in contriving means to make his undertakings ſucceſsful; labouring afterwards, in concert with him, to render this ſame kingdom not only peaceable but flouriſhing, regulating the finances, founding trade, eſtabliſhing the police, and, in ſhort, recovering every part of the government from confuſion.

In this work therefore are compriſed two illuſtrious lives, mutually accompanying, en-

lightening, and embelliſhing one another; that of a king, and that of a miniſter, his confident, nearly of the ſame age, carried on from the infancy of both to the death of the firſt, and to the time when the ſecond ſaw himſelf removed from the management of affairs.

Add to this, that theſe Memoirs of Sully are yet further recommended by excellent principles of morality, by civil and political maxims derived from truth, and by an infinite number of views, projects, and regulations, of almoſt every kind, with which they are filled. "He alone," (ſays the ſame cotemporary author, ſpeaking of the Duke of Sully) "firſt diſcovered the union of two "things, which our fathers not only could "not accommodate, but even imagined utterly "incompatible; the increaſe of the King's re"venue, and the eaſe and relief of the peo"ple. He that would have an idea of a good "ſubject and an incorruptible miniſter of ſtate, "muſt look for it in this picture, where "he will ſee œconomy in its beſt light, and "policy in all its advantages; the art of u"ſing and the art of gaining power; the "ſcience of reigning as a man, and that of "reigning as a king; the fineſt inſtructions "and the richeſt examples of morality are "here exhauſted, and the whole ſupported "and adorned by a knowledge of every "thing, from the higheſt arts, to mecha"nic occupations."

I ſay it again, that as far as I know, the ſe-

vereſt critics are not at this very day of a much different way of thinking. One need only conſult the Abbot Le Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Caſtlehau, vol. 2. book 2. p. 687.; Father Le-Long; and a multitude of modern writers: for who is there that does not cite with eulogiums the Memoirs of Sully, as the firſt political treatiſe that has ſhewn us the real power of this kingdom, that contains almoſt all that has been done by Richelieu, Mazarine, and Colbert; and which, in a word, is to be conſidered as the moſt proper ſchool of the art of government?

In the remaining part of the preface, the French editor gives a particular account of his edition, and of the various editions which Sully's Memoirs have borne in France. But as this would afford very little inſtruction or entertainment to any reader, it has been thought proper to drop it altogether.

SUM-

SUMMARY of the BOOKS contained in the FIRST VOLUME.

SUMMARY of BOOK I.

MEmoirs from the year 1570 to 1580. State of affairs in the council of France, and thoſe of the Calviniſts, at the peace of 1570. Roſny's extraction, and anecdotes of the houſe of Bethune. Some account of the birth, education, and early years of the Prince of Navarre. Idea of the government under Henry II. Francis II. and during the firſt years of the reign of Charles IX. Artifice of Queen Catharine of Medicis to ruin the Huguenots. Roſny engages himſelf in the ſervice of the King of Navarre, and follows him to Paris. Death of the Queen of Navarre. The wounding of Admiral Coligny, and other cauſes of ſuſpicion which the court gave to the Proteſtants. Profound diſſimulation of Charles IX. Maſſacre of St. Bartholomew; a particular relation of this event. Obſervations and reflections upon it. The conduct of Charles IX. and Admiral Coligny. In what manner the King of Navarre and Roſny eſcaped being maſſacred. Education of Roſny. The Calviniſts reſume courage and retrieve their affairs. Flight of the Prince of Condé. Impriſonment of the princes. The inſurrection of Shrove Tueſday. Death of Charles IX. His character. Henry III. returns to France, and declares war againſt the Huguenots. Flight of Monſieur and the King of Navarre. The Queen mother deceives them by the peace called *the peace of Monſieur*. The war is renewed. Mi-

litary rencounters and taking of cities. Rosny's first exploits in arms. The peace of 1577. Conferences between the Queen-mother and the King of Navarre. More military expeditions: Taking of Cahors, &c. Faults committed by Rosny.

SUMMARY of BOOK II.

Memoirs from the year 1580 to the year 1587. Affairs of Flanders. The United Provinces offer their crown to Monsieur: he goes to Holland; Rosny attends him. The taking of Câteau-Cambresis, &c. Monsieur surprises the citadel of Cambray: he goes to England; returns to France; is hated by the Dutch and the Protestants, on account of the treachery attempted by him at Antwerp; disconcerted by the Prince of Orange. Rosny dissatisfied with Monsieur, who finding all his schemes blasted, returns to France. Rosny returns likewise, after having visited the city of Bethune. Spain makes offers to the King of Navarre. Rosny sent to the court of France by the King of Navarre: he visits Monsieur. Death of that prince. Rosny's second journey to Paris, and negotiation there: his marriage. Domestic employments. Origin, formation, and progress of the league. Henry III. joins the league against the King of Navarre. Divisions in the Calvinist party: the views of its chiefs. Rosny is again sent to Paris by the King of Navarre, to observe the motions of the league. An attempt upon Angers; fails. A dangerous journey taken by Rosny. The Prince of Condé in extreme peril. The King of Navarre in great perplexities. Military expeditions. Rosny negotiates an alliance between the two kings. The taking of Talmont, Fontenay, &c. Rosny goes to visit and assist his wife, during the calamity of the plague. Fruitless interviews between the Queen-mother and the King of Navarre. A series of military expeditions.

ditions. Roſny defeats one of the enemy's ſquadrons. Other ſucceſſes of the Calviniſts; a declared perſecution againſt them. Madame de Roſny in great danger. Roſny's ſecret journey to Paris. The Duke of Joyeuſe leads an army into Poitou, and is beat by the King of Navarre at Coutras; a particular account of this battle.

SUMMARY of BOOK III.

Memoirs from the year 1587 to the year 1590. Errors committed by the King of Navarre and the Proteſtants, after the battle of Coutras. Secret deſigns of the Prince of Condé, the Count of Soiſſons, and the Viſcount Turenne. Death of the Prince of Condé; obſervations upon his death. The battle of the Barricades, and the conſequences; reflections upon this event. The Duke and Cardinal of Guiſe aſſaſſinated; reflections and obſervations on this occaſion. Death of Catharine de Medicis. The puſillanimity of Henry III. with reſpect to the league. Roſny negotiates a treaty of alliance between the two Kings; the diſguſt he receives upon this occaſion. Interview of the two kings. The Duke of Maïenne ſits down before Tours; military exploits on both ſides. Battle of Foſſeuſe, at which Roſny is preſent. Death of Madame de Roſny. Military ſucceſſes of the two kings. Siege of Paris. Death of Henry III; particulars of this aſſaſſination. Henry IV. aſks counſel of Roſny; the perplexing ſituation of this prince. The diſpoſitions of the ſeveral officers in the royaliſt army with reſpect to him. Roſny ſurpriſes Meulan. Military expeditions. A particular account of the battle of Arques, at which Roſny was preſent. Skirmiſhes at Pollet. Henry IV. often in danger. An attempt upon Paris. Rencounters and ſieges of different places. Digreſſions upon thoſe Memoirs. Siege of Meulan. A Spaniſh army in France. Roſny defends Paſſi. The battle of Ivry; particulars

lars of this battle. Rosny often in great danger; is wounded in several places; he is carried by his own orders to Rosny: Henry IV.'s affectionate behaviour to him there.

SUMMARY of BOOK IV.

Memoirs from 1590 to 1592. A mutiny in Henry's army after the battle of Ivry; dissipations of the finances, and other causes of the little advantages he derived from it. Cities taken. Attempts on others; disappointed. The taking of the suburbs of Paris; the siege of the city; particulars relating to this siege; the causes which obliged Henry to raise it. The Prince of Parma leads an army thither: his incampment, and other military details. An error committed by Henry: he obliges the Prince of Parma to retire. The siege of Chartres. An adventure wherein Rosny is in danger of being killed: he retires to Rosny in discontent. Success of Henry IV.'s arms. The taking of Corbie, Noyon, &c. An enterprise upon Mante. The Duke of Montpensier's expeditions in Normandy. Preparations for the siege of Rouen; errors committed at this siege. Mutual animosities between the soldiers and officers of Henry's army. Attacks, assaults, and other particulars of this siege. The Prince of Parma comes again with an army into France. The insolence of the council of sixteen. Henry advances to meet the Prince of Parma. An enterprise boldly seconded by the Duke of Nevers. The battle of Aumale; particulars of this battle, and observations upon it. Henry raises the siege of Rouen: marches, incampments, rencounters, and battles, betwixt him and the Prince of Parma, in the neighbourhood of Rouen. Observations upon these battles. A glorious exploit of the Prince of Parma at the passage of the Seine. Henry's army refuses to pursue him; the causes of this refusal; and reflection upon it.

SUM-

SUMMARY of BOOK V.

Memoirs from 1592 to 1593. A ſuccinct account of the State of affairs in the provinces of France during the years 1591 and 1592. Intrigues carried on by the Count of Soiſſons: his character. An abridgment of the Duke of Epernon's hiſtory: his diſobedience; his character. Several parties formed in the ſouthern provinces of France: a ſhort account of what paſſed there. The ſiege of Villemur. The ſiege of Eperni, where Marechal Biron is ſlain: his eulogium. Death of the Prince of Parma. Roſny marries again, and retires in diſcontent. The cauſe of it. He intercepts the memoirs of the negotiations between Spain and the league. A detail and examen of thoſe papers. A third party formed in France: the perſons who compoſe it; and their views. Henry follows Roſny's advice. The wiſe and cautious conduct obſerved by them both. Converſations betwixt them, wherein Roſny prevails upon him to change his religion. Henry ſounds the Proteſtants upon this reſolution. Roſny's conference with Bellozane, the two Durets, and Du-Perron. Conditions offered by the league to Henry; with what deſign; rejected. The meeting of the ſtates of Paris. A project of the Prince of Parma's badly executed. Diſunion of the Catholic chiefs in theſe ſtates: their intrigues and artifices to ſupplant each other. The parliament of Paris publiſhes an arret. The zeal of its members for the honour of the crown. The truce. The great wiſdom and ability of Henry in profiting of the diſſenſions among the chiefs of the league. Conduct of Villeroi and Jeannin. Roſny gives the King very prudent advice. The ſiege of Dreux; taken by Roſny's means. Henry removes all obſtacles to his converſion. Particulars relating to his abjuration.

SUMMARY of BOOK VI.

Memoirs from 1593 to 1594. Conduct of Henry with regard to the Pope, Spain, the league, and the Huguenots,

Huguenots, after his abjuration. Another truce. Artifices of Spain. Barriere's attempt upon the life of Henry. The Jeſuits accuſed and cleared of this crime. Roſny begins a negotiation with admiral Villars, to diſengage him from the party of the league. Feſcamp ſurpriſed by a very extraordinary method. A diſpute raiſed about this fort. Several cities ſurrender to Henry. Roſny's journey to Rouen: a detail of his negotiations with Villars. The character of that governor. Roſny is employed by Henry to effect a reconciliation betwixt the Duke of Montpenſier and the Count of Soiſſons, and to break off the marriage of the latter with the Princeſs Catharine. He viſits the Ducheſs of Aumale at Anet. A farther account of his negotiations with Villars, Medavy, and others. The treaty with Villars, after many obſtacles, concluded. Henry is received into Paris. Circumſtances relating to this reduction. Several inſtances of the generoſity and clemency of this prince. An accommodation with Villeroi. Roſny's third journey to Rouen. Villars ſends away the deputies of Spain and the league. The ceremony with which Rouen was ſurrendered to the King. The conditions upon which Roſny conſents to receive any gratuities. Villars comes to court. An inſtance of Henry's generoſity. Lyons ſubmits to the King, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the Duke de Nemours to the contrary. Poitiers, Cambray, and other cities do the ſame. The taking of La Capelle by the Spaniards. The ſiege of Laon commences. The affairs which oblige Roſny to return to Paris: his converſation with the Cardinal of Bourbon: he ſupports the Jeſuits in their proceſs with the univerſity and curates of Paris: he returns to the ſiege of Laon. A farther account of the ſiege. Henry's indefatigable labours there. A great convoy of Spaniards defeated by Biron. Roſny preſent at this rencounter. The King diſpleaſed with Biron. The Spaniards endeavour in vain to throw ſupplies into Laon.

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK I.

THE court of Charles IX. flattered itſelf, that the calamities which had happened to the Reformed under the preceding reigns, would finally compel them either to ſubmit to the will of the King, or to abandon the kingdom. The death of the Prince of Conde *, their chief, the loſs of two great battles †, the utter diſperſion of their ſoldiers, and the ſmall likelihood of ever being able to reinſpire with vigour the feeble remains of troops diſpirited by a long ſeries of ill ſucceſs, all conſpired to make the court believe, that their ruin was now become unavoidable ‡. But

* Lewis I. brother of Anthony King of Navarre, and ſon of Charles of Bourbon, Duke of Vendome. He was taken priſoner at the battle of Jarnac in the 1569, and murdered by a piſtol ſhot in the back part of his head, by the Baron de Montelquieu. The Duke of Anjou was accuſed of having ordered this gentleman to aſſaſſinate the Prince of Condé.

† Jarnac and Moncontour.

‡ The reader muſt always remember, that the author of theſe Memoirs was a Proteſtant.

a courage ſuperior to all events, ſupported them in circumſtances ſo depreſſing. They recollected their ſoldiers, who were diſperſed all over the provinces; and they began again to draw near to Burgundy, Bourbon, and Berry. La Charité was appointed for the place of their general rendezvous; Vezelai, and ſome other towns in that neighbourhood, were ſtill in their intereſts. They had even the boldneſs to promiſe themſelves, they ſhould ſpread the alarm as far as Paris, as ſoon as they received a conſiderable ſupply of horſe and foot, which they were made to expect from Germany.

The notice of this gave a good deal of inquietude to the Queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis. She imagined, however, that it would be eaſy to hinder this junction, and afterwards to diſperſe troops which ſhe believed to be already under conſternation. For this purpoſe ſhe ordered a mighty army to be put in motion. Strozzy, La Châtre, Tavannes*, La Valette, and all the general officers in France, were deſirous of ſerving in it; and the Marechal de Coſſé, who was to have the command, was intoxicated with the glory he ſhould acquire, by exterminating even to the very laſt Huguenot ſoldier, and bringing the chiefs of the party bound hand and foot to the Queen-mother. He very ſoon altered his ſentiments. The Proteſtant army received him with intrepidity; they were always the firſt to offer the battle; in the ſkir-

* Tavannes, a marechal of France, had been page to Francis I. and was at that time one of the counſellors and confidents of Catherine de Medicis. "In the night of St. Bartholomew," ſays the author of the Henriade, "he ran through the ſtreets of Paris, crying, "Let blood; let blood; bleeding is as good in the month of Auguſt "as in May. His ſon, who has written his memoirs, relates, that "his father, when on his deathbed, made a general confeſſion of the "ſins of his life: after which his confeſſor ſaying to him, with an "air of aſtoniſhment, Why! you ſpeak not a word of St. Bartholo-"mew. I look upon that," replied the Mareſchal, "as a meritorious "action, which ought to atone for all the ſins I have ever commit-"ted."

miſhes,

miſhes, which were frequent, the advantage was wholly on their ſide; and they even obtained a ſort of victory at the encounter of Arnai-le-duc *. So much obſtinacy convinced the Queen-mother, that to ſubdue the Proteſtant party, ſhe muſt have recourſe to other meaſures than war. Treachery appeared to her the ſureſt method; and, in order to have time to concert it, ſhe liſtened ſo favourably to propoſals of an accommodation, that a peace was concluded when it was leaſt expected, and upon conditions perfectly advantageous for the Huguenots. This was the peace of 1570 †. After which, during the ſpace of two years, each party taſted the ſweets of a repoſe, that had been equally deſired by both.

My father ‡ retired to his houſe of Roſny, and

* It was thought, that the Marechal de Coſſé would beat the Huguenot army, or at leaſt prevent its approaching Paris. He did neither; on the contrary, he was obliged to retreat after a very bri[illegible] encounter, and from thenceforward contented himſelf with watching the motions of the enemy. In this fight the Calviniſts were commanded by the Prince of Navarre, and the prince of Conde, his couſin-german, the one ſixteen, the other ſeventeen years of age, and by the Admiral de Coligny. (Matthieu, vol. 1. book 5. p. 317. relates theſe words of Henry IV. after he had mounted the throne. Speaking of this encounter of Arnai-le-duc; "My firſt exploits in "arms," ſaid this prince, "were at Rene-le-duc, where the queſtion "was, Whether I ſhould fight or retire? I had no retreat nearer "than forty miles; and if I ſtaid, I ſhould be at the diſcretion of "the peaſants. By fighting, I ran the risk of being taken or ſlain; "for I had no artillery, and the King's forces had. A cavalier was "killed within ten paces of me by a ſhot from a culverin. Re-"commending the ſucceſs of that day to God, he made it favour-"able and happy." In this ſame year the Huguenots gained the battle of Lucon, and took Marennes, the iſle of Oleron, Brouage. Xaintes, &c.

† By this treaty of peace, they were put in poſſeſſion of many privileges of which they had been deprived. The number of their churches was augmented, and four cities were given them for ſecurity, viz. La Rochelle, Mountauban, Cognac, and La Charité. This peace, which was ſigned Aug. 11. was called "the lame and ill-"founded peace," becauſe it was concluded, in name of the King, by Biron, who was lame, and by N. de Meſmes, Lord of Mallaſſieſe, which in French ſignifies *ill founded*.

‡ Francis de Bethune, Baron de Roſny, who died in 1575.

employed himself in settling his domestic affairs. As it is the history of my own life, jointly with that of the prince whom I served, that is to make the subject of these memoirs, I ought to give some account of my family and person. While in this I indulge the curiosity of the public, I beg it would be believed, that I do it without any vanity or affectation. It is the obligation I am under to adhere strictly to truth, that induces me to relate every thing that will appear advantageous to me in this place, or in the progress of my memoirs.

Maximilian is my Christian name, and *Bethune* that of my family, which derives its origin, by the house of Coucy, from the ancient house of Austria, which is distinct from the present house of Austria that is in possession of the empire of Germany, and the two Spains. This last is descended only from the Counts of Habsburg and Quiburg, private gentlemen, who three hundred years ago were in the pay of the cities of Strasburg, Basil, and Zurich, and would have counted it their high honour to have been stewards to such a prince as the King of France; since Raoul, chief of this second house of Austria, was in a similar office under Ottocar King of Bohemia. But it is from the son of this Raoul that the new stock of Austria properly begins, for he took the name of Austria instead of his own.

The house of Bethune (which has given its name to a city of Flanders, and from whence issued the counts that anciently governed that province) boasts of one Robert de Bethune, patron * of the church of Arras, whose father and grandfather, bearing also the name of Robert, were declared protectors of the province of Artois. One of these two Roberts de Bethune, signalized himself in France, by the taking of La Roche-vandais, a place of strength

* The title of patron of the church was then so noble, that many sovereigns thought it an honour to be distinguished by it.

upon

upon the confines of Auvergne whither the rebel Emerigot Marcel had retired; and the other in the wars of Sicily, by killing, with his own hand, the tyrant Mainfroy, in presence of the two armies. In reward of which service, Charles of Anjou, the rival of Mainfroy, very justly gave him his daughter Catherine in marriage. They mention a fourth Robert de Bethune, who gained a sea-fight over the infidels in the Mediterranean. In the church, a James de Bethune, Bishop of Cambray, at the time of the croisade of the Albigeois; and a John de Bethune, Abbot of Anchin near Valenciennes, who died in the year 1250, with the character of sanctity, and whose relics are revered as those of a martyr. The history of the croisades has taken notice of those of the family who distinguished themselves at the taking of Jerusalem, by being the first that mounted the breach. Antony and Coësne de Bethune, treading the steps of their ancestors, were also the first who mounted the standard upon the walls of Constantinople, when Baldwin, Count of Flanders, carried this capital from Alexis Comnenus; and Coësne obtained the government of it.

Whoever has such domestic examples as these, cannot recal them too often to his mind, to animate himself to follow them. Happy, if, during the course of my life, I have been able to demean myself in such a manner, that so many illustrious men need not disdain to acknowledge me, and that I need not myself blush at being descended from them.

In progress of time the house of Bethune increased yet more in eminence. It allied itself with almost all the sovereign houses in Europe; it entered into that of Austria; and to conclude with what does it infinitely more honour, the august house of Bourbon did not contemn its alliance.

But I ought also to acknowledge, that the branch from which I am descended, had then lost much of its

its primitive ſplendor. This branch is the iſſue of a younger brother, and the leaſt ſubſtantial of all thoſe who have borne this name. The eldeſt branch having three times fallen into the female line, all the great eſtates it poſſeſſed in different parts of Europe, did not go to the collateral branches, but went with the daughters to the royal houſes they married into.

My particular anceſtors, by marrying advantageouſly, did not fail to reſtore to their branch what was wanting to enable it to ſupport the name with dignity: but all theſe riches were almoſt entirely diſſipated by the bad management and prodigality of my grandfather, who left nothing to his ſon, who is my father, but the eſtate of Anne de Melun his wife, of which it was not in his power to deprive him.

As to my perſonal concerns: at the time which I ſpeak of, I entered into my eleventh year, being born the 13th of December 1560. Although I was only the ſecond of four male children that my father had, yet the natural indiſpoſitions of my eldeſt brother made my father look upon me as him who muſt be head of his family; and all the marks of a ſtrong complexion argued with him ſtill more in my favour. My parents bred me in the opinions and doctrines of the reformed, and I have continued conſtantly in the profeſſion of them: neither threats, promiſes, diverſity of events, not even the change of the King my protector, joined to his moſt tender ſolicitations, have ever been able to make me renounce them.

Henry King of Navarre *, who will have the principal

* The houſe of Bourbon, (ſays Voltaire, in his eſſay on the civil wars), from Lewis IX. to Henry IV. had been almoſt always neglected; and was reduced to ſuch poverty, that the famous Prince of Condé, brother to Antony King of Navarre, and uncle to Henry the Great, had no more than 600 livres a-year for his patrimony. But Matthieu

principal ſhare in theſe memoirs, was ſeven years older than I, and when the peace of 1570 was concluded, entered into his eighteenth year *. A generous, open, and engaging countenance; an eaſy, blithe, and ſprightly manner: and a ſingular addreſs in all the exerciſes peculiar to his age, inclined all hearts to ſide with him. He began early † to give indications of the great talents for war, which have ſo highly diſtinguiſhed him among other princes. Vigorous and indefatigable, (thanks to the edu-

Matthieu (Hiſt. of Hen. IV. vol. 2. p. 1. & 2.) tells us, that the houſe of Bourbon was then in poſſeſſion of a revenue of more than 800 000 livres a year in lands only, which was at that time thought a very ample fortune. It is certain, that this was all it poſſeſſed of the ancient eſtate of Bourbon, or even of the houſe of Moncade, the maternal ſtock; the eſtates of theſe two houſes, which came by very opulent and illuſtrious alliances, being alienated to purchaſe the viſcounty of Narbonne. See Cayet's new chron. vol. 1. book 1. p. 237.

* He was born at Pau in Bearn, Dec. 13. 1553. Perefixe relates ſome very curious particulars concerning his birth. Henry d'Albret, his grandfather, made his daughter promiſe to ſing a ſong to him while ſhe was in labour; in order, ſaid he, that you may bring me a child that will neither weep nor make wry faces. The princeſs promiſed, and had ſo much courage as, in the midſt of her pains, to keep her word; and ſang a ſong in Bearnois, her own country language, as ſoon as ſhe heard her father entered her chamber. The child came into the world without weeping or crying. His grandfather carried him to his own apartment; rubbed his little lips with a clove of garlick, and made him ſuck a drop of wine out of a gold cup, in order to render his conſtitution ſtrong and vigorous. Perefixe, p. 1. Cayet, vol. 1. book 1. p. 241.

† This young prince, when only thirteen years of age, had judgement to diſcern the faults of the Prince of Condé, and the Admiral de Coligny. He was of opinion, and with great juſtice, that, at the great ſkirmiſh at Loudoun, if the Duke of Anjou had had troops in readineſs to attack them, he would have done it: that he did not do it, but choſe to retire, was an evidence of his bad condition, and therefore they ſhould have attacked him; but this they neglected, and ſo gave time for all his troops to join him. At the battle of Jarnac, he repreſented to them as judiciouſly, that they had not a favourable opportunity for fighting, becauſe the forces of the princes were ſcattered, and thoſe of the Duke of Anjou all joined: but they were too far engaged to retire. At the battle of Moncontour, when he was but ſixteen years of age, he cried out, We loſe our advantage, and conſequently the battle. Peref. ibid.

cation

cation of his infancy *), labour was his element, and he seemed to wait with impatience for occasions of

* He was brought up in the castle of Coarasse in Bearn, situated amidst rocks and mountains. Henry d'Albret would have him clothed and fed like other children in that country, and even accustomed to run up and down the rocks. It is said, that his ordinary food was brown bread, beef, cheese, and garlick; and that he was often made to walk barefoot and bare-headed. Peref. ib.

While he was in the craddle, he was called *Prince of Viane*. A little time after, they gave him the title of *Duke of Beaumont*, and afterwards that of *Prince of Navarre*. The Queen of Navarre, his mother, took great care of his education, and assigned him for his preceptor La Gaucherie, a learned man, but a great Calvinist.

Having while yet a child been presented to Henry II. the King asked him, if he would be his son. He is my father, replied the little Prince, pointing to the King of Navarre. Well, said the King, will you be my son-in-law then? Oh, with all my heart, answered the Prince. From that time his marriage with the Princess Margaret was settled.——At Bayonne, the Duke de Medina, looking earnestly at him, said, This Prince either will, or ought to be an Emperor. Cayet, vol. 1. book 1. p. 240.

We find in the memoirs of Nevers, some letters written, in 1567, by the principal magistrates of Bourdeaux, that contain several very interesting particulars concerning the person of young Henry. "We have here the Prince of Bearn. It must be confessed, that he "is a pretty youth. At the age of thirteen, he has all the qualities "of one of eighteen or nineteen. He is agreeable, polite, and engaging. He converses with every body with an air so easy, that he "occasions a croud to assemble where-ever he is. He enters into a "conversation like an accomplished gentleman, speaks always to the "purpose; and, when the court happens to be the subject of discourse, "it is easy to see that he is perfectly well acquainted with it, and "never says more nor less than he ought, in whatever place he is. "I shall all my life hate the new religion for having robbed us of so "worthy a subject." And another, "Though his hair be a little "red, the ladies do not think him the less agreeable for that. His "face is finely shaped, his nose neither too large nor too small; his "eyes full of sweetness, his skin brown, but very clear; and his "whole mien animated with an uncommon vivacity; so that if he "is not well with the ladies, he is very unfortunate." Again, "He "loves diversion and good cheer. When he wants money, he has "the address to procure it, and that in a manner quite new, and equally agreeable to himself as to others, viz. To those, whether "men or women, whom he believes his friends, he sends a promissory note, written and signed by himself, and prays them to send "him back the note, or the sum contained in it. Judge, if there "be a house that can refuse him. It is accounted an honour to have "a note from this prince, &c." vol. 2. p. 586.

acquiring glory. The crown of France not being as yet an object upon which his desires could be intent, he loved to entertain himself with schemes of recovering that of Navarre, which Spain had so unjustly usurped upon his house; and he reckoned he should be able to accomplish this end, by entertaining secret intelligence with the Moors in Spain *. The enmity he bore to this power, was manifest; it was born with him, and he was never at any pains to conceal it. He felt his courage heated at the relation of the battle of Lepanto †, which was fought at this time, so intensely, that a similar opportunity of signalizing himself against the infidels, became one of his most ardent wishes. The vast and flattering hopes which the diviners agreed in making him conceive, were almost always present to his mind. He saw the foundation of them in that affection which Charles IX. early entertained for him, and which considerably increased a short time before his death: but as full as he was of these happy presages, he laboured to second them only in secret, and never disclosed his thoughts to any person but a small number of intimate confidents.

In order to form a just idea, either of the general state of affairs in the government of France, or of those of the young Prince of Navarre in particular, and what he might have to hope or fear in the times of which we are speaking, it is necessary succinctly to relate the different steps taken by the ministry, both before and after the death of the

* My cwe, said Henry d'Albret, has brought forth a lion. He added from a secret presage, that the child would revenge himself on Spain for the injuries she had done him. Peref. ib.

† Gained this year over the Turks by Don John of Austria, natural son to Charles V. and generalissimo of the Spanish and Venetian troops.

King of Navarre, his father *, ſlain before Rouen. I ſhall go back, therefore, to the rupture that kindled the war between Henry II. and Philip II. King of Spain. By which ſide ſoever it was occaſioned, the event was not ſo favourable to France, as it was convenient for the views of the two men who had counſelled it. Theſe were the Conſtable de Montmorency, and the Duke de Guiſe, who hoped theſe troubles would furniſh the means of reciprocally ſupplanting each other. In this war there was ſufficient employment for both the two. The Duke of Guiſe, at the head of a ſtrong army, paſſed into Italy, where he performed nothing worthy his reputation. But the Conſtable did a great deal worſe. The moſt ſhining employment, which was the command of the army in Flanders, he reſerved for himſelf, and loſt St. Quentin, with the battle of that name, where he was taken priſoner himſelf. This defeat was followed by that of Marſhal Thermes at Gravelines.

The Duke of Guiſe ſaw all his wiſhes compleated by theſe unfortunate events. He was recalled from Italy, to put himſelf ſingly at the head of the council and armies, with which he made an acquiſition of Calais to France. The Conſtable in his priſon felt exquiſitely this blow; and to get off to defend his rights at any rate, he treated of a peace with Spain. It was not indeed honourable for the King his maſter, but it releaſed him from captivity. He

* Antony de Bourbon, huſband of Jane d'Albret Queen of Navarre. He turned Catholic. M. de Thou relates an anecdote of him, which we ſhall give in the words of the author of the Henriade. Francis de Guiſe, ſays he, deſigned to aſſaſſinate him in the chamber of Francis II. Antony of Navarre had a great deal of courage, tho' his judgement was weak. He was informed of the plot, yet went reſolutely into the chamber where it was to be executed. If they murder me, ſaid he to Reinſy, one of his gentlemen, take my bloody ſhirt, and carry it to my wife and ſon. They will learn from my blood what they ought to do to revenge me. Francis II. durſt not ſtain himſelf with this crime; and the Duke de Guiſe, at leaving his chamber, cried out, What a poor King have we?

loſt

loſt every thing in the perſon of Henry II. who was ſlain * amidſt the pomp of the marriage of his daughter with the King of Spain, which was the ſeal of the peace. Francis II. who ſucceeded him, was young, weak, and infirm; and, as he had married the niece of the Duke of Guiſe †, that nobleman came in his turn ſingly to direct the King and the kingdom. The Proteſtants could not have fallen into the hands of a more cruel enemy. He was buſied in forming vaſt projects, and meditating the ſtrangeſt cataſtrophes in France, when he himſelf did partake in the viciſſitudes of fortune. Francis II failed him; a diſeaſe of the ear ‡ having put an end to the days of this prince, in a manner abundantly ſudden. The reign of Charles IX. his brother yet an infant, was ſingular in this, that the authority ſeemed to be equally divided amongſt the Queen-mother, the princes of the blood, the Guiſes, and the Conſtable; inaſmuch as each of them ſecretly headed a ſeparate party. The good deſtiny of the Duke of Guiſe placed him a ſecond time at the head of affairs, by the union that Catherine made with him. Upon this union ſhe even founded the principal part of her politics; and it is pretended the hatred ſhe began to ſhow towards the princes of Bourbon, had a great ſhare in it. This averſion aroſe from her having taken it into her head, upon the faith of an aſtrologer, that none of the princes her ſons ſhould have iſſue; upon which ſuppoſition the crown muſt paſs to a branch of the houſe of Bourbon. She could not reſolve to ſee it go out of her family, and [therefore] deſtined it to the poſterity of her daughter, who was married to the Duke of Lorrain.

* Struck in the eye with the ſplinter of a lance in a tournament, where he ran againſt the Count de Montgomery, July 10, 1559.

† Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, daughter of James V. King of Scotland, and of Mary of Lorrain, of the houſe of Guiſe.

‡ The abſceſs that he had in his ear turning to a mortification, he died Dec. 5. 1560. No more was neceſſary to raiſe a ſuſpicion of his having been poiſoned.

Whatever there may be in this predilection of the Queen-mother *; it is certain it gave birth to two parties in politics as well as religion, which began from that moment to fill the kingdom with confusion, horror, and the most frightful calamities.

This terrible storm would seem as if it had gathered to break precisely upon the head of the young Prince of Navarre. The King of Navarre, his father, was just then dead †. His death, indeed, left a prince and a king to be head of the reformed religion in France: but this prince was a child of seven years of age, exposed to all the attacks of the new council, who acted in concert with the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spain, and all the Catholics of Europe. In effect, this party experienced the most cruel reverses; yet, by the wise conduct of its chiefs, and the forward talents of young Henry, it supported itself with glory till the peace of 1570, at which period these Memoirs commence.

Prince Henry made use of the quiet that was given him, to visit his estates, and his government of Guyenne: after which he came to settle in Rochelle, with the Queen of Navarre his mother, the Admiral de Coligny ‡, and the principal chiefs of the

* M. l'Abbe de Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Castlenau, assigns another reason for Catherine's hatred to the King of Navarre. He assures us, he had read in some memoirs, that this prince and the Duke d'Alençon being prisoners together, they conspired to strangle the Queen-mother, with their own hands, when she came into their chamber. This resolution was not executed through the horror they themselves felt at the fact; and the King of Navarre afterwards but ill concealing the secret, Catherine de Medicis was to the last degree irritated against him.

† The author is mistaken in placing the death of Antony King of Navarre in 1560: it did not happen till 1562, by a wound which he received at the siege of Rouen. See his character and elogium in the memoirs of Brantome, vol. 3. p. 242.

‡ Gaspard de Coligny, Lord of Chatillon sur Loing, Admiral of France.

Protestant

Proteſtant party; to whom this important city, far diſtant from the court, ſeemed moſt advantageous for the intereſt of their religion. This was a moſt wiſe reſolution, had they only known to have followed it out.

Queen Catherine diſſembled the trouble this conduct gave her, and, during the whole year 1571, ſpoke only of faithfully obſerving the treaties, of entering into a cloſer correſpondence with the Proteſtants, and carefully prevenring every cauſe that might rekindle the war. This was the pretext of the Marechal de Coſſe's deputation, whom ſhe ſent to Rochelle with Malaſſize and La Proutiere, maſters of requeſts, her creatures and confidents; but the true motive was, to obſerve all the proceedings of the Calviniſts, to ſound their inclinations, and draw them inſenſibly to ſuch an entire confidence in her, as was abſolutely neceſſary to her deſigns. She neglected nothing on her part of all that was capable to inſpire it into them. The Marechal de Montmorency was ſent to Rouen with the Preſident de Morſan, to do juſtice there for the outrages committed againſt the Huguenots; the infringements of the treaty of peace were ſeverely puniſhed; and King Charles uſually called it his treaty, and his peace. This prince would on all occaſions artfully inſinuate, that he conſented to this peace, in order to ſupport the princes of his blood againſt the too great authority of the Guiſes, whom he accuſed of conſpiring with Spain to embroil the kingdom *.

* Charles IX. naturally hated the Duke of Guiſe. He was ſo diſguſted at his having demanded the Princeſs Margaret his ſiſter in marriage, that one day talking on this ſubject to the Grand Prior of France, natural ſon of Henry II. he ſaid, ſhowing him two ſwords, "Of theſe two ſwords, that thou ſeeſt, there is one to kill thee, if "to-morrow at the chace thou doſt not kill the Duke of Guiſe with "the other." Theſe words were afterwards repeated to the Duke of Guiſe, who quitted his purſuit. Matth. book 6. p. 333. The ſame hiſtorian adds, that Charles IX. purſued the Duke of Guiſe one day with a javelin in his hand, which he ſtuck forcibly into a door, juſt at

These noblemen seemed daily to decrease in favour; and their complaints, whether true or false, gave all imaginable colour to this report. Charles did not even make the least difficulty of advancing as far as Blois and Bourgeuil, to confer with the Reformed, who for their deputies had named Teligny *, son-in-law to the Admiral, Briquemaut, Beauvais-la-Nocle, and Cavagne; and these four deputies, going afterwards to Paris, were there loaded with presents and civilities.

The Marechal de Cossé did not fail to make the most of these appearances of sincerity. After he had by these means insinuated himself, he began to entertain the Queen of Navarre more seriously, with the project of a marriage between the Prince her son and the Princess Margaret, sister to the King of France: he was commissioned by Charles to promise a portion of 400,000 crowns. For the Prince of Condé, he proposed the third heiress of Cleves, a very considerable match: and the Countess d'Entremont for the Admiral de Coligny. As they well foresaw, that he would be more obstinate to their persuasions than all the others besides, therefore the Marechal de Cossé annexed to this last article of marriages, a present of 100,000 crowns, which the King engaged to give the Admiral, together with a grant of all the benefices which his brother the Cardinal had enjoyed †. The Marechal

at the time the Duke came out of it, for having at play, touched him with a file. Ibid. p. 376.

* He had a face so sweet and graceful, that at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, those who were first sent to assassinate him, stopt, as in suspence, and had not resolution enough to strike the blow.

† Odet de Chastillon, Cardinal Bishop of Beauvais, Abbot of St. Benoit sur Loire, &c. He was made a cardinal at sixteen years of age; and though he was degraded from this dignity by Pope Pius IV. he was publicly married, in the habit of a cardinal, to Elisabeth de Hauteville, a lady of Normandy, to whom he gave the title of *Countess of Beauvais*, and as such she took rank at the public ceremonies. In 1564, he was arraigned for high treason before the parliament of Paris.

chal de Biron came to confirm these shining offers, and finally gained the Queen of Navarre, by making a feigned confidence to her of the suspicions entertained at court that Philip II. King of Spain had poisoned the Queen his wife, Elisabeth of France *, falsely accused of an intrigue with the Infant Don Carlos †. He told her father, under an injunction of secrecy, that the court being resolved to revenge this injury, would carry the war into Flanders and Artois, the restitution of which would be demanded from the King of Spain, as being ancient fiefs of the crown, as well as that of Navarre; and that they would begin with succouring Mons, which the Prince of Orange ‡ had just taken from the Spaniards.

And for the finishing stroke, he added, that the King had an eye upon the Admiral for conducting his army, with the title of *Viceroy of the Low Countries*: and he was actually, at that instant, permitted to nominate the general officers that were to serve under him, as a little before they had left it to him to nominate the commissioners of the peace. The report of this expedition into the Low Coun-

Paris. He died in the beginning of 1571, at Southampton in England, whither he had been sent, during the war, to support the interests of the Calvinists with Q. Elisabeth: and after the peace, he was employed by the King to treat of a marriage between that princess and the Duke of Alençon. It is certain, though D'Aubigné takes no notice of it, that his valet de chambre poisoned him with an apple, as he was preparing to return to France, whether he was recalled by the Admiral his brother. De Thou, lib. 50. —— D'Aubigné adds, that the Admiral was in reality put into possession of great part of these benefices, and enjoyed them all for one year; and that Charles IX. gave him also 100,000 francs, to purchase furniture for his house of Chastillon. D'Aubigné, vol. 2. book 1. chap. 1.

* Eldest daughter of Henry II. and Catherine de Medicis. Most of our French historians are of this opinion. The Spaniards attribute her death to bleeding, and medicines, that the physicians, not knowing that she was with child, made her take. She died a little time after, in 1568.

† Don Carlos, Prince of Spain, whom Philip II. his father also put to a violent death.

‡ William of Nassau, Prince of Orange.

tries

tries spread so far, that it is certain, the Grand Seignior offered the King of France his galleys and troops to make a diversion, and to facilitate the conquest. With regard to the Queen of England, nothing was omitted that ought to have been done on this occasion. Montmorency was sent ambassador thither, with instructions to use every method by which he might gain this princess, and dispose her to chuse one of the King's brothers for a husband: A marriage which, they said, would alike strengthen the union of the two religions, and the two powers.

This proceeding, so full of seeming frankness, ought to have been suspected by its being overacted; yet it had the designed effect; and the discourse of the courtiers did not a little contribute towards it. The desire of breathing the air of a court devoted to pleasure, and of enjoying the honours that were prepared for them, conduced more than any thing to remove their scruples. Beauvais, Boursaut, and Francourt, were the first who suffered themselves to be persuaded; and they afterwards made it, in some sort, a point of honour, to persuade others. Some hints of a journey to Paris had been already thrown out; these three persons strongly supported that design, and represented to the Queen of Navarre, that if she refused to go upon this occasion, she would not only give offence to the King, but might also lose the fruit of the most favourable of all conjunctures. She was at first distrustful: she balanced some months, and submitted about the end of 1571. In the beginning of 1572, preparations were made for the journey, and the time of departure was at last actually settled for the month of May following.

The Huguenots, one would imagine, had affected to close their eyes, that they might not see a thousand circumstances, that ought to have made the sincerity of so many great promises suspected.

The King and Queen could not diſſemble ſo effectually, as never to lie open to penetration. It was known, that Charles had one day ſaid to Catherine, "Do I not play my cue well?" To which ſhe anſwered, "Admirably, my ſon; but you muſt "hold out to the end." Something alſo had tranſpired, relating to the reſult of the conferences held at Bayonne *, between the courts of France and Spain. The King of Navarre had been very ill received in his government of Guyenne: Bourdeaux had ſhut its gates againſt him; and the Marquis de Villars, who commanded the Royal army there, would neither withdraw his troops, nor allow them to receive orders from the Prince. In Rochelle, they were not ignorant that the King had actually a naval force over all that coaſt, which they ſuppoſed to be deſtined for Holland. The citizens had moreover diſcovered the artifices which Strozzy, La-Garde, Lanſac, and Landerau, had made uſe of to gain the cuſtody of their gates, and to ſeize their city. In fine, while they made a merit of their exactneſs in maintaining the treaty of peace in its fulleſt extent, it was but too eaſy to diſcern an infinitude of outrages done the Reformed, which the court had either authoriſed or tolerated. The Chancellor de l'Hopital, for offering to execute juſtice upon the aggreſſors at Rouen, Dieppe, O-

* In 1564, the Queen-mother, after having traverſed a great part of the kingdom, advanced to Bayonne, where ſhe had many private conferences with the Duke d'Albe, who had accompanied the Queen of Spain thither. There were appearances ſufficient to induce a belief that theſe conferences related to an alliance between the Pope, France, and the houſe of Auſtria, and the means by which they ſhould extirpate the Proteſtant party. But there is no certainty, that the deſign of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, which was not put in execution till ſeven years after, was formed there. Matthieu tells us, that the Prince of Navarre being then a child, and almoſt continually with Catherine de Medicis, heard ſomething of the plot to exterminate the chiefs of the Proteſtant party; that he gave notice of it to the Queen his mother, and ſhe to the Prince of Condé and the Admiral; and that the rage this inſpired them with, carried them to the enterpriſe at Meaux. Hiſt. of France, vol. 1. p. 283.

range, &c. and for refusing to seal the revocation of an edict of pacification, had been banished the court? Without all this, it might (one should think) have been sufficient to the Huguenots, to have known as they did, the characters of Catherine and her son. Could they flatter themselves, that this prince, naturally passionate and vindictive, would forget the attempt at Meaux *, the invasion of Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Lion, &c.; Havre given up by the Huguenots to the English, foreigners introduced into the heart of the kingdom, so many battles fought, so much blood shed? *The interest of the state*, that big word so much in the mouths of sovereigns, because it lends the mask of good policy to their personal resentments, and other passions, will scarcely permit them to suffer their subjects to engage in such enterprises with impunity. As for Catherine, she had to that moment persisted in imputing to them the death of her husband, which she could never pardon, any more than their having treated as antichrist those of the house of Medicis. Nor was there less imprudence in trusting the Parisians, whose animosity and fury against the Huguenots was just then signally manifested in the affair of the Cross of Gatine †. My father was so sensibly struck with these

* In the year 1567, the Prince of Conde and the Admiral de Coligny, formed the design of seizing Charles IX. at Meaux, where he then was, and from whence the Queen mother made him set out precipitately at night, to return to Paris. This design would have been executed, but for the seasonable arrival of 3000 Swiss, who covered the King in his march, and the Calvinists durst not attack him. See the historians.

† The following is the fact, as related by M. de Thou, book 50. anno 1571. Philip Gatine, a rich merchant of St. Denis street, having been some years before convicted of lending his house to the Huguenots for a church, he was condemned, by the parliament of Paris, to be hanged or burnt on the 30th of July. His house being demolished, in its place was erected a pillar, in the form of a cross which was afterwards called *the cross of Gatine*. With the edict of pacification passed in 1570, the Calvinists obtained, that this cross should be thrown down, which, after some delays, was at last executed,

these motives, that he discovered himself incredulous upon the first advice which he received of the journey of the court of Navarre to Paris. Persuaded, that the present calm would be of short continuance, he made haste to avail himself of it, in order to shut himself up immediately, with all his effects, in Rochelle, when every one else talked of nothing but leaving it. The Queen of Navarre herself informed him more particularly of this design soon after, and ordered him to join her in her passage at Vendome. He made himself ready to set out; and being desirous of taking me with him, he ordered me, some days before that of his departure, to attend him in his chamber: and no one being present but La-Durandiere, my preceptor, he thus spoke to me, "Maximilian, since custom does not "permit me to make you the principal heir of my "fortune, I will, in compensation, endeavour to "enrich you with virtues; by means of which, I "hope, as hath been foretold me, you shall one "day become something. Prepare yourself, there-"fore to support with fortitude all the disappoint-"ments and difficulties you may meet with in the "world, and by nobly surmounting them, acquire "the esteem of men of honour, particularly that "of the master to whom I mean to give you, and "in whose service I would recommend it to you "to live and die. While I am upon my departure "for Vendome, to meet there the Queen of Na-"varre, and the Prince her son; do you also make

ted, but not without such violent tumults among the populace, that the council was obliged to send some troops thither, under the command of the Duke de Montmorency. Felibien says, that this cross was replaced at the entry of the church yard of the Innocents, after the iron plate, upon which the decree of the parliament was engraved, had been taken away, and that it is still to be seen there. And Sauval mentions the place where this house stood, in the street of St. Denis, over against the street of the Lombards; where indeed there is a hollow in the ground, which possibly might be the foundation of Gatine's house.

"yourself ready to come along with me, and pre-
"pare a speech to present your service to the
"Prince, when I shall present him your person."
I did in consequence accompany him to Vendome*.
He found there a general security, and an air of
gladness on every face, to which he durst not in
public object; but as often as he had an opportuni-
ty of conversing in private, either with the Queen,
or the Prince, the Admiral, the Counts Ludovic
and Rochefoucaut, and the other Protestant Lords,
he very freely told them, he was surprised they had
so soon forgotten the subjects of a fear so well
grounded that, on the part of a reconciled enemy,
an excess of promises and caresses was no less suspi-
cious, and greatly more dangerous, than that of
menaces and avowed hatred; that it was, besides,
to hazard a great deal, to expose a young prince,
too little guarded against the allurements of plea-
sure, to the attractions of the most voluptuous
court in the world. He represented to them, that,
instead of dreaming of an alliance so unhappy as
that of this prince, and a princess who professed a
different religion, it had been more to the purpose,
to have pushed a marriage with the Queen of Eng-
land, who could have so usefully served him in re-
covering the crown of Navarre, and possibly, ac-
cording to conjunctures, that of France. He had
so strong a foreboding of the fatal consequences of
this French match, that he oftentimes said, if these
nuptials were celebrated at Paris, he foresaw, that
"the bridal-favours would be very red." These
were his own expressions. An advice so discreet
was not taken but for the effect of weakness, and

* Francis de Bethune, the author's father, followed the Prince of Condé to the battle of Jarnac, and was there taken prisoner. An indictment of high treason was made out against him, for having borne arms against his Majesty; and his estates were seized, but were restored to him at the peace. Du Chesne.

timidity.

timidity. My father not affecting to seem wiser than so many persons more enlightened, suffered himself, contrary to his own sentiments, to be carried down with the torrent; and only demanded time to put himself into a condition of appearing with that splendor his rank required, in a court where all was magnificent. For this purpose, he again took the road to Rosny; but first he presented me to the Prince of Navarre, in the presence of the Queen his mother, and gave him, in my name, assurances of an inviolable attachment; which I confirmed with a good deal of assurance, putting one knee to the ground. The Prince raised me immediately, and, after twice embracing me, had the goodness to commend the zeal which all my family had ever discovered for him, and, with his natural engaging air, promised me his protection; a promise I at that time regarded as the mere effect of his complaisance, but which I have since seen accomplished far beyond my hopes and merit. I did not return to Rosny with my father, but went to Paris in the train of the Queen of Navarre. As soon as I arrived, my youth making me feel how much I had need of instruction, I applied myself closely to study, not ceasing, however, to make my court to the Prince my master. I lived with a governor and valet de chambre, at a distance from the court (in the quarter of Paris where almost all the colleges are) until the bloody catastrophe which happened a short time after.

Nothing could be kinder than the reception and treatment which the Queen of Navarre, her children, and principal servants, met with from the King and Queen-mother. Charles IX. was continually praising the virtues and probity of the Count de Rochefaucaut, de Teligny, Resnel, Beaudisner, Piles, Pluviaut, Colombieres, Grammont, Duras, Bouchavannes, Gamache, my father, and other Protestant Lords. The Admiral he always called

called father, and took it upon himself to reconcile to him the princes of the house of Guise. To him also he granted the pardon of Villandry *, which he had refused to his own mother and his brothers, his crime being thought unpardonable. When the Admiral was wounded, the King, upon the first notice of it, broke into oaths and threatenings, and vowed he would make the assassin † be searched for, in

* Villandry being at play with the King, was so rash as to commit some offence against Majesty itself, for which he was sentenced to be put to death. Davila, book 5. See also the fact particularised by D'Aubigne, vol. 2. book 1. chap. 2.

† He was called Nicholas de Louvieres, Lord of Maurevert in Brie. "Must I, said Charles IX. throwing his racket at him in a rage, "be perpetually troubled with new broils? Shall I never have any "quiet?" Many have doubted, whether these threatenings and transports of Charles were not sincere; and whether this prince, who had at first apparently entered into all the designs of the Queen his mother, did not suffer himself at last to be gained by the Admiral de Coligny, in those private conversations, in which the Admiral never ceased to represent to him the effects of this princess's bad government, and to exhort him to shake off his dependence on her. Villeroy's Memoirs of state, vol. 2. p. 55. & 66. and many other writers of those times, give such strong proofs of this fact, that it is very difficult to decide upon this question. If we may believe the memoirs of Tavannes, there was so little agreement between Charles IX. and his mother, that Catherine saw no other means of preserving her authority, which she was upon the point of losing, than by causing the Admiral to be assassinated, and this writer pretends, that Maurevert was suborned, unknown to the King, to strike the blow. On the other side, Matthieu believes he is well founded in maintaining, vol. 1. book 6. that Charles IX. deceived the Admiral from first to last. He relates, that this prince, observing the opposition made by some of his counsellors to the design of extirpating the Huguenots, represented to them in a rage, that the kingdom was lost, if their plot was not executed that very night; because, should that night pass, there would not be time to prevent the projects of the rebels, with which, he said, he was well acquainted. He added, that those who did not approve of his resolution, would never be considered by him as his servants.

But this historian does not advert, that a few papers after, he himself left us the weight of these proofs, by relating a conversation which Henry III. had in Poland with his physician Miron; of which the following is an abridgement. Henry III. then Duke of Anjou, going, some days before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, into the chamber of the King his brother, observed, that this prince looked upon

in the darkeſt corner of the palaces of the Guiſes. He would have all the court, after his example, to viſit the wounded Admiral. When the Guiſes begged of this prince, that he would deign to hear their

upon him with eyes ſo full of rage, and with an air ſo furious, that, apprehending the conſequence of theſe violent emotions, he ſoftly regained the door, and hurried immediately to give the alarm to the Queen mother. She being but too much diſpoſed to believe it, from what had happened to herſelf, reſolved to get rid of Coligny without further delay. Maurevert having partly failed in his attempt, ſince he only wounded the Admiral in the arm, the Queen-mother and the Duke of Anjou, finding they could not hinder the King from viſiting him, thought it neceſſary to accompany him, and, under pretence of ſparing the Admiral's ſtrength, interrupted, as often as they could, the private converſation they held together. During this viſit, Catherine, who was ſurrounded with Calviniſts, obſerved, that they frequently whiſpered to each other, and looked on her from time to time with very ſuſpicious eyes. This adventure ſhe reckoned to be the moſt dangerous ſhe had ever been engaged in. As they returned, ſhe preſſed the King ſo vehemently to tell her what had paſſed between him and the Admiral, that this Prince could not hinder himſelf from betraying it, by telling her, with his uſual oath, that ſhe ſpoiled all his affairs, or ſome words to that purpoſe. Catherine, now more alarmed than before, had recourſe to an artifice which ſucceeded. She repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to her ſon, that he was ready to fall into the ſnare, which, as ſhe imagined, the Admiral had laid for him; that he was on the point of being delivered up to the Huguenots, combined with ſtrangers; without having any thing to hope for from his Catholic ſubjects, who, through diſguſt at finding themſelves betrayed, had choſen another leader. She was ſo well ſeconded by all the other counſellors, excepting only the Marechal de Retz, that Charles IX. himſelf, being ſeized with fear, and paſſing from one extreme to another, was the firſt to propoſe, and even preſs, the murder not only of the Admiral, but of all the Huguenots; to the end, ſaid he, that there may not one be left to reproach me. All the reſt of that day, and the following night, they conſulted upon the means of executing the deſign. At break of day, Charles, the Queen-mother, and the Duke of Anjou, went to the gate of the Louvre, and, hearing a piſtol go off, fear and remorſe ſeized them. The King ſent orders to the Duke of Guiſe to ſuſpend further proceedings. To which the Duke replied, his orders had come too late; and they, taking freſh courage, joined in every thing that was afterwards done.

It is poſſible, I think, to reconcile theſe different opinions, and preſerve to the proofs alledged on each ſide all their force, by ſaying, that Charles IX. who undoubtedly invited the Admiral to Paris, in order to have him murdered with the reſt of the Huguenots, ſuffered himſelf to be ſo ſhaken by his ſpeeches, that he embraced alternately propoſitions

their vindication they were very ill received. The Spaniſh ambaſſador was on this occaſion ſo ill treated, that he thought fit to withdraw. Pope Pius V. was not ſpared in the tranſports of Charles, he having refuſed the neceſſary diſpenſation for Henry's marriage with the Princeſs Margaret, for which they prepared with the utmoſt magnificence. The King carried his deference for this prince ſo far, as to diſpenſe with his going into the church of Notre-dame *. He was even excuſed from obſerving all the Romiſh ceremonies. The Cardinal de Bourbon †, making ſome remonſtrances upon theſe tolerations, which to him appeared exceſſive, was

propoſitions from both the contending parties: and that their different ſpeeches threw him into a ſtate of irreſolution, from whence he was only freed by the natural impetuoſity of his temper, of which Catherine knew well how to avail herſelf. Coligny's ſecurity proceeded from his not being able to doubt the efficacy of his arguments on the mind of this prince: otherwiſe, it would not have been poſſible for Charles to have ſo long impoſed upon a man of the Admiral's great abilities and prudence. A young King of three and twenty, who, till that moment, had been almoſt always governed by others, was not capable of that deep policy which they have had the complaiſance to attribute to him. It muſt be confeſſed, however, that this young prince already carried diſſimulation to its utmoſt height; of which his having never diſcovered the ſecrets of his council, or thoſe of the Admiral to each other, although ſtrongly preſſed to it, is an inconteſtable proof.

* The King's reſolution was, that the marriage ſhould not be celebrated in a manner wholly conformable to either religion. Not to the Calviniſt, becauſe the vows were to be received by a prieſt, who was to be the Cardinal of Bourbon; not to the Romiſh, becauſe theſe vows were to be received without the ſacramental ceremonies of the church.

A great ſcaffold was erected in the court before the principal gate and entry of the church of Paris, on Monday Auguſt 18. 1572, upon which they were betrothed and married on the ſame day, and by a ſingle act, the Moſt High, &c. This done, the bridegroom retired to the meeting to hear a ſermon, and the bride went into the church to hear maſs, according to the articles of the treaty of marriage: after which they both came to the entertainment prepared for them in the great hall of the palace, &c. *B. le Graon, Dec.* of Henry IV. book 2.

Charles IX. gave his ſiſter 300,000 crowns for a portion; and the Queen of Navarre yielded the Upper and Low Counties of Armagnac, &c. to her ſon at his marriage. Matthieu, vol. 1. book 6.

† Charles de Bourbon, Cardinal, uncle to Henry IV.

diſmiſſed with a ſevere reprimand. The face of things was wholly changed upon the death of the Queen of Navarre; all the court appeared ſenſibly touched, and went into deep mourning. In a word, it is not giving too ſtrong a name to all this conduct of Catherine and her ſon, to call it an almoſt incredible prodigy of diſſimulation; ſeeing ſhe could inſnare by it ſo diſcreet a man as the Admiral de Coligny, and that, notwithſtanding a thouſand circumſtances concurring, one would think, to make him apprehend the danger that was approaching: for it was openly ſaid, that Genlis and La-Noüe, who had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Prince of Orange, were defeated * by the connivance of the French court; which, while it was uncertain of ſucceſs in the principal object of its diſſimulation, could not think of riſking all the conſequences which that diſſimulation might produce.

They were alſo informed of the conferences which the Queen-mother, and the principal miniſters, held with Cardinal Alexandrin, nephew of Pope Pius V. and with the Guiſes; the laſt having been twice diſcovered converſing in maſk with the King, the Queen mother, the Duke de Retz, and the Chancellor de Birague †. This was ſufficient to ſhew what they ought to think of their pretended diſgrace. In the death of the Queen of Navarre ‡, they thought they could perceive manifeſt indications

* John d'Angeſt d'Ivoy, of the ancient houſe of Genlis. Francis de la Noüe, a gentleman of the greateſt reputation in the Proteſtant party, and eſteemed even by the Catholics themſelves. The Admiral, ſpeaking of this misfortune to Charles IX. attributed it to the ſecret being but ill kept in the council. Charles demanded of the Duke of Alba, by Claude Monducet, his reſident in the Low Countries, the French Proteſtant gentlemen who had been taken priſoners. De Thou, anno 1572, book 51.

† Of him it was ſaid, that he was Cardinal without a title, chancellor without ſeals, and prieſt without a benefice.

‡ She was lodged with Charles Gaillart, Biſhop of Chartres, a man violently ſuſpected of Calviniſm. Soon after her return from

indications of poiſon. It paſſed for certain, that the wound the Admiral received came from the houſe of Villemur, preceptor to the Guiſes; and that the aſſaſſin had been met in his flight, upon a horſe belonging to the King's ſtable. Even the guards that Charles * placed about the Admiral after this attempt, under pretext of ſecuring his perſon, were, the greateſt part of them, his declar-

Blois, whither ſhe had followed the court, ſhe was ſeized with a violent fever, and died on the fifth day of her illneſs. There were many different opinions concerning the manner of her death. The Memoirs of L'Etoile, A'Aubigné, and all the Calviniſts, aſcribe it to poiſon, which they ſay was given her in a pair of gloves by a Florentine, whoſe name was *René*, perfumer to the Queen mother. De Serres gives us to underſtand, that the phyſicians who opened her body, had orders not to touch her brain, which was ſuppoſed to be affected with the poiſon. But they are all ſtrongly contradicted by Le Grain, and ſeveral others, who maintain that ſhe died of a pleuriſy, occaſioned by her being overheated in making preparations for the nuptials of her ſon: to which was added the vexation ſhe conceived at being obliged to kneel to the holy ſacrament as it paſſed before her houſe, on *Corpus Chriſti* day. La Popeliniere, Pereſixe, and de Thou, endeavour to remove all ſuſpicions of poiſon. The laſt mentioned aſſures us, that Charles IX. ordered the head of this princeſs to be opened, as well as the reſt of her body; and, if the phyſicians did not do it, it was becauſe they found the true cauſe of her death in an abſceſs ſhe had in her body. This is alſo the opinion of Matthieu.

* All this is true, and proves, that this ſtratagem was the work of the Queen mother, and not that of the King. It is hard to ſay, what was her real intention in ſtriking this ſtroke; whether ſhe ſought to get rid of a man who poſſeſſed too much power over the King's mind, and was capable of ruining her deſign of exterminating all the Huguenots; or whether, if the Admiral had died of this wound, ſhe would have confined her vengeance to his ſingle death; or, laſtly, whether ſhe expected the noiſe of this aſſaſſination would excite the Calviniſts in Paris to revolt, and by that means furniſh her with the occaſion ſhe wanted, to fall upon them with a high hand, for which her party was already prepared. Many expedients were propoſed in the council to give a pretence for attacking them; amongſt others, the aſſault of an artificial fort built in the Louvre, which would afford them an opportunity of turning the feigned ſlaughter into a real one againſt the Huguenots. At laſt, they reſolved to put them all to the ſword in the night.

The Admiral lodged in the ſtreet Bediſy in an inn, which is called at preſent the *Hotel S. Pierre*. The chamber where he was murdered is ſtill ſhewn there.

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ed enemies. It was no leſs certain, that all the citizens of Paris were furniſhed with arms, which, by the King's order, they kept in their houſes.

The moſt clear-ſighted among the Huguenots, yielding to proofs ſo convincing, quitted the court, and Paris itſelf, or lodged at leaſt in the ſuburbs. Of this number were Meſſ. de Langoiran, de Frontenay, the Viſcount de Chartres, de Loncaunay, de Rabodanges, Du-Breüil, de Segur, de Say, Du-Touchet, Des-Hayes, de Saint-Gelais, de Chouppes, de Beauvais, de Grandrie, de St. Eſtienne, d'Arnes, de Boiſec, and many other gentlemen of Normandy, and Poitou *. Happily my father was one of thoſe, whoſe life was preſerved by a wiſe diſtruſt. When they were preſſed to come nearer the court, they replied, that they found the air of the ſuburbs was better for their health, and the air of the fields ſtill better than that of the ſuburbs. When they were informed, that the Biſhop of Valence, in taking leave of the King for his embaſſy to Poland, had penetrated into the ſecret, and been indiſcreet enough to reveal it to ſome of his friends, and that they had intercepted letters ſent to Rome by the Cardinal de Pelevé, in which he unveiled all this myſtery to the Cardinal de Lorrain; then it was, that theſe gentlemen redoubled their importunity with the King of Navarre, either to quit Paris himſelf, or at leaſt to permit them to retire to their own homes. To their advice the Prince oppoſed that which had been given him by a number of other perſons, and even in the Proteſtant party; for where are not traitors to be found? They warned him to be diſtruſtful; they named to him the names of all theſe who had been gained over by

* All the perſons here mentioned earneſtly preſſed the Admiral to abandon Paris. "By doing ſo," ſaid he, "I muſt ſhew either fear "or diſtruſt. My honour would be injured by the one, by the other "the King. I ſhould be again obliged to have recourſe to a civil "war; and I would rather die than ſee again the miſeries I have "ſeen, and ſuffer the diſtreſs I have already ſuffered." Matthieu, vol. 1. book 6. p. 343.

the Queen-mother to deceive him. He liſtened to nothing. The Admiral * appeared no leſs incredulous: his bad deſtiny began by blinding, to deſtroy him. Happy, if he had had the prudence of the Marechal de Montmorency, whom they could never draw from Chantilly, although the King inceſſantly plied him to partake in the favour of the Admiral, and to continue near his perſon, to aid him in his counſels.

If I ſought to augment the horror univerſally excited by an action ſo barbarous † as that of the 24th

* It has been ſaid, that all the fine actions which the Admiral de Coligny performed in his life, were againſt his God, his religion, his country, and his King. How much is it to be lamented, that he did not employ his talents more uſefully! For all the hiſtorians agree, that he was the moſt conſummate politician, and the greateſt warrior that ever appeared. It is thought that it was in conſequence of the advice he gave to the Prince of Orange, that the Low Countries rebelled againſt Spain, maintained the war ten years, and formed the plan of a republic, which in part has ſucceeded. It is alſo believed, and not without probability, that he would have made a like in France. He is grievouſly accuſed in Villeroy's memoirs, vol. 4. p. 322, 340. But he always ſteadily denied, particularly in his laſt will, his ever having had any intention of attempting the perſon of the King. See his elogium and political deſigns in Brantome, vol. 3. De Thou, and the other hiſtorians.

† What M. de Sully ſays of the maſſacre ought not to be thought too ſevere. "An execrable action," cries Perefixe, "that never "had, and, I truſt God, never will have its like." Pope Pius V. was ſo much afflicted at it, that he ſhed tears; but Gregory XIII. who ſucceeded him, ordered a public thankſgiving to God for this maſſacre to be offered at Rome, and ſent a legate to congratulate Charles IX. and to exhort him to continue it. The following is a ſhort account of the maſſacre. All the neceſſary meaſures having been taken, the ringing of the bells of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, for matins, was the ſignal for beginning the ſlaughter. The Admiral de Coligny was firſt murdered, in the midſt of his ſervants, by Beſmes, a German, and a domeſtic of the Duke of Guiſe, and others; the Duke himſelf, and the Chevalier de Guiſe, ſtaying below in the court. His body was thrown out of the window. They cut off his head, and carried it to the Queen-mother, together with his box of papers; among which, it is ſaid, they found the memoirs of his own times, compoſed by himſelf. After they had offered all ſorts of indignities to the bleeding carcaſe, it was hung on the gibbet of Montfaucon, whence the Marechal de Montmorency cauſed it to be taken down in the

24th of Auguſt 1572, too well known by the name of *the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew*, I ſhould in this place expatiate upon the number, the quality, the virtues, and the talents of thoſe who were inhumanly butchered on this horrible day as well in Paris as in all the reſt of the kingdom. I ſhould mark at leaſt ſome part of the reproaches, the ignominious treatments, and the deteſtable devices of cruelty, which aimed, in giving death, to inflict a

the night, and buried at Chantilly. The whole houſe of Guiſe had been perſonally animated againſt the Admiral, ever ſince the laſt aſſaſſination of Claude Duke of Guiſe, by Poltrot de Meré, whom they believed to have been incited to this crime by him; and, to ſay the truth, the Admiral was never able to clear himſelf of this imputation. If this butchery (as many people are fully perſuaded) was only an effect of the Guiſes's reſentment, who adviſed the Queen-mother to it, with a view of revenging their own quarrel; it muſt be confeſſed, that no particular perſon ever drew ſo ſevere a vengeance for an offence. All the domeſtics of the Admiral were afterwards ſlain; and, at the ſame time, the King's emiſſaries began the ſlaughter in all quarters of the city. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of the Calviniſts who loſt their lives, were Francis de la Rochefoucault, who having been at play part of the night with the King, and finding himſelf ſeized in bed by men in maſks, thought it was the King and his courtiers who came to divert themſelves with him: Anthony de Clermont, Marquis de Reſnel, murdered by his own kinſman Lewis de Clermont of Bury d'Amboiſe, with whom he had a law-ſuit for the marquiſate of Clermont; Charles de Quellenec, Baron of Pont in Bretagne, whoſe dead body excited the curioſity of the ladies of the court, on account of a proceſs carried on by his wife, Catherine de Parthenay, daughter and heireſs of John de Soubize; Francis Nompar de Cammont, murdered in his bed betwixt his two ſons; one of whom was ſtabbed by his ſide, but the other, by counterfeiting himſelf dead, and lying concealed under the bodies of his father and brother, eſcaped: Teligny, ſon-in-law to the admiral: Charles de Beaumanoir de Lavardin; Antony de Marafin, Lord of Guerchy; Beaudiner, Pluviaut, Berny, Du Briou, governor to the Marquis of Conti; Beauvais, governor to the King of Navarre, Colombierds, Francourt, &c. The Count de Montgomery was purſued by the Duke of Guiſe as far as Montfort L'Amaury. The King pardoned the Viſcounts of Grammont and Duras, and Gamache and Beuchavannes. The three brothers of the Marechal de Montmorency were alſo ſpared, through fear that he might thereafter revenge their death. See the hiſtorians and other writers. Read alſo that fine deſcription of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, by M. de Voltaire, in his Henriade, Canto 2.

thouſand

thouſand ſtabs, as ſenſible as death itſelf to the unhappy victims. I have the pieces ſtill in my hands, that vouch the inſtances of the court of France with the neighbouring courts, to imitate its example againſt the Reformed, or at leaſt to refuſe an aſylum to all theſe unfortunate people. But I prefer the honour of the nation to the malignant pleaſure which particular perſons might draw from a detail, in which they would find the names of thoſe who forgot humanity ſo far, as to imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, and of their proper parents. I even would, if it were poſſible, bury for ever the memory of a day for which the divine vengeance puniſhed France by ſix and twenty ſucceſſive years of diſaſter, carnage, and horror. One cannot help judging after this manner when he conſiders all that paſſed from that fatal moment till the peace of 1598. It is even with regret, that I inſiſt upon the part which regards the prince who is the ſubject of theſe memoirs, and upon what of it concerned myſelf.

I had gone to bed betimes in the evening, and felt myſelf awakened about three hours after midnight, by the ſound of all the bells, and the confuſed cries of the populace. My governor St. Julian, with my valet de chambre, went haſtily out to know the cauſe; and I never afterwards heard more of theſe two men, who, without doubt, were among the firſt that were ſacrificed to the public fury. I continued alone in my chamber, dreſſing myſelf, when, in a few moments, I ſaw my landlord enter, pale, and aſtoniſhed. He was of the Reformed religion, and having learned what the matter was, had reſolved to go to maſs, to ſave his life, and preſerve his houſe from being pillaged. He came to perſuade me to do the ſame, and to take me with him. I did not think proper to follow him, but reſolved to try if I could gain the college of Burgundy, where I ſtudied, notwithſtanding the diſtance

ſtance it was from the houſe where I lodged, which made the attempt very perilous. I put on my ſcholar's robe, and taking a large prayer-book under my arm, I went down. Upon entering the ſtreet, I was ſeized with horror at the ſight of the furies, who ruſhed from all parts, and burſt open the houſes, bawling out, "Slaughter, ſlaughter, maſſacre the "Huguenots!" And the blood which I ſaw ſhed before my eyes redoubled my terror. I fell into the midſt of a body of guards; they ſtopped me, queſtioned me, and were beginning to uſe me ill, when, happily for me, the book that I carried was perceived, and ſerved me for a paſſport. Twice after this I fell into the ſame danger, from which I extricated myſelf with the ſame happineſs. At laſt I arrived at the college of Burgundy, where a danger far greater than any I had yet met with awaited me. The porter having twice refuſed me entrance, I remained in the midſt of the ſtreet, at the mercy of the furies, whoſe numbers increaſed every moment, and who were evidently in queſt of their prey, when I bethought myſelf of calling for the principal of the college, La Faye, a good man, who loved me tenderly. The porter, gained by ſome ſmall pieces of money which I put into his hand, did not fail to make him come. This honeſt man made me go into his chamber, where two inhuman prieſts, whom I heard make mention of the Sicilian veſpers *, wanted to force me from him, that they might cut me in pieces, ſaying, the order was, to ſlaughter to the very infants at the breaſt. All that he could do was, to conduct me ſecretly to a remote cloſet, where he locked me up. I was there confined three days, uncertain of my deſtiny, receiving ſuccour only from a domeſtic belonging to this

* In the year 1282, the Sicilians murdered all the French in the iſland. The bell for veſpers was the ſignal.

charitable

charitable man, who brought me from time to time something to preserve my life.

At the end of that term, the prohibition for murdering and pillaging any more of the Protestants being published, I was taken from my cell; and immediately after, I saw Ferriere and La Vieville, two soldiers of the guard who were my father's creatures, enter the college. They came to know what had become of me, and were armed without doubt, to rescue me by force wherever they should find me. They gave my father a relation of my adventure; and eight days after, I received a letter from him, in which he acquainted me how greatly he had been alarmed on my account, but advised me however to continue in Paris, which the Prince, my master, was not at liberty to abandon: only not to expose myself to an evident danger, I should resolve to do what the prince himself had done, meaning that I ought to go to mass. In effect, the King of Navarre had found no other means to save his life. He was awaked, with the Prince of Condé two hours before day, by a multitude of soldiers, who rushed boldly into the chamber, in the Louvre, where they lay, and insolently commanded them to dress themselves, and attend the King. They were forbid expressly to take their swords; and as they went out, they saw several of their gentlemen * massacred disrespectfully before their eyes. Charles waited for them, and received them with a visage and eyes in which fury was painted: he ordered them, with the oaths and blasphemies which were familiar to him, to quit a religion that

* James de Segur, Baron of Pardaillon, a Gascon; Armand de Clermont, Baron of Piles, a Perigordin, &c. Gaston de Lewis, Lord of Leyran, took refuge under the Queen of Navarre's bed, who saved his life. Some person were sent to Chatillon, to seize Francis de Chatillon, the Admiral's son, and Guy de Laval, Andelot's son: but they both escaped, and fled to Geneva. Armand de Gontault de Biron was saved by fortifying himself in the arsenal.

had

had only been taken up, he said, to serve as a pretext for their rebellion. The condition to which these princes † were reduced, could not hinder them from discovering that they should obey him with pain: so that the wrath of the King became immoderate. He told them, in an imperious and furious tone, "That he would no longer be contradicted in his sentiments by his subjects; that "they, by their example, should teach others to "revere him as the image of God, and cease to be "enemies to the images of his mother." He ended by declaring, that if they did not go that moment to mass, he was forthwith to give orders to treat them as criminals guilty of treason against divine and human majesty. The manner in which these words were pronounced, not permitting them to doubt but that they were sincere, they bended under violence, and did what was exacted. Henry was even obliged to send an edict into his dominions, by which the exercise of any other religion but the Romish was forbidden. Though this submission secured his life, in other respects he fared for it but little the better. He was subjected to a thousand caprices and a thousand insults from the court; at times free, oftener closely confined, and treated as a criminal. Sometimes his domestics were permitted to see and to serve him, then all on a sudden we would be prohibited to appear.

At such times I employed my leisure as usefully as possible. I was no longer at liberty from this time forth for learned languages, or whatever is called studies. This application, which my father

† As Henry went to the King, Catharine gave orders that they should lead him under the vaults, and make him pass through the guards drawn up in files on each side, in menacing postures. He started through fear, and recoiled two or three steps back; when immediately Nancai-la-Châtre, captain of the life-guards, removed his apprehensions, by swearing they should do him no hurt. Henry, though he gave but little credit to his words, was obliged to go on amidst the carabines and halberts. *Perefixe.*

had always ſtrongly recommended to me, became impoſſible when once I approached the court. It was with regret I parted with an excellent preceptor, to whoſe care my father had entruſted my education; he himſelf perceiving he could be no longer uſeful, requeſted to retire. From his hands I paſſed into thoſe of one called *Chretien*, whom the King of Navarre kept in his train, and injoined to teach me mathematics and hiſtory: two ſciences which ſoon conſoled me for thoſe I renounced, becauſe I felt that inclination for them, which I have ever ſince preſerved: the reſt of my time was employed in learning to write and read well, and in forming myſelf to exerciſes proper to give gracefulneſs to the body. It was in theſe principles, joining ſtill a greater attention to form the manners, that the method of educating youth conſiſted, which was known to be peculiar to the King of Navarre, becauſe he himſelf had been brought up in that manner. I followed it till I was ſixteen years of age, when the conjuncture of the times throwing us, both him and me, into the tumult of arms, without almoſt the hope of coming out of it, theſe exerciſes neceſſarily gave place to ſuch as related ſolely to war, which (renouncing all others) I began with that of the arquebuſe. All that a young man can then do, is to improve his heart by what he is obliged to with-hold from his underſtanding: for even amidſt the hurry and din of arms, there are not wanting, to him who knows to look them out, excellent ſchools of virtue and politeneſs. But unhappy, and even all his life, is he, who being engaged in a profeſſion ſo fatal to youth, is deficient in ſtrength or inclination to reſiſt bad examples. Though he ſhould have the good fortune to preſerve himſelf from all ſhameful vice, how ſhall he inſtruct and fortify himſelf in the principles that wiſdom dictates alike to the private man and the prince; that virtue be ſo effectually wrought into

habit

habit by practice, that no virtuous action can ever be found painful; and that when reduced to the neceſſity of ſaving all by a crime, or of loſing all by a good action, the heart may even be a ſtranger to the interior ſtruggles of duty and inclination?

It was not long before Charles felt violent remorſe for the barbarous action to which they had forced him to lend his name and authority. From the evening of the 24th of Auguſt, he was obſerved to groan involuntarily at the recital of a thouſand ſtrokes of cruelty, which every one made a merit of in his preſence. Of all thoſe who were about the perſon of this prince, none had ſo great a ſhare of his confidence as Ambroſe Paré. This man, who was only his ſurgeon, had contracted with him ſo great a familiarity, though he was a Huguenot, that, on the day of the maſſacre, this Prince having ſaid, that it was at that hour that all the world muſt become Catholic; Paré replied without emotion, "By the light of God, Sire, I cannot believe but "you remember to have promiſed never to com- "mand me four things, namely, to enter into my "mother's womb, to be preſent in a day of battle, "to quit your ſervice, or to go to maſs." The King took him aſide, and opened himſelf to him upon the trouble with which he felt himſelf agitated. "Ambroſe," ſaid he to him, "I know not "what has befallen me theſe two or three days "paſt, but I feel my mind and body all as much "diſordered as if I had a fever. I think at every "moment, as well when awake as aſleep, that theſe "maſſacred bodies preſent themſelves to me, hi- "deous faces, and covered with blood. I wiſh "from my heart, that the infirm and the innocent "had not been taken in." The order which was publiſhed the day following to diſcontinue the ſlaughter, was the fruit of this converſation.

The King even believed, that his honour was concerned to diſavow all publicly, as he did by the

latters-patent which he ſent into the provinces. He there threw all upon the Guiſes, and would have had the maſſacre paſs for an effect of their hatred againſt the Admiral. The particular letters which he wrote on this ſubject to England, Germany, Switzerland, and other neighbouring ſtates, were conceived in the ſame terms

Doubtleſs it was the Queen-mother and her council that made the King comprehend the conſequence of ſo formal a diſavowal: for, at the end of eight days, his ſentiments and language were ſo greatly changed, that he went to hold his bed of juſtice in the parliament, to order other letters-patent to be regiſtered; the contents of which were, that nothing was done on the 24th of Auguſt but by his expreſs order *, and to puniſh the Huguenots; to each of whom, I mean the principals, a capital crime was imputed, in order, if poſſible, to give the name and colour of an execution of juſtice to a deteſtable butchery. Theſe letters were addreſſed to the governors of provinces, with an order to publiſh them, and to purſue the reſt of the pretended criminals. I ought here to make honourable mention of the Counts de Tende, and de Charny; of Meſſ. de Mandelot, de Gordes, de Saint-Heran, and de Carogue, who openly refuſed to execute any ſuch order in their governments. The Viſcount d'Ortez, governor of Bayonne, had reſolution enough to anſwer Charles, who had wrote him

* Nothing is more certain, than that, during the maſſacre, he was ſeen with a carabine in his hand, which, 'tis ſaid, he fired upon the Calviniſts that were flying. The laſt Marechal de Teſſe was, in his youth, acquainted with an old man of ninety years of age, who had been page to Charles IX. and often told him, that he himſelf had loaded that Carabine. It is alſo true, that this prince went with his court to view the body of the Admiral, which hung by the feet with a chain of iron to the gallows of Montfaucon; and one of his courtiers obſerving it ſmelt ill, Charles replied, as Vitellus had done before him, "The body of a dead enemy always ſmells well." Voltaire's Henriade, p. 32. & 37.

with

with his own hand, "That on this point he must "not expect any obedience †."

The number of Proteſtants maſſacred during eight days, in all the kingdom, amounted to 70,000. This cruſhing blow conveyed ſuch a ſenſible terror into the party, that it believed itſelf extinct, and talked no longer but of ſubmitting, or flying into foreign countries. A vigorous and unexpected ſtroke broke yet once this reſolution. Renier *, a gentleman of the Reformed religion, having, by a kind of miracle, eſcaped out of the hands of the Lord de Vezins, his moſt cruel enemy, ſaved himſelf, with the Viſcount de Gourdon, and about eighty horſe, and came to Montauban. He found this city under ſuch a conſternation, and ſo little in a condition to defend itſelf againſt the troops of Montluc, which approached, that, daring to adviſe the inhabitants to hold out, he himſelf run the riſk

† Claude de Savoy, Count of Tende, ſaved the lives of all the Proteſtants in Dauphiné. When he received the King's letter, by which he was directed to deſtroy them, he ſaid, That could not be his Majeſty's order. —— Eleonor de Chabot, Count of Charny, Lieutenant-General in Burgundy. There was only one Calviniſt murdered at Dijon. —— Francis de Mandelot, governor of Lyon: he was reſolved to ſave the Reformed; who, nevertheleſs, were all maſſacred in the priſons where he had put them for ſecurity. M. de Thou ſays, he only feigned ignorance of this barbarity. —— Bertrand de Simiane, Lord of Gordes, a man greatly eſteemed. —— N. de S. Heran de Montmorin, governor of Auvergne: he poſitively refuſed to obey, unleſs the King was preſent in perſon. —— Tanneguy Le-Veneur, Lieutenant General in Normandy, a man full of probity and humanity: he did all that he could to preſerve the Proteſtants at Rouen; but he was not maſter of it. —— N. Viſcount d'Ortez, governor of all that frontier. See his anſwer to the King. "Sire, I have communicated your Majeſty's orders to your faithful "inhabitants, and to the troops in the garriſon: I found there good "citizens, and brave ſoldiers, but not one executioner." *De Thou, lib. 52. & 53. D'Aubigné, vol. 2. book 1. &c.*

* There is an error in the Memoirs of Sully in this place. It was Vezins himſelf, a man of great honeſty, but of harſh manners, that ſaved the life of Renier, whoſe enemy he had a long time been, and ſtill continued to be, notwithſtanding this action. See this remarkable hiſtory in M. de Thou, book 52.

of

of being delivered up to Montluc; which obliged him to leave Montauban precipitately. This little troop fell in with a party of 450 horſe, belonging to the army of Montluc, and, ſeeking to die glorioufly, performed ſuch prodigious acts of valour, that they cut in pieces the whole party. Renier returned to Montauban with the good news; he was now obeyed, and they ſhut the gates upon Montluc. This reſiſtance, and the reſolution of Montauban, being communicated from one to another, thirty towns followed its example, and conducted themſelves in a manner that the Proteſtants (beyond their moſt aſpiring hopes) obliged the Catholics to keep themſelves on the defenſive.

The latter had at firſt turned all their forces againſt Rochelle and Sancerre, which taking advantage of the general fear, they inveſted. Theſe enterpriſes did not ſucceed. Sancerre, after having ſuffered all the horrors of a famine, of which no hiſtory can furniſh us with examples, at laſt made a ſort of treaty with the beſiegers. For Rochelle, it fruſtrated all the efforts of the Duke of Anjou*, who had come to beſiege it in perſon; and the nomination to the throne of Poland happened very ſeaſonably to ſave the honour of this Prince. By another treaty, in which Nimes and Montauban were comprehended, Rochelle preſerved all its rights; and theſe were the only cities which kept entire the advantages of the laſt edicts.

* The Marechal de Montluc, in his Commentaries, finds great fault with the conduct of this ſiege; that they did not ſend troops enow, carried on the aſſaults improperly, hazarded too much, and ſuffered proviſions to be brought into the place by ſea; however, he ſays, it would have been taken at laſt. He adviſed the Queen mother, from the time ſhe went to Bayonne, to take poſſeſſion of this city. It would have ſaved France both men and money had this advice been followed. See a relation of the ſieges of Rochelle and Sancerre, in D'Aubigné, vol. 2. book 7. La Popeliniere, book 33. and Matthieu, vol. 1. p. 340. and other hiſtorians.

Time,

Time, moreover, produced other conjunctures favourable to the Calviniſts. The Queen-mother had nothing of real tenderneſs for any of her children, excepting only the Duke of Anjou. The departure of this prince for Poland cauſed her as much of affliction, as it gave of joy to his two brothers, K. Charles and the Duke of Alençon. This laſt, by his brother's removal, becoming Duke of Anjou, began to form great expectations of the crown of France, when he ſaw that the tender health of Charles, who had no children, was at laſt changed into a mortal diſtemper. The oppoſition he thought he had reaſon to apprehend the Queen-mother would make to his deſign, totally alienated him from her. This Princeſs, by placing her confidence in a ſmall number of foreigners of low extraction, that governed her finances, had made the greateſt part of the nobility almoſt as diſcontented as the Duke of Alençon. He underhand fomented their revolt, and perſuaded them to avail themſelves of the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants, in whoſe diſgrace they partook. To ward off this blow, and at once to ſatisfy the Duke of Anjou, and her tenderneſs for the King of Poland, ſhe began from that moment to think in earneſt of marrying the firſt of theſe princes with the Queen of England, and of procuring for him the ſovereignty of the Low Countries: but his diſcontentment had already produced its effect.

Charles, from another motive, joined in his brother's reſentment againſt the Queen their mother. The diſeaſe with which he found himſelf attacked, began at Vitry, whither he had accompanied the King of Poland in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to taſte the pleaſure of ſeeing him leave his kingdom. The condition to which he ſoon ſaw himſelf reduced, created a thouſand ſuſpicions againſt Catherine in his mind; ſo that, uniting his intereſt with the Reformed, he began to

ſhew

ſhew them a great deal of good-will. It principally appeared in his permitting them, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Queen-mother, to ſend deputies to propoſe their grievances and their demands at court. Theſe deputies meeting with others, who came on the part of the Catholic provinces, that had been prevailed upon by the diſcontented lords to demand a ſuppreſſion of certain new taxes, and a diminution for ten years of the old, they joined each other. The writ which contained their demands, was not ſigned indeed but by four or five gentlemen; the terms, however, in which it was conceived manifeſting unſhaken firmneſs in a party that ſeemed to derive new ſtrength even from its loſſes, the Queen-mother conceived a violent ſpite. The King now refuſed her his authority, and all ſhe could do was to uſe delays, till the death of this prince, which ſhe well foreſaw was not far diſtant. The Reformed penetrated into her intention, and, that they might not be prevented, appeared ſuddenly in arms. This was called the *inſurrection of Shrove Tueſday*, becauſe they poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral towns on that day *. Montgomery † returned from England to Normandy, where he fortified himſelf. The Queen-mother, and the whole court, was then at St. Germain-en-Laye. She thought, at leaſt, to take ſuch meaſures, that the princes ſhould not eſcape her. But the attempts that were every day made to get them out of her power, did not a little imbarraſs them ‡. Guitry and Buhy came one day to St. Germain in arms, and thought to have carried them off. The

* Fontenay, Luſignan, Melle, Pons, Tonnay-Charente, Talmont, Rochefort, Oriol, Livron, Orange, and other places in Poitou, Languedoc, Dauphiné, &c.

† Gabriel, Count of Montgomery, the ſame that wounded Henry II.

‡ See an account of this enterpriſe in the life of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, book 1. p. 26.

alarm

alarm was very great; but the conſpirators not having well ſecured their blow, Catherine had time to fly with the princes to Paris; where ſhe cauſed behead Coconnas and La-Mole ‖, the contrivers of the plot, and impriſon the Marechals de Montmorency and de Coiſé. After this ſhe placed guards about the King of Navarre and the Duke of Anjou. She ſent alſo ſoldiers to Amiens to arreſt and fetch the Prince of Condé, who was there narrowly watched. He got notice, diſguiſed himſelf, and, deceiving his ſpies, fled happily a third time into Germany, where, upon his arrival, he was declared generaliſſimo of the troops of the religion in France.

The Queen-mother loſt no time in marching all her forces againſt the Huguenots, divided into three armies. Matignon led the firſt into Normandy, where Montgomery, having only two or three inconſiderable places * in his poſſeſſion, was ſoon defeated, and obliged to deliver himſelf up into the hands of this marechal, who ſent him to Paris, where he was beheaded. The ſecond, under the Duke de Montpenſier, went to inveſt Fontenay, and afterwards Luſignan, which he took, notwithſtanding the noble defence made by the Viſcount

‖ La Mole and Coconnas were beloved by two great princeſſes, [the Queen of Navarre and the Ducheſs of Nevers]. Love and jealouſy brought them both to deſtruction. *Mem. of Nev. vol. 1. p. 75.*

* Theſe were Carentan, Valogne, Saint Lo, and Donfront. In this laſt he was taken fighting like a man in deſpair. D'Aubigné, who was himſelf a zealous Calviniſt, cannot certainly be ſuſpected of partiality upon this queſtion relating to the pretended promiſe given to the Count by the Marechal. "The place," ſays he, "was taken, and life was promiſed to all but the Count, to whom artful aſſurances were given, that he ſhould not be delivered into any other hands but thoſe of the King. This I am convinced of, notwithſtanding the contrary has been written. France is guilty of but too many perjuries; there is no occaſion for inventing any to charge her with." *&c. vol. 2. book 2. chap. 7.* Montgomery ſubmitted to his fate like a hero. *De Thou, Brantome, &c.*

de Rohan. The Prince-Dauphin, who commanded the third, took likewiſe ſome ſmall places in Dauphiné; but after ſitting down before Livron, ſhamefully raiſed the ſiege. All was ſuſpended, and a part of the generals recalled to court, on account of the King's death, which happened this year on the day of Pentecoſt. This Prince died at the caſtle of Vincennes, in the moſt exquiſite torments, and bathed in his blood. In this ſtate the unhappy day of St. Bartholemew was always preſent to his mind. He manifeſted, by his tranſports and by his tears, the regret which he felt *. The Cardinal † of Lorrain died alſo this year in the Pope's territories, on the 23d of December, a day remarkable for one of the moſt dreadful tempeſts that ever was ſeen.

The king of Poland was informed of his brother's death in thirteen days, and the night following he ſtole from the court and fled. He viſited by

* He ſent for the King of Navarre, in whom only he acknowledged to have found faith and honour, and moſt affection tely recommended to him his wife and daughter. *Pereſixe.* At his death he ſaid, he was well pleaſed he had left no children, who would have been too young to govern the ſtate in ſuch troubleſome times. Montluc, De Thou, and almoſt all the hiſtorians, agree, that if he had lived, he would have been a very great king. He had a large ſhare of courage, prudence, eloquence, penetration, œconomy, and briefly: he loved polite literature and learned men; but he was choleric and a great ſwearer. He was no more than twenty-five years of age when he died. Many contuſions were found in his body. *De Thou.* However, there were no proofs found of him being poiſoned, as the author of the Legend of Claude Duke of Guiſe ſays he was. His death was occaſioned by violent exerciſes, to which he was very much addicted, and a great quantity of bile, that often made his eyes look quite yellow. His ſtature was tall, but he was not ſtraight, his ſhoulders were bent, his legs thin and weak, his complexion pale, his eyes ghaſtly, and his countenance fierce. See Matthieu, vol. 1. book 6. in fin. and the life of this prince written in Latin by Papire Maſſon.

† Charles, Cardinal of Lorrain, Archbiſhop of Reims. See his character in Brantome's memoirs, book 3. He died, ſays he, at Avignon by poiſon, if we may give credit to the legend of St. Nicaiſe, p. 138. and moſt pioufly, according to Matthieu, who wrote his eulogium, vol. 1. book 7. p. 407.

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the way the Emperor Maximilian, and Charles Duke of Savoy, and took his route through Venice ‡. In theſe places, they gave him counſel equally wiſe and conformable to his intereſts, to grant the reformed peace, and the free exerciſe of their religion: but ſo little did he profit by it, that he broke, immediately upon his arrival in France, the truce that had been granted them for three months, and changed it, at the ſolicitation of Catherine, into a declaration of war againſt the whole Proteſtant party; to which a great number of Catholics had lately joined themſelves, out of affection to the Marechal de Damville, irritated by the impriſonment of his brother.

The King went in perſon to lay ſiege for a ſecond time to Livron, which he was likewiſe obliged to raiſe; and brought nothing away with him, but the ſhame of finding himſelf inſulted from the top of the walls by the women, and even by the very children, who heaped alſo upon the Queen-mother reproaches the moſt ſatirical and the moſt offenſive. From this moment he began to ſhew himſelf ſo prodigiouſly different from what he had been when Duke of Anjou, that it may be ſaid, his ſhameful flight to Avignon was the epocha of his ignominy, of the misfortunes of his kingdom, and of his own. In his journey to Rheims, whether he went immediately after to be conſecrated, he became amorous of one of the daughters of the Count de Vaudemont *, and married her.

It was a happineſs for him, that the Duke of Anjou was all this time cloſely confined: but after Henry's coronation, this prince, who again quitted

‡ The reader may conſult Matthieu, vol. 1. at the beginning of book 7. upon the departure of Henry III. of Poland, and the particulars of his journey.

* Louiſa of Lorrain, daughter of Nicolas, Duke of Mercœur, Count of Vaudemont. Matthieu gives this princeſs great praiſes for her virtue and affection to her huſband. Vol. 2. book 3. p. 438.

his name to take that of *Monſieur*, enjoyed, as well as the King of Navarre, a little more liberty, which was retrenched or augmented according to the news that were received of their correſpondence with the enemies of the Queen-mother †. Another care of Catherine was to diſunite theſe two princes. This ſhe effected, by promiſing each of them ſeparately the poſt of Lieutenant-General of the armies of France, and by employing the means which ſo ſeldom failed to ſucceed with her, I would ſay, intrigues of gallantry, and rivalſhips. She could not manage ſo well, but Monſieur eſcaped at laſt: he deceived his guards, and fled in diſguiſe the 17th of September at night. He no ſooner gained Dreux, than he ſaw himſelf attended by a numerous court, and at the head of a powerful party.

The Prince of Conde had laboured ſo effectually in Germany, that Prince Caſimir was ready to enter France with a ſtrong army.

Catherine had recourſe to another game. She endeavoured to regain Monſieur by the moſt ſpecious offers; ſhe purſued him from city to city, always attended by a retinue of fine ladies, on whom ſhe reckoned ſtill more. In a word, * ſhe managed ſo well, that he fell at laſt into the ſnare that ſhe laid for him.

The King of Navarre, who had never ſuſpected the trap of the lieutenant-generalſhip, imagined ſhe could no longer fail him, and rejoiced at firſt to be

† Henry III. hated Monſieur, on account of his having, as he ſuppoſed, attempted to poiſon him. He endeavoured to engage the King of Navarre to kill this prince, but he received the propoſal with horror. Henry III. being ill with a diſorder in his ear, Henry IV. ſaid one day to the Duke of Guiſe, whom he loved, "Our man is very "ill." The Duke anſwered the firſt time, "It will be nothing." The ſecond, "We muſt think of it." And the third he ſaid to him, "I underſtand you, Sir;" and ſtriking the hilt of his ſword, "See, Sir," added he, "what is at your ſervice." Matthieu, vol. 1. book 7. p. 418.

* They conferred together at Champigny ſur-Vade, a houſe belonging to the Duke of Montpenſier, upon the confines of Touraine.

fairly

fairly rid of Monſieur, whom he always regarded as his rival. The ladies de Carnavalet and de Sauves drew him out of his error. They made him comprehend, that if either of the two could pretend to this fine employment, it was Monſieur, who could make it the price of his reconcilement; but that, in reality, Catherine deceived them both, and as for him, he muſt look for nothing but a captivity ſtill more vigorous. This prince opened his eyes, and applying himſelf wholly to recover his liberty, he found the means one day of February, when he was hunting near Senlis *. Having knowingly diſperſed his guards, he inſtantly paſſed the Seine at Poiſſy, gained Chateau-Neuf in Timerais, which belonged to him, where he took up ſome money of his farmers, and, followed only by thirty horſe, arrived at Alençon, which the Lord de Hertra had ſeized in his name. There he had a conference with Monſieur and the Prince of Condé, who agreed to unite all their forces. From Alençon the King of Navarre went to Tours: where he was no ſooner arrived, than he publicly reſumed the exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion. I was one of thoſe who accompanied this prince in his flight, and in all this journey. He ſent me from Tours with Fervaques, to demand the Princeſs his ſiſter of the court of France. She was delivered to us; and the ſecond day after, this princeſs alſo reſuming her religion, heard ſermon at Chateaudun, and joined the King, who waited for her at Parthenay.

The three princes, after the junction of their troops, found themſelves at the head of above 50,000 † effective men, and made Catherine tremble in her turn. All ſeemed to announce a moſt bloody war. I threw myſelf into the infantry as a ſimple

* See this detail in D'Aubigné, vol. 2. chap. 18. Matthieu, vol. 1. book 7. p. 420. &c.

† According to others, 35000 only.

voluntier,

voluntier, waiting the occaſion of an employment more ſuitable. I made my trial of arms in the neighbourhood of Tours, where there were ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between the detachments of the different parties. The King of Navarre hearing that my behaviour had more of temerity than courage in it, ordered me to be called, and ſaid to me, "Roſny, "it is not here that I would have you hazard your "life. I commend your courage, but I deſire "you ſhould employ it on a better occaſion." This occaſion was not ſo near as we all believed, becauſe Catherine, not finding herſelf the ſtrongeſt, had recourſe to her ordinary management. She talked of peace; ſhe offered more than we thought we could demand; promiſes coſt this artful princeſs nothing. In a word, ſhe had the addreſs to make the princes lay down their arms, and peace was concluded and ſigned three months after. This was called Monſieur's peace *; for, beſides that Catherine's principal view in making it was to gain this prince, he was ſo greatly the dupe of her fineſſe, that at laſt he wiſhed for it, and ſolicited it more ardently than any other perſon. It muſt be confeſſed, it was one of the moſt advantageous: the princes, however, never committed a fault more irreparable than when they put their hands to it.

Monſieur ſoon after committed a ſecond, no leſs capital, when, contrary to his proper intereſt, he ſeparated from the Reformed †. By this prepoſte-

* By the edict of ſixty-three articles, paſſed at the convent of Beaulieu near Loches in Touraine, between the Queen-mother and the princes, the memory of the Admiral de Coligny and the other Proteſtant chiefs was reſtored, chambers of juſtice, compoſed equally of Proteſtants and Catholics, were granted in the principal parliaments, and ſeveral cities given for ſecurity. Monſieur procured alſo a large appennage for himſelf, and a conſiderable ſum in money and jewels for Prince Caſimir. De Thou, D'Aubigné, &c.

† To ſpeak more juſtly, Monſieur, on this occaſion, ſacrificed the King of Navarre and the Huguenots to his intereſts, or to his politics. In the memoirs of Nevers, vol. 1. p. 90. et ſeqq. may be ſeen all the ſteps taken by each party on the ſubject of this treaty.

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rous ſtep he loſt, both on the ſide of France and of England, the occaſions of becoming perhaps one of the moſt powerful princes in Europe. Thus all turned ſtill to the liking of the Queen-mother, who, in making this peace, had nothing in view but the diſunion of her enemies.

Henry, ſeeing the peace made, retired to Rochelle, where the inhabitants, except that they offered him no canopy, paid him all the honours they could have done to the King. The Catholics in this prince's train did not meet with ſo gracious a reception. Caumont, afterwards Duke of Epernon, was not ſuffered to enter the city, nor any other whom they could convict of having imbrued his ſword in the bloody ſlaughter of the 24th of Auguſt.

The King of Navarre ſtaid but ſhort while in this city. Scarce did he open his mouth to demand the accompliſhment of the treaty, till he became ſenſible of the greatneſs of his fault. Catherine denied ſhe had promiſed any thing to the Huguenots, who were obliged to take up arms again before the expiration of the year.

I quitted my firſt poſt, M. de Lavardin, my relation, who had a great affection for me, having made me take the enſignсy of the company he commanded. I was named to defend Perigueux, and afterwards Villeneuve, in Agenois, threatened with a ſiege. The King of Navarre propoſed to undertake ſome conſiderable enterpriſes; but the occaſion was loſt: the greateſt part of the troops upon which he had reckoned, then failed him; and the reſt were in ſo bad a plight, that it was with difficulty he made two enterpriſes, the one upon Réole, the other on St. Macary; in the laſt of which he failed. Favas, who conducted that of Réole, put me at the head of fifty ſoldiers, who entered it without almoſt any danger. I demanded the ſame commiſſion of Langoiran, to whom the aſſault of

St.

St. Macary was intrusted; he granted it to my cousin Bethune and to me: but Favas retained us in the second troop. This I mention as an instance of the first signal happiness I had in war; for the inhabitants of St. Macary having had notice of our design, deceived us so effectually, that not a man of the first troop who had courage to enter, ever returned.

At the siege of Ville-Franche, in Perigord, which was afterwards carried on by Lavardin, I was exposed to a more real danger. During the assault, having mounted the wall with my colours, I was overthrown by the pikes and halberts into the ditch, where I lay sunk in the mud, and so intangled with my colours, that, without the succours of La Trappe, my valet de chambre, and some soldiers, who helped me to mount, I had infallibly perished. The city being forced while they were parleying on the walls, it was entirely pillaged. I gained a purse of 1000 crowns in gold for my part, which an old man, who was pursued by five or six soldiers, gave me to save his life. The name of Ville-Franche recalls to my memory a singular adventure that happened some time after. The inhabitants of this town having formed the design of seizing upon Montpasier, another little neighbouring town, by surprise, they chose for the execution of it the very same night which the citizens of Montpazier, knowing nothing of this, had pitched upon to make themselves masters of Ville-Franche. Chance, moreover, so ordered it, that the parties taking different ways, did not meet; all was executed with so much the less difficulty, that the walls both of the one place and the other were wholly without defence. They pillaged, they glutted themselves with booty; it was a happy world till day appeared, and discovered their mistake. The composition was, that each should return to his own home, and that all should be put

in its firſt ſtate. This is an image of war as it was carried on at this time; it conſiſted in ſeizing by ſubtilty or aſſault the towns and the caſtles of the enemy; this occaſioned, however, engagements often very bloody.

I will not diſſemble, that the King of Navarre was very ill ſerved. His army was almoſt equally compoſed of Proteſtants and Catholics; and he ſometimes ſaid, that his obligations were greateſt to the laſt, becauſe they ſerved him diſintereſtedly, and through pure attachment to his perſon. But it was this mixture of Catholics and Proteſtants that hurted his affairs. Meſſ. de Turenne, de Montgomery, de Guitry, de Luſignan, de Favas, de Pardaillan, and other principal Proteſtants, had an invincible averſion to Meſſ. de Lavardin, de Mioſſens, de Grammont, du Duras, de Sainte-Colombe, de Roquelaure, de Bogole, de Podins, and other Catholic officers. This manifeſted itſelf, among other occaſions, with reſpect to myſelf, in a quarrel I had with Frontenac. This officer having treated me as a young man, added with contempt, "that if my "noſe were wrung, it would yield milk." I replied, that I found myſelf ſtrong enough to draw blood from his with my ſword. This quarrel made a noiſe; and, what was very ſingular, though my aggreſſor was a Catholic, and myſelf a Proteſtant, yet the Viſcount de Turenne* promiſed him his aſſiſtance, and that of his Proteſtant friends, againſt me; which M. de Lavardin being informed of, he and his Catholics offered their ſupport to me. The hatred which the Viſcount conceived againſt me, proceeded from my having taken the part of Langoiran, (to whom I was obliged), in a quarrel he had with that nobleman. M. de Turenne pretended, that where-ever he and Langoiran were together,

* Henry de la Tour, Viſcount de Turenne, afterwards Duke of Bouillon.

the later ſhould receive orders from him as his general. Langoiran, who believed himſelf of as good a family as Turenne, made a jeſt of his pretenſions; and adding ſome ſtrokes of raillery, ſpoke of Turenne as of a bigot, who came over to the reformed, only becauſe Buſſy * had ſupplanted him in the favour of Monſieur. When all was calm, I was counſelled to court Turenne I conſented; but he anſwered my advances ſo ill, that I drew back, and we continued colder than before.

This animoſity of party created an oppoſition in the counſels of the King of Navarre, which blaſted a part of his deſigns, and in particular that upon Marmande. Lavardin having attacked it, againſt the advice of La-Noue, and even that of the King, he cauſed ſeveral bodies, of a hundred arquebuſiers each, to advance, with orders to poſſeſs themſelves of the hollows and other advantageous places near the walls of this city. He gave the command of one to me, with which I came to poſt myſelf at two hundred paces diſtant from the place. I was ſcarce there, when I was attacked by a detachment of the beſieged three times ſuperior to mine. I intrenched myſelf, and being favoured by ſome houſes, defended myſelf a long time. The King of Navarre, who ſaw the danger to which we were expoſed, ran to us, covered only with a cuiraſs, fought the whole day, and gave us all time to ſeize theſe poſts; but they were of little uſe to us, as we had not men enow to ſurround the city on all ſides; and the King of Navarre would have had the chagrin, of not having only ſat down before it, but ſhamefully of raiſing the ſiege, had not the arrival of the Marechal de Biron, with propoſitions of accommo-

* Lewis de Clermont de Buſſy-d'Amboiſe, celebrated for his valour and perſonal accompliſhments. In an affair of gallantry he had ſome time after with the Lady de Montſoreau, he was killed by her huſband and his domeſtics.

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dation, furnished him with an honourable pretext for withdrawing his troops.

A truce only could be agreed upon; during which the King of Navarre went to Bearn, to see the Princess his sister, or rather the young Tignonville *, with whom he was in love. He permitted me to accompany him; and giving back my enfigncy to M. de Lavardin, who bestowed it upon young Bethune, my cousin, I quitted my equipage of war, and took one more conformable to the character in which I was to appear. My œconomy during three or four years, joined to my military profits, made my finances so considerable, that I saw myself now in a condition to entertain several gentlemen in my pay, with whom I attached myself solely to the person of the King. As I had no inclination to descend from this station, I established such regular order in my domestic affairs, and in my company, that the King of Navarre, attentive to the conduct of his lowest officers, confessed to me afterwards, that I owed the greater part of the esteem with which he honoured me, to the discreet œconomy he observed in this arrangement. It was my youth only that could make it extraordinary; but I was early sensible of what advantage it is, to settle order within a family. This disposition, in my opinion, forms a very advantageous prejudice, either to a soldier or to a statesman.

During our stay at Bearn, nothing was thought of but rejoicings and gallantry. The taste which Madame, the King's sister, had for these diversions, proved an inexhaustible source of them to us. Of this princess I learned the trade of a courtier, with which I was greatly unacquainted. She had the goodness to put me in all her parties; and I re-

* This young lady was daughter to Madam de Tignonville, governess to Madame the King of Navarre's sister. She was ordinarily called in this court Mademoiselle Navarre. She afterwards married the Baron of Pangeas.

member she would kindly teach me herself the steps of a dance in a ballet that was performed with a great deal of magnificence.

The truce was now almost expired, and the King of Navarre, who had been informed that the city of Lausc, excited by the mutiniers, had refused entrance to a garrison he sent thither, ordered us to come, with our arms concealed under our hunting-habits, to a certain part of the country, where he waited for us himself. He arrived at the gates of this city before they could be advertised of his march, and entered it without obstacle, at the head of fifteen or sixteen, who had followed him closer than the rest of the troop. The mutiniers perceiving this, called out to have the draw-bridge instantly let down; which was accordingly done, and fell almost upon the buttocks of my horse and Bethune's, so that we were separated from the body, which remained without the city. The rebels at the same time rung the alarm bell, and arming hastily a troop of fifty soldiers came thundering upon us. Among these we distinguished three or four voices, which cried, "Aim at the scarlet cloak, and "the white plume, for it is the King of Navarre." "My friends, my companions" said this prince, turning towards us, "it is here that you must shew "courage and resolution, for on this our safety de-"pends; follow me then, and do as I do, without "firing your pistols, which cannot carry." As he ended these words, he marched fiercely up to the mutiniers with his pistol in his hand. They could not sustain the shock, and were instantly dispersed. Three or four small bodies of men presented themselves afterwards, and these we drove before us in the same manner. But the enemies drawing together, to the number of 200, and our forces being greatly diminished, the danger became extreme. The King retired to a gate, which facilitated his defence, and there he kept firm. He had the pre-

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ſence of mind to order two of us to mount on the belfrey, and make a ſign to our companions, who continued in the field, to haſten and force the gate. This they performed with the leſs difficulty, as happily the bridge had not been drawn up.

Thoſe of the citizens who were well affected to the King, but had been obliged to ſubmit to the ſeditious, ſeeing the ſoldiers ready to enter the city, attacked in their turn the rebels behind. They defended themſelves reſolutely, till the gate being forced, the city was filled with our troops. All would have been put to the ſword, and even the city abandoned to pillage, had not the principal inhabitants, with their conſuls at their head, thrown themſelves at the feet of the king; who ſuffered himſelf to be ſoftened, and contented himſelf, for all the puniſhment, with ordering four of them to be hanged who had fired at the white plume.

The King of Navarre left * Bethune governor in Eauſe, and advanced haſtily towards Mirande, upon the advice which he received that St. Criq, a Catholic gentleman of his party, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the city, but not having men enow to keep it, had been obliged to withdraw into the tower, where he was beſieged, and very warmly preſſed by the citizens and garriſon of the place. Notwithſtanding the King marched with all poſſible diligence, he could not prevent the misfortune of this officer, who had juſt been taken, and burnt with all his troop, when the King of Navarre preſented himſelf before Mirande. The inhabitants, who thought to draw him into the ſame ſnare, took care to conceal what had happened, and made the trumpets ſound, as if St. Criq was rejoicing for the aſſiſtance they brought him; when a Huguenot ſoldier in the city, perceiving the danger into which the King of Navarre was going to precipitate himſelf, and in which

* See all theſe little military expeditions in D'Aubigné, book 2.

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we must infallibly have perished with him, through the great superiority of the enemies numbers, came over the wall, to advertise us of the snare that was laid for us. The King after this thought of nothing but retreating; but as he was very far advanced, the inhabitants of Mirande, who perceived the moment that their design was prevented, sallied out, and attacked him in his retreat. We found ourselves, young Bethune and I, engaged so forwardly, that we were inveloped. We therefore fought like desperate men, who were resolved to sell their lives dearly: but we must have yielded, extreme lassitude hardly permitting us to support our arms; when, happily for us, Lusignan and the elder Bethune, whom the King of Navarre had sent to our assistance, charged so rudely, that our assailants gave back, and afforded us the means of retreating. The Sieur d'Yvetot, a gentleman of Normandy, and La-Trape, my valet de chambre, were of great service to me upon this occasion.

The King of Navarre, seeing the day declining, gave orders to cease fighting, and retired to Jegun; where, two or three days after, the royal troops, with the Marechal de Villars at their head appeared in arms, drawn thither by the rumour of the attack upon Mirande. It had been temerity to attack them; therefore we kept intrenched, and endeavoured only to engage them to force us: but this they did not dare to attempt. The two armies continued in view of each other till night. A combat of six against six was proposed by Lavardin and La Devese; but while we disputed upon whom the lot should fall, the King on the one side, and the Marquis de Villars on the other, drew off their troops, as the night was approaching.

Some time after, the King of Navarre going from Leictoure to Montauban, commanded the Count de Meilles and me, with five and twenty horse, to fall on a body of musketeers, which the inhabitants

inhabitants of Beaumont had posted in the vineyards and hollow places in our passages. We drove them before us to the very gates of the city, from whence about 100 soldiers came out to their assistance; one part of which remained upon the place, and the other drowned themselves in the ditches. The King, who saw the rampart begin to be covered with soldiers, did not think proper to go farther, and continued his route.

At his return, he wanted to avoid passing under the walls of this city, and took a lower road, by a place, which, if I remember, was called *St Nicholas*, near Mas de Verdun. Scarce had we marched a league, when we heard the noise of drums, and discovered a party of 300 musketeers, marching in bad order enough under five ensigns. A council was held: some were of opinion that we should attack the enemy, without any regard to the superiority of their numbers; others dissuaded it. The King of Navarre, desiring only to try them, ordered fifty horse to advance; and in the mean time we drew up in a line, with our domestics behind us; so that we presented a front to the enemy, which concealed the smallness of our numbers. The shining of our armour imposed upon them: they fled across the woods, where we pursued them; till meeting with a church, they there barricaded themselves.

This church was large, strong, and furnished with provisions, being the ordinary retreat of the peasants, a great number of whom were in it at that time. The King of Navarre undertook to force it, and sent to Montauban, Leictoure, and other neighbouring towns, for workmen and soldiers; not doubting but Beaumont, Mirande, and other towns of the Catholic party, would send powerful succours to the besieged, if they got time. Mean while we endeavoured, with the assistance of our servants, to undermine the church. The choir fell to my share.

In

In twelve hours I made an opening, though the wall was very thick, and of a ſtone exceſſively hard. Afterwards, by means of a ſcaffold raiſed over this gap, I threw a quantity of grenadoes into the church. The beſieged wanted water, and kneaded their meal with wine; but what incommoded them ſtill more, was, that they had neither ſurgeons, linen, nor remedies for the wounds that were given them by the grenadoes, which now began to be thrown from all quarters. They capitulated therefore, upon ſeeing a powerful reinforcement which had arrived from Montauban to the King of Navarre. This prince contented himſelf with ordering ſeven or eight of the moſt mutinous to be hanged; but he was obliged to abandon them all to the fury of the inhabitants of Montauban, who forced them out of our hands, and put them to the ſword without mercy. We learned the motive that animated them, from the reproaches they made to theſe wicked wretches, of having been concerned in a moſt villanous debauch, the carrying off ſix married women and virgins, whom, after raviſhing them, they had butchered, by filling them with gunpowder, and ſetting it on fire. A horrible exceſs of brutality and of cruelty!

The ſtates, which were then held at Blois, deputed the Archbiſhop of Vienne *, and the Duke of Montpenſier and Richelieu, to the King of Navarre. This prince ſent Bethune and me as far as Bergerac, to receive them. They were commiſſioned to exhort the King of Navarre to embrace the Catholic religion, which the ſtates had declared ſhould

* The three deputies whom the ſtates ſent to the King of Navarre, were Pere de Villars, Archbiſhop of Vienne, for the clergy; Andrew of Bourbon, Lord of Rubempre, for the nobility; and Menager, general of the finances of Touraine, for the third ſtate. Here, therefore, there is a fault. Conſult de Thou, D'Aubigné, &c. See alſo an account of the ſeſſion of the ſtates of Blois, in Matthieu, vol. 1. book 7. p. 438 and in the memoirs of Nevers, vol. 1. p. 166. et ſeq.

be alone maintained throughout the kingdom. This interview, which had produced a ſuſpenſion of arms, having had no other effect, the deputies returned, and hoſtilities recommenced.

Some attempts were made upon Caſtel-Jaloux and Nerac, by the Admiral de Villars *; but he found over all the King of Navarre, who diſconcerted his deſigns. This prince expoſed himſelf as the meaneſt ſoldier, and performed before Nerac an act of extreme hardineſs; when a body of horſe being detached on purpoſe to ſurpriſe him, he repulſed them almoſt alone. Our prayers were not capable to engage him to take more care of his life; and his example animated us in our turn ſo much, that the ſame day twelve or fifteen of us advanced to fire our piſtols, even within reach of the Catholic army. The King of Navarre, who obſerved us, ſaid to Bethune, "Go to your couſin, the "Baron of Roſny; he is heedleſs to the laſt de"gree; fetch him off yonder, and his companions "alſo; for the enemy ſeeing us retire, will, no "doubt, charge them ſo fiercely, that they will be "all taken or ſlain." I obeyed this order, and the prince, who ſaw my horſe wounded in the ſhoulder, reproached me for my temerity, with a warmth which had nothing in it but what was obliging. He propoſed this day a combat of four againſt four; but it did not take place, the Admiral having given the ſignal of retreat.

The ſtroke the moſt important for the King had doubteſs been, to have hindered the taking of Brouage, then beſieged by the Duke of Maienne †. He haſtened thither, leaving the Viſcount de Tu-

* Honorat of Savoy, Marquis of Villars. Although he was made Admiral by the King during the Admiral de Coligny's life, he did not in reality exerciſe that employment till after the death of that nobleman.

† Charles de Lorrain, Duke of Maïenne, ſecond ſon of Francis of Lorrain, Duke of Guiſe. He was general of the league.

renne to bring his troops after him: but beside that this nobleman did not arrive soon enough to succour this city, the interview between the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé at Pons so exasperated them against each other, that the Prince of Condé wanted to fight with the Viscount de Turenne, whom he accused of being the cause of this misunderstanding. The public good suffered by this disunion. The Prince of Condé soon after openly separated from the King of Navarre.

The peace which succeeded accidents so little favourable to the Reformed, was the sole work of Henry III. who was desirous of giving this mortification to the Guises. War no longer agreed either with his inclination, which led him to a way of life, singularly diversified between devotion and voluptuousness †, nor to his designs, that tended all to humble the princes of Lorrain, become too powerful by the league. But although this peace ‡ was not even so favourable to the Huguenots as that of Monsieur, yet they observed the articles of it with more fidelity than the Catholics; who, in the time of full peace, possessed themselves of Agen and Villeneuve, for which it was impossible to make them give satisfaction. The consequence of a peace so ill observed, was an inaction full of suspicions;

† There is nothing, said Sixtus V. to Cardinal de Joyeuse, which your King has not done, and does not do, to be a monk; nor any thing which I have not done to avoid being one. He had no less than 150 valets de chambre, *ministros cubicularios*, says Busbequius, epist. 31.

‡ By the treaty that was concluded at Bergerac, between the King of Navarre and the Marechal de Biron, and the edict that followed in the latter end of September, the number of churches was diminished, the exercise of the pretended reformed religion was prohibited ten leagues round Paris, the burying-places of the Calvinists in this city taken away, the liberty of marriages revoked, the chambers of justice composed of half Catholics and half Protestants, suppressed in Paris, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes, &c. K. Henry III. called this his treaty. It was observed faithfully by neither party. The Catholics on their side complained, that several articles were infringed by the Calvinists. *Memoirs of Nevers.*

picions; which much more reſembled a long ſuſpenſion of arms than a true peace. In this manner paſſed the remainder of this year, and a part of the following.

Whether it was, that the Queen-mother was deſirous of labouring effectually to pacify the ſtate, or that ſhe had ſecret deſigns, which obliged her to court the King of Navarre, ſhe quitted Paris with all her retinue, and making the tour of the Provinces, had a conference with this Prince at Réole and Auch. She even ſtaid with him a long while, at ſeveral times, either at Nerac *, Coutras, Fleix, or other places: for the year 1578, and a part of 1579, were wholly conſumed in comings and goings, and reciprocal complaints of the bad executing of treaties, which were infringed on the one part and the other, without much ſcruple.

The intercourſe of two courts, which yielded in nothing the one to the other on the ſide of gallantry, produced ſuch an effect as might have been expected. They were wholly devoted to balls, feſtivals, and entertainments of gallantry. But while love became the ſerious buſineſs of all the courtiers, Catherine was wholly taken up about her politics: for once, however, ſhe did not ſucceed. She indeed reconciled the King of Navarre to his wife, then greatly diſguſted with the proceedings of her brother Henry III. towards her; but ſhe could never draw this Prince again to Paris, nor prevail upon him by any motive to reſign to her the places of ſecurity, to obtain which had been her principal view.

* At Nerac, ſays Le Grain, the Queen-mother had ſeveral conferences with the King of Navarre, her ſon-in-law, in which ſome articles were explained, but not all: for the good lady would always keep her Spaniſh gennet by the bridle as much as ſhe was able. It was here that Henry IV. fell in love with the two ladies, d'Agelle and Toſſeuſe. Some curious particulars of theſe conferences may be ſeen in Le Grain's dec. of Henry IV.

I ſhould ſwell theſe memoirs conſiderably, were I to enter into a detail of this medley of politics and gallantry. But I acknowledge, with reſpect to the firſt, my youth, and other affairs more ſuitable to my age, did not permit me to enter into them. As for gallantry, beſides that I have loſt the remembrance of it, a frivolous detail of intrigues would, in my opinion, make a very indifferent figure here. Upon the whole, all was reduced to a deſire of pleaſing and ſupplanting one another. I ſhall not, however, omit ſome adventures which have a reference to the war.

The Queen-mother and the King of Navarre could only agree upon a truce, which was to take place over all the kingdom, till the prince and ſhe ſhould ſeparate. But whether ſhe thought that, under favour of the war, it would be eaſy for her to ſeize ſeveral towns by ſurpriſe and artifice, or that ſhe believed this method was more proper to accompliſh her ends, ſhe was not ſorry that both parties forgot they were in peace, and treated together on the footing of war: one thing only continued agreed upon, that there ſhould be a truce over all where the court was, and its limits ordinarily extended no farther than a league and a half, or two leagues, from the place where the Queen and the princes kept their reſidence. This occaſioned a contraſt altogether new: here they loaded each other with civilities, and converſed with the utmoſt familiarity; if they met any where elſe, they fought moſt deſperately. The two courts being at Auch, upon a ball-night, notice was given to the King of Navarre, that the governor of Reole, who was an old man, and till then a zealous Huguenot, having conceived a violent paſſion for one of the Queen-mother's maids of honour, had violated his duty, and delivered up the town to the Catholics. The King of Navarre, who would not long defer his revenge, privately conveyed orders to me, and to three.

three or four others, to withdraw, and, with our arms concealed as usual under our hunting-habits, join him in the fields. As many of our people as could be got together, were of the party; and taking care that the entertainment should suffer no interruption, we left the hall, and joined the King, with whom we marched all night; and arriving early in the morning at Fleurence, the gates of which were open, seized it without any opposition. The Queen-mother, who could have sworn that the King of Navarre had lain at Auch, was much surprised next morning at the intelligence of this expedition; however, she was the first to laugh at it: "I see," said she, "this is in revenge for Réole: "the King of Navarre was resolved to have nut "for nut, but mine is better kernelled."

An adventure perfectly similar happened afterwards, the court being at Coutras. The King of Navarre having resolved to seize St. Emilion, he sent us over night to St. Foi, which was not comprehended in the truce; from whence we marched to St. Emilion, with a petard in the shape of a saussage, which we fastened by two port-holes to a great tower. The bursting of this machine made a noise that was heard as far as Coutras. A breach was made in the tower wide enough to give passage to two men a-breast, and by this means the town was taken. The Queen-mother was nettled, and said openly, that she could not regard this action but as a pre-meditated insult, St Emilion being within the bounds of the truce. It is certain, that the distance between Coutras and this town was such as rendered the case doubtful: but the King of Navarre, who knew, that, a few days before, the citizens of St. Emilion had pillaged a Protestant merchant, which the Queen-mother maintained to be a lawful prize, only put her in mind of this fact, and there was no more word of the matter.

It often happened, that the two courts separated

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from each other, when any thing had paſſed which cauſed to either of them too great diſcontentment; but the intereſt of pleaſure, which had languiſhed without this, ſoon brought them together. The Queen-mother's court was carried by the King of Nevarre to Foix; where, among other diverſions, he had a mind to give them that of bear-hunting. The ladies were frighted; this ſpectable did not ſuit with their delicacy. Some of theſe animals tore the horſes to pieces; others overthrew ten Swiſs, and as many fuſileers; and one of them who had been often wounded, mounting upon a rock, threw himſelf headlong, with ſeven or eight hunters whom he held faſt, and cruſhed to pieces.

At laſt the Queen-mother ſeparated from the King of Navarre, and continuing her route through Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, where ſhe had an interview with the Duke of Savoy, returned to Paris, leaving all things on the ſame footing in which ſhe had found them; I mean, in a peace which only more augmented diffidence and ſuſpicions. But what ſhe did not forget was, to ſeduce from the King of Navarre a part of his Catholic officers. Lavardin, Grammont, and Duras, were of this number. Another effect of her preſence was, to have imbroiled ſo perfectly the prince with the Viſcount de Turenne, that he challenged him to a duel. Turenne went not to the place appointed, till he had firſt made all the ſubmiſſions that were due to the quality of this prince. This combat produced nothing fatal. The Viſcount de Turenne received ſeveral wounds in a ſecond, to which he was challenged by Duras and Roſan *. It was ſaid

* The two brothers, Durfort de Duras, and Durfort de Roſan, fought with the Viſcount de Turenne, and John de Gontaut de Biron, Baron of Salignac, his ſecond. Although the brothers were armed with coats of mail, yet the diſadvantage was wholly on their ſide. The Viſcount permitted Roſan to riſe, and Salignac allowed Duras to change his ſword: at the ſame moment nine or ten armed men

ſaid at that time, that they owed the advantage they had over Turenne, upon this occaſion, to an artifice ſcarcely allowable.

After the Queen-mother's departure, the court of Navarre came to Montauban, and from thence to Nerac, where they continued ſome time, uncertain whether it would not be moſt proper to renew the war. This court being no leſs voluptuous than that of France, nothing was yet thought of but pleaſures and gallantry.

They no longer heſitated about taking up arms, how ſoon they learned that the Catholics had poſſeſſed themſelves by ſurpriſe of the city of Figeac, and ſat down before the caſtle. The Viſcount of Turenne, whom the King of Navarre charged with the raiſing of the ſiege, ſaid to me at parting, "Well, Sir, will you be of our party?" "Yes, "Sir," I replied, "I ſhall be of your party at any "time when it is for the ſervice of the King my "maſter, and at all times when you love me."

The Catholics, ſurpriſed at the diligence of the Reformed, abandoned Figeac. Arms being once taken up again by the Huguenots, they made above forty attempts on different places, of which three only ſucceeded *. Theſe were upon Fere in Picardy, upon Montagu in Poitou, and upon Cahors. I ſhall ſpeak only of this laſt, becauſe it was the

men fell upon the Viſcount, and left him upon the place pierced with two and twenty wounds, none of which, however, proved mortal. He recovered, and generouſly interceded with the Queen-mother for Duras. The Marechal de damville, called by the death of his brother *Marechal de Montmorency*, coming thither about that time, was conſulted on this action; and it was his opinion, as well as that of many others, that the Viſcount de Turenne was at liberty to ſatisfy his revenge by any means whatever, without expoſing his own life. *Memoirs of the Duke of Bouillon; his life by Marſollier; De Thou.* Brantome (Mem. vol. 10.) ſpeaking of duels, ſeems to doubt whether this duel was conducted in the manner it was reported, conſidering the reputation the two brothers were in for courage and honour.

* See all theſe expeditions particularized in D'Aubigné, vol. 2. book 4.

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only one at which I was preſent, and becauſe of all the attacks upon towns by petard and ſap, there was none ſo remarkable.

Cahors † is a large and populous city, ſurrounded by water on three ſides. Veſins ‡ was governor of it, and had under his command above 2000 men, beſides 100 horſe, and the citizens, whom he made alſo to bear arms. He was upon his guard, like a man who expected to be attacked. This we diſcovered by a paper found in his cabinet, on which he had wrote theſe few words with his own hand, "A fig for the Huguenots." The King of Navarre, whoſe little army was ſtill more weakened by the abſence of Chouppes, and who ſaw no means of opening himſelf a paſſage but by petard and ſap, did not, however, deſpair of taking the city. He reinforced his troops with all the ſoldiers he could find in Montauban, Negrepeliſſe, St. Antonin, Cajare, and Senevieres; but the whole made him only about 1500 men, with whom he left Montauban, and arrived about midnight within a quarter of a league of Cahors. It was in the month of June, an exceſſive heat and violent thunder, but without rain. He ordered us to halt in a plantation of walnut trees, where a fountain of running water ſerved to quench our thirſt. It was in this place that the King of Navarre ſettled the order of his march, and of the whole attack. Two petardiers belonging to the Viſcount de Gourdon, the principal author of this enterpriſe, ſeconded by ten ſoldiers, the moſt reſolute in the King's guards, marched before us, as being to open a paſſage into the city. They were followed by twenty foot-ſoldiers, and thirty horſe of the King's guards likewiſe, conducted by St. Mar-

† The river of Lot waſhes its walls.

‡ The ſame who is mentioned in the beginning of this book. It is thought, that if he had not been ſlain in the attack, at the head of his people, the King of Navarre would not have made himſelf maſter of the place.

tin, their captain; forty gentlemen, commanded by Roquelaure, and fixty ſoldiers of the guard, compoſed another body, and marched behind them. I was in this brigade. The King of Navarre, at the head of 200 men, divided into four bands, came after us. The remainder of his little army, which compoſed a body of about 1000 or 1200 arquebuſiers, in ſix platoons, cloſed the march.

There were three gates to force; which we made haſte to throw down with the petard, after that we made uſe of hatchets, the breaches being ſo low, that the firſt who entered could not do it but by creeping upon their bellies. At the noiſe of the petard, forty men armed, and about 200 arquebuſiers, ran almoſt naked to diſpute our entry: mean time the bells rung the alarm, and warned all to put themſelves in a poſture of defence. In a moment the houſes were covered with ſoldiers, who threw large pieces of wood, tiles, and ſtones upon us, with repeated cries of "Charge, kill them." We found that it had been long determined to receive us warmly. It was neceſſary, therefore, at firſt, to ſuſtain a ſhock, which laſted above a quarter of an hour, and was not yet leſs terrible. I was thrown to the ground by a large ſtone that was thrown out of a window; but I raiſed myſelf by the aid of the Sieur de la Bertichere, and La-Trape. We advanced very little, becauſe freſh platoons every moment ſucceeded to thoſe that we repulſed; inſomuch that before we gained the great ſquare, we had endured more than twelve battles. My cuiſes being looſened in the buſtle, I was wounded in the left thigh. When arrived at the place, we found barricadoes, which we muſt demoliſh with infinite difficulty, all the while expoſed to the continual diſcharge of the artillery, which they had formed into a battery.

The King of Navarre continued at the head of his troops during all theſe attacks: he had two

pikes broken, and his armour was marked in many places by the fire and blows of the enemy. We had already performed enough to have gained a great victory; but to see all that remained to be done, one might say we had not yet begun; the city being of vast circumference, and filled with so great a number of soldiers, that, in comparison of them, we were but a handful. At every crossway we had a new combat to sustain, and at every stone house a new escalade to make; the ground was so well defended, that the King of Navarre had occasion for all his men, and we had no time to take breath

It will scarcely be credited, that five days and five nights passed completely in this violent exercise. During all this time, not one of us durst quit his post for a single moment, take nourishment, but with his arms in his hand, or sleep, except for a few moments leaning against the shops. With fatigue, with faintness, with the weight of our arms, and with the excessive heat, wounds conspired to deprive us of what remained of our strength. Not one of us but had his feet so scorched and full of blood, that it was impossible for us to support ourselves.

The citizens, who suffered none of our inconveniencies, and who became more and more sensible of the smalness of our numbers, far from talking of surrendering, thought of nothing but protracting the fight till the arrival of succours, which were said to be very near: they sent forth great cries, and animated themselves by our obstinacy. However poorly they defended themselves, they did enough to oblige us to keep upon our guard, which was to complete our misfortunes. In this extremity, the principal officers gathered about the King, and advised him to assemble as many men as possible about his person, and open to himself a retreat. They redoubled their instances upon the rumour which was spread, and which was also true, that

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the ſuccours expected by the enemy were arrived at the bar, and would be ſo ſoon in the city, that he would have but juſt time to force the wall. But this brave prince, whom nothing could daunt or intimidate, ſuppreſſing the pain which he felt from his wounds, turned to them with a ſmiling countenance, and an air of intrepidity which he inſpired into the weakeſt, and contented himſelf with anſwering, "It is pronounced above what muſt become of me upon this occaſion. Remember ye, "that my retreat out of this city, without having "ſecured one to my party, ſhall be the retreat of "my ſoul from my body. My honour is too much "concerned to act otherwiſe. So let no one ſpeak "to me more but of fighting, of vanquiſhing, or "of dying."

Reanimated by theſe words, and the example of ſo brave a leader, we began again to make new efforts; but, in all appearance, we had all been worſted in the end, without the arrival of Chouppes, whom the King had the precaution to ſend for before the attack. He apprehended the danger of the King, and made a paſſage into the city, with 5 or 600 foot, and 100 horſe, marching over the belly of the enemies, who wanted to obſtruct his paſſage. As ſoon as he joined us, we marched together to the bar, where the enemies ſuccours were forcing their entrance. All this quarter, which held out hitherto, was forced; and when we had made ourſelves maſters of the parapets and towers, it was not difficult to oblige the enemies without to abandon their enterpriſe, and retire: after which, the inhabitants not finding themſelves the ſtrongeſt, laid down their arms. The city was entirely pillaged: my good fortune made a ſmall iron cheſt fall into my hands, in which I found 4000 crowns in gold. In the detail of an action ſo hot, ſo long, and ſo glorious for the young prince that conducted

it *, I am obliged to ſuppreſs a number of circumſtances, and particular actions, both of the King and his officers, which would appear almoſt to be fables.

The King of Navarre returned to Montauban, after having left Cabrieres † governor in Cahors. Moreover, he defeated two or three ſquadrons belonging to the Marechal de Biron's army, who was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Marmande. To be more within reach, the King of Navarre took up his reſidence at Tonneins; from whence there followed an infinitude of little attacks, the ſoldiers of Marechal de Biron making inroads every day into the enemy's country. Henry one day ordered Léſignan, at the head of five and twenty gentlemen well mounted, of which number I was one, to advance even to the gates of Marmande, as if to defy them: which was very ordinary. He made us be followed by 100 muſketeers, who clapped down on the ſhore of a rivulet not far from us; and the King, with 300 horſe, and two companies of his guards, concealed himſelf in a wood a little diſtant. Our orders were to fire our piſtols only, to endeavour to take any of the ſoldiers whom we ſhould find without the walls, and to retire towards the body of muſketeers the moment they ſhould begin to purſue us. Theſe orders we executed, how ſoon we ſaw ourſelves ready to be attacked by 100 horſe, who came out of the city. Theſe cavaliers called to us to wait them, in a manner inſulting enough. An officer of our troop, named Quaſy, hearing himſelf called by name, could not refrain from turning his bridle towards his challenger, whom he ſhot dead: he loſt himſelf his horſe, and regained

* Other hiſtorians agree, that this attack laſted five whole days, and that Henry IV. had a great many ſoldiers wounded there, and only 70 ſlain. M. de Thou's relation of this action is a little different, but our Memoirs deſerve moſt credit.

† Conſult D'Aubigné upon theſe expeditions, vol. 2. book 4.

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the body of his brigade on foot, when he was attacked by all the enemy's party, irritated at the death of their comrade. We marched to his aſſiſtance, and immediately the hotteſt encounter enſued; during which one of our valets, ſeized with terror, fled, and carried the alarm to the King of Navarre, telling him, that we, and the whole party of foot, were put to the ſword: A ſtory wholly without foundation. On the contrary, after fighting a few moments, the enemy ſeeing the body of foot, who came out of their ambuſcade to ſecond us, fearing a ſurprize, and ſuppoſing that the whole army would fall upon them, withdrew into the city.

It was with great difficulty that they could reſtrain the courage of Henry, who would fain have fallen upon the enemy's army to revenge us, and to periſh gloriouſly. But they made him ſuch preſſing inſtances to retire, that he conſented to it at laſt, though with regret. His aſtoniſhment was great when he ſaw us return, and his grief ſtill greater for having credited counſellors too timid; eſpecially when he ſaw Léſignan, who complained with a good deal of bitterneſs for having been abandoned upon this occaſion. As for me, I loſt an horſe, which was killed under me.

News greatly more diſquieting added much to the chagrin of the King of Navarre. The Prince of Condé, not contented with having decoyed a part of his troops, and having openly ſeparated from his party, had drawn ſeveral towns of Dauphiné and Languedoc into his intereſt, which he robbed from Henry to compoſe a ſovereignty for himſelf. Aigueſmortes and Pecais he had engaged to Prince Caſimir, as a ſecurity for the forces this prince had promiſed: and, laſt of all, he had lately poſſeſſed himſelf of Fere * in Picardy; the loſs of which the King

* It was retaken immediately by the Marechal de Matignon. In the Memoirs of the league there is a letter from Q. Catherine to the Prince

King of Navarre could not regard with an eye of indifference. This prince, whose army was already inferior to that of the Catholics, was still obliged to dismember it. He dispatched Turenne, who soon disconcerted all the projects of the Prince of Condé. As for himself, being no longer able to keep the field before the Marechal de Biron, he shut himself up in Nerac; in which the ladies and court of Navarre then were, always brilliant, notwithstanding the bad condition of the affairs of the King.

This retreat give still another face to the war; it could neither be called a campaign nor a siege, but it was both together. Biron, juding the siege of this place to be an enterprise above his strength, sought only to alarm us, by surrounding it with all his troops; and the King of Navarre, tho' blocked up in the city, did not however fail from time to time to shew himself open in the field. The gates of the city being kept shut by his orders, his cavalry became of no use to him; and our only resource was to assemble in small parties, and sally out by the private doors which were kept open, to attack the separate detachments of the royalists, sometimes under the beard of the whole army. I resumed my former condition of a private soldier, and mixing with the officers, made one in many of those bravadoes, in which there is neither honour nor glory to be acquired: they were therefore severely condemned by the King of Navarre. When he was informed one day that I was wounded and taken by a party of the enemy, notwithstanding his anger, he sent Des-Champs and Dominge to rescue me if possible; and he expresly forbid me to go out of the city without his orders, giving me the names of rash and presumptuous, which I own I too much merited; for it is folly and extravagance to precipitate one's self into a danger, from

Prince of Condé, in which she thanks him for having taken arms against the court.

which

which one cannot escape but by a miracle. The Marechal de Biron made shew of besieging Nerac; but all ended in a few slight skirmishes, which the ladies sometimes beheld from the ramparts. The enemies general had so little respect for them, that he ordered five or six vollies of cannon * to be made, though he expected no advantage from it.

The King of Navarre did not, however, neglect to make himself master of Monségur. Milon one of his captains, inclosed 500 weight of powder in a sauciſſe, which he found means to introduce into a common shore, which ran into a ditch between the two principal gates; the end of the sauciſſe, to which the fire was to be applied, remained hid in the grass. When every thing was ready for the playing off this machine, the King permitted us to go and see the effect, which was wonderful. One of the two gates was thrown into the midst of the city, and the other fifty paces forwards into the fields. The vaults were all ruined, and the wall permitting a passage to three men abreast, the city was taken. The enemy seemed determined to retake it, the King commanded me to shut myself up in it, with forty gentlemen. We thought of nothing but fortifying the place well with palliſadoes and intrenchments, in the room of those the powder had demoliſhed; and this we performed without interruption, notwithstanding the coqueluche †, a kind of current malady, with which we were greatly incommoded, and myself more than all the others. At length we put the place in a condition to have nothing to fear from the enemy. After which I

* A ball of a cannon battered against a gate of the city, behind which was the Queen of Navarre. At the peace, she procured the government of Guienne to be taken from this marechal.

† This distemper seized them in the reins, the head, and particularly in the neck. Bleeding and purging were mortal in this malady. De Thou observes also, that this disease was as it were the forerunner of a plague that carried off 40,000 people in Paris. Book 73.

returned

returned to the King of Navarre, who, by the careſſes with which he loaded me on this occaſion, was deſirous of teaching me to make a juſt diſtinction between military exploits that are authoriſed by duty, and thoſe where one hearkens to nothing but the dictates of tranſport and impetuoſity.

I ſaw with pleaſure, that the heart of this prince daily declared in my favour, and that he gave to a natural inclination what he expected to grant only to the recommendation which the Queen his mother, when dying, had made of my perſon and of my fortune. Some ſlight ſervices I did him this year, he rewarded by the charge of counſellor of Navarre, and chamberlain in ordinary, with 2000 livres of appointments. There were none at this time more conſiderable, and I was only nineteen years old. But the fire of youth made me commit a fault which deſerved to have loſt me for ever the good graces of this prince.

I ſupped one night with Beauvais, the ſon of the King of Navarre's governor, and an officer named Uſſeau, who quarrelled together, and being reſolved to fight, intreated me to facilitate the means, and to keep their deſigns ſecret. Inſtead of going forthwith to adverti ſe the King, whoſe whole attention was to hinder theſe combates, which a falſe point of honour made very common at this time, I had the imprudence to promiſe them both the one and the other; and having idly eſſayed to reconcile them, I conducted them myſelf to the meadow, where each gave the other a dangerous wound. The King of Navarre, who loved Beauvais, was extremely irritated by the part I had in this affair; and having ſent to ſeek me, he told me with indignation that I lorded it over the ſovereign, even in his court, and that, if he did me juſtice, I deſerved to loſe my head. I might have effaced my fault by a ſimple avowal: I added a ſecond, ſtill greater. Picqued at this prince's threatening, I anſwered

swered inconsiderately, That I was neither his subject nor his vassal. I threatened, in my turn, to quit his service; and this prince not answering my insolence but by just contempt, I was going at this moment to separate myself, and perhaps for ever, from the person of this good prince, if the princesses had not undertaken to make my peace with the King; who listened to his friendship for me, and contented himself with making me sensible of the baseness of my fault, by receiving me for some time with a good deal of coldness. At length, when he was convinced, that the regret which I testified to him was sincere, he resumed his former sentiments. This mark of goodness making me know how a prince so mild ought to be served, I attached myself to him more strongly than before, and resolved from that instant never to have any other master. But I saw myself removed from him for some time, by a promise imprudent enough, which I had made to the Duke of Alençon.



BOOK II.

THE Queen-mother, fertile in projects for the grandeur of her house *, and still more for her particular designs, having lost hope of marrying her youngest son to the Queen of England, had turned all her views towards Flanders, of which

* M. de Thou, treating of this subject, says, (book 96.) that before the crown of Poland was offered to the Duke of Anjou, Catherine, who was resolved to make him a sovereign one way or other, had sent Francis de Noailles to Selim, then Grand Signior, to talk the kingdom of Algiers for this prince; Sardinia was to be added to it, which had been obtained from Spain, in exchange for the kingdom of Navarre, which they had promised him the possession of; and as an equivalent for the claim the King of Navarre had to this kingdom, other estates in France were to be given him.

ſhe undertook to make him ſovereign. She had at firſt made many uſeleſs attempts upon the Dutch, who, believing they could appeaſe the reſentment of Spain †, by chuſing a maſter out of the houſe of Auſtria, conferred that honour upon the Archduke Matthias, notwithſtanding the powerful intrigues of Catherine. The Archduke was a weak prince, abſolutely deſtitute of the qualities neceſſary to a ſovereign; eſpecially upon this occaſion, when it was ſo requiſite to play the hero. He became contemptible, and rendered himſelf completely odious to the nobility, by preferring openly to all the Lords, the Prince of Orange ‡, whom he declared lieutenant-general of his armies. The Dutch, diſguſted with this new maſter, thought of nothing more than to get rid of him. They caſt their eyes upon Monſieur, as upon a prince capable of ſupporting them by himſelf, and by the powerful protection of France.

He was at Courtras when the deputies from the United Provinces came to make him their offer: he accepted it with joy, and only deferred his journey to the Low Countries till he could appear there with a train ſuitable to his birth. For this purpoſe, he began earneſtly to ſolicit the lords and gentlemen of diſtinction in the King of Navarre's retinue. The greateſt part of the Catholics attached themſelves to him; and the hopes of a ſolid and laſting peace, with which the Queen-mother took care to amuſe the Proteſtants, was the cauſe that many of thoſe alſo promiſed to follow him.

Fervaques and La-Rochepot, both of them my relations, engaged themſelves with him; and to make me of the party, they repreſented to me, that after

† The revolt of the United Provinces from Spain, the conſequences of which will be ſeen in the following part of theſe memoirs, began by an inſurrection, and a confederacy formed there in 1566, the deſign of which was to hinder the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition in thoſe countries. MSS. in the King's library, vol. marked 9981.

‡ William of Naſſau, Prince of Orange.

the

the loss I had lately sustained by the death of my father, I ought to be at pains to recover the succession to the Viscount de Gand, who had disinherited me on account of my religion, and endeavour to get possession of several other estates in Flanders, to which my family could pretend, and which the protection of the new sovereign could alone procure me. To these motives they added, upon the part of Monsieur, a promise of 12,000 crowns, to furnish me with an equipage. I yielded to their solicitations, and passed my word. By reason of various conjunctures, it was a considerable time before that Monsieur could go into Flanders. At length all obstacles being removed *, and the Dutch redoubling their instances, this prince reminding us of our engagement, sent us orders to join him. I went to take leave of the King of Navarre, and had a long conversation with this prince upon my departure, and upon the subject of my journey. I have never since thought of this conference, without being penetrated by the sentiments of generosity and affection which he expressed for me, nor without admiring the penetration of his mind, and the justness of his conjectures. "'Tis by this "stroke," (said he, the moment I spake of leaving him), "that we shall lose you altogether; you are "going to become a Dutchman and a Papist." I assured him that I would neither become the one nor the other, but that I must eternally reproach myself, if, for want of cultivating my relations, and to avoid a little trouble, I saw myself frustrated of large estates that might revert to me from the houses

* By the peace concluded at Fleix, a castle upon the Dordogne, between the King of Navarre and the Duke of Anjou. The Protestants, to whom the last war had not been favourable, consented to it without difficulty. The Duke of Anjou desired it with ardour, in order to execute his designs upon the Low Countries. It was signed in the month of November. The articles were not made known, but were believed to be of little importance. The cities given for security were to be kept by the Calvinists six years longer.

of Bethune, Melun, and Horn: that this conſideration alone induced me to follow Monſieur, and only for a time; after which I ſwore to him, that nothing ſhould be able to hinder me from following my inclinations, in attaching myſelf ſolely to his perſon; and that whenever he had the leaſt need of me, I would quit Flanders upon his firſt order. The King then entertained me with the predictions that had been made him, that he ſhould one day be King of France: and I, in my turn, informed him, that a great fortune had been foretold me. I had for a long time the weakneſs to give ſome credit to theſe. For the King of Navarre, who was of opinion that religion ought to inſpire a contempt for thoſe villanous prognoſticators, as he called them; he had within himſelf an oracle greatly more certain; it was a perfect knowledge of the perſon and character of Monſieur, and a ſagacity which almoſt unveiled to him futurity. "He will deceive me," ſaid he, "if he ever fulfils the expectations that "are conceived of him: he has ſo little courage, "a heart ſo double and malignant, a body ſo ill "built, ſo little gracefulneſs in his countenance, "and ſo much aukwardneſs in all kinds of exer- "ciſes, that I cannot perſuade myſelf he will ever "do any thing that is great." The King of Navarre had leiſure to know this prince thoroughly during the time that they were kept priſoners together. His memory at this moment recollected an infinitude of circumſtances which gave him room to conjecture, that he would infallibly miſcarry in a deſign ſo noble and ſo hazardous. He told me, that Monſieur happened to fling himſelf againſt the pillar in running the ring; and in managing his horſe, he was thrown ſo clumſily, that his equery could not ſave him the ſhame of ſo aukward a fall, but by cutting haſtily and ſubtilly the reins of his horſe: that he ſucceeded no better in dancing, hunting, or any other exerciſe; and that, inſtead of acknowledging

lodging these natural defects, and of effacing them in some manner by any degree of modesty and ingenuity, he secretely hated all who were more favoured by nature than himself. The King of Navarre was in a state to hear good testimony; the preference the ladies gave him in every thing to the brother of the King, his rivalship with this prince in the favour of Madam de Sauves *, and such-like court-adventures, had rendered him the object of Monsieur's jealousy.

All these particularities with which he entertained me, little considerable in themselves, have ceased to appear so to me, when I reflect that all the views of the King of Navarre were perfectly justified by the event. He ended with telling me, that he well foresaw Catherine had formed a design to exterminate the Protestant party; and that he should in a little have occasion for his faithful servants: saying these words, he embraced me, and wished me a happier journey than our leader's was likely to be. I threw myself at his feet, and kissing his hand, protested, that I was ready to shed the last drop of my blood in his service. I went also to pay my respects to the Queens; after which I took post for Rosny.

From hence I sent Maignan, my equerry, to Paris to buy me some horses. I have never since had any that equalled two which he brought me. One

* She made this name well known by her gallantries. One night, says Matthieu, (vol. 1. b. 7. p. 409.), when the Duke of Alençon was with her, the King of Navarre had a snare for him, so that as he came out, he fell against something in his way, and hurt one of his eyes. The next day the King of Navarre meeting him, exclaimed, "Ah, my God! your eye! your eye! what accident has befallen "you?" The Duke answered hastily, "It is nothing: a small mat-"ter surprises you." The other continuing to bemoan him, the Duke being offended, advanced, and feigning to jest, whispered in his ear, "Whoever shall say I have got it where you imagine, I will "make him a liar." Sauvray and Du Ghast hindered them from fighting.

of

of them was a Spaniſh horſe; he was quite black, except a white ſpot on his right buttock. The other was a horſe of Sardinia, to whom nature had given an inſtinct to defend his rider: for he rolled his eyes, and ſprung upon the enemy with his mouth open, never quitting him till he had thrown him to the earth.

Part of the lands belonging to Monſieur extending to the neighbourhood of Roſny, I took occaſion to avail myſelf of the offer which this prince had made me, and demanded the remainder of a wood to make my beſt of. This produced a ſum of 40,000 francs, with which, in fifteen days, I fitted out my whole troop. It was compoſed of eighty gentlemen and upwards, ſome of whom followed me diſintereſtedly, and others received from me a penſion of 500 livres at moſt. With this retinue I went to join Monſieur, who waited for us in his caſtle of La-Fere, in Tartenois; from whence, after ſome time ſpent in deer-hunting, we marched towards St. Quentin where all his troops were aſſembled.

The Prince of Parma * ſurrounded Cambray with his whole army, and kept it blocked up. This afforded an occaſion for the braveſt amongſt us to ſignalize themſelves, and every one wiſhed to command the firſt party that ſhould be ſent to reconnoitre. This honour fell to me, by the diſpoſition into which Fervaques, the quartermaſter-general, who was my friend and relation, had put the army: it procured me, however, no advantage: for I returned without having taken one priſoner, the beſiegers keeping all cloſe behind their lines, although I paſſed near enough to ſuſtain ſeveral diſcharges. The Viſcount Turenne felt a ſecret joy, becauſe I had refuſed the offer he made to join me, if I would wait till the day after. He choſe out 100 gentlemen, with whom he advanced towards Cambray,

* Alexander Farneſe, Duke of Parma.

flattering

flattering himself that he should not make a fruitless attempt. The event did not answer: this fine troop had the misfortune to be defeated by 80 or 100 men of the regiment of M. de Roubais † of the house of Melun, who served in the enemy's army; ten or twelve of our party were made prisoners among others Ventadour, and the Viscount Turenne himself.

Monsieur advanced, however, with an intention to give battle to the enemy's general. But he had posted himself so advantageously, that we durst not attempt to force him; and the following night he raised the blackade, and retired towards Valenciennes, without losing a single soldier, and leaving moreover the passes behind him so securely guarded, that he did not fear being overtaken. Monsieur entered Cambray, and was received with magnificence by the governor, whose name was *D'Inchy*. Chateau-Cambresis refused to surrender, and was taken by assault. Monsieur who wanted at first to give marks of a gentleness that might conciliate affection towards him, forbid, under the severest penalties, violence against the sex who are the miserable victims of war; and fearing that these orders would not be more capable to restrain the brutality of the soldiery than the plague with which the fort was infected, he gave them the churches for an asylum, and placed guards about them. A very beautiful young girl threw herself into my arms as I was walking in the streets, and holding me fast, conjured me to guard her from some soldiers, who, she said, had concealed themselves when they perceived me. I encouraged her, and offered myself

† Robert de Melun, Marquis of Roubais. The Viscount Turenne's design was to throw himself into Cambray. See his Memoirs, p. 211 et seq. It is observed there, that he chose rather to surrender himself prisoner to the Prince de Robecque, general of the Spanish cavalry, than to the King of Spain: which was the cause that he was detained two years and ten months; for Spain feared, that after Robecque had received the money for the Viscount's ransom, which was 70,000 crowns, he would quit its service.

to

to conduct her to the first church. She told me she had been there, but that they would not receive her, because it was known that she had the plague. I became cold as marble at this declaration, and anger renewing my strength, I thrust this girl from my arms, who exposed me to death when she had an argument to make herself be respected, which appeared to me unanswerable; and I betook myself to flight, expecting every moment to be seized with the plague.

Monsieur having attacked the passages of Arleux and L'Ecluse, I took some prisoners there, whom I sent back without ransom, when I understood that they belonged to the Marquis de Roubais, my cousin. Roubais, who was not ignorant of my rights to the estates of the Viscount de Gand, which he had usurped, ill received this generosity. "By heaven," said he, "these civilities are fair and "good; but if he was taken, he brings his ransom "with him." This misfortune which I had room to fear would really have befallen me two days after, at the attack of a wall, if Sesseval, by a very seasonable charge, had not extricated me from signal danger.

The Prince of Parma having divided his army in the Low Countries, Monsieur returned to Cambray; where he was guilty of an instance of perfidy towards D'Inchy, very little worthy of a great prince, all whose words ought to be so inviolable, that no person should have a thought of suspecting him on the score of good credit. He invited himself to dine with this governor, who was at an excessive expence to receive him in the citadel, in a manner suitable to his rank. He invited above sixty to attend this prince, whom he treated with equal greatness and magnificence. During the repast, he was told that Monsieur's guards presented themselves at the gates. D'Inchy thinking he should fail in an essential part of his reception of Monsieur, if he

sent

ſent them back, gave orders for their admittance, and of all who might come on the part of that prince, who was, he ſaid, ſole maſter in the caſtle. He ſpoke more truth than he imagined. After theſe came others, and after them more till this party finding itſelf the ſtrongeſt, Monſieur's guards diſarmed thoſe of M. D'Inchy, and ſeized upon the caſtle. All this arrangement was the invention of Monſieur, who relied upon that ſincerity in the governor, with which he was himſelf unacquainted. When D'Inchy could no longer doubt of his misfortune, he complained bitterly to Monſieur, who anſwered him only with an inſulting jeer at his Picardy accent, and obliged him to quit the caſtle, which he gave to Balagny. He thought he made D'Inchy ſufficient amends by the gift of the town and dutchy of Chateau-Thierry. But that gentleman, who perceived the difference between what was given him and what he had been deprived of, reſigned himſelf to deſpair, and ſeeking death, found it ſoon after in a ſkirmiſh.

After this Monſieur returned to France, notwithſtanding the prayers of the inhabitants of the Low Countries to the contrary, who aſſured him, that after the taking of five or ſix places, the only ones of any conſequence, all Flanders would ſubmit to him. His deſign was to make preparations for a voyage to England, whither he actually went a little time after. All our hiſtorians have ſpoken of the reception he met with from Queen Eliſabeth *, and of the nature of that engagement which he contracted with her; I ſhall therefore ſay no-

* It is well known that the Queen of England allowed ſeveral of the princes of Europe to flatter themſelves in this manner with hopes of marrying her: and whether policy, or reaſons purely natural, was the cauſe that ſhe never came to any concluſion, is a queſtion not hitherto decided. Monſieur went to England in the winter of 1581 and returned to Flanders the ſpring following. See the detail of this voyage, and of all the negotiations concerning the marriage at great length, in the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. 1. p. 474.—603.

thing, though I accompanied him in this voyage. From England Monſieur again returned to Zealand, flattered with a thouſand agreeable hopes. He came to Lillo, and afterwards to Antwerp, where he was crowned Duke of Brabant by the Prince of Orange, aſſiſted by the Prince Dauphin, and all the nobility of the Low Countries, who diſplayed their joy in a thouſand ſhapes. This affection of the Dutch for Monſieur was of very ſhort continuance. The Prince of Orange, the only perſon who was ſtill more beloved by the people than he, being wounded in his chamber at Antwerp by a piſtol bullet *, the populace, who thought none but the French could be accuſed of this action, mutinied, and would have put them all to the ſword. Monſieur could find no ſecurity but in taking refuge in the houſe of the wounded. When the true cauſe of this aſſaſſination was diſcovered †, there were no excuſes or ſatisfactions which the burgeſſes did not make to Monſieur for the injuſtice of their ſuſpicions, and the revolt they had occaſioned. But this outrage remained deeply impreſſed on the heart of Monſieur. He vowed within himſelf to revenge it in a ſignal manner. The Prince of Orange was not a man that could be eaſily deceived: he began from that moment to be upon his guard; for he read in the heart of the Prince, his reſentment, and the invenomed hatred which he bore to all Proteſtants in general.

As for me, I had already received proofs of it perſonally, which, added to other ſubjects of complaint that Monſieur gave me, diſguſted me totally

* March 18, 1582, by John de Jauregny. The ball went quite through his jaw. The aſſaſſin was taken by the ſoldiers of the Prince of Orange, who ruſhed in at the noiſe, juſt as he was drawing his poignard to diſpatch him. *Chron. Piaſecki.*

† By the papers that were found in his pocket, he was known to be a Spaniard. This it was that appeaſed the people, who were ready to put all the French to the ſword. *Mem. d'Aubigny Maurier.* The people ran about the ſtreet, crying, Behold, this is the marriage of Paris, let us kill theſe maſſacrers. *Matthieu*, vol. 2. book 7. *in fin.*

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at his service. I had at first attached myself solely to his person, and to please him I spared neither labour nor expence: I believed therefore that I might talk to him of my pretensions to the succession of the Viscount de Gand, for it depended upon him to make this estate fall to me. He became cold upon this proposition; he made use of delays; but at last he came to a determination, and one day that I redoubled my instances, he told me very cavalierly, that he could not gratify two persons at a time; and that my cousin the Prince of Epinoy had obtained, without trouble, what had cost me so much assiduity. There was something in this answer greatly more poignant than the refusal itself: I was sensibly struck with it; and, a few days after, I knew for certain what share his Protestant officers and I had in his heart, when I heard him say publicly, that he had just banished from his council D'Avantigny, the last of the Huguenots to whom he would confide his secrets, and that this made him greatly at ease. From that time I bethought myself of quitting this ungrateful prince; and waiting an occasion of returning into France, I attached myself to the Prince of Orange, in whom I found all that was wanting in Monsieur. I remember, a few days before the treachery of Antwerp, being at this prince's palace with Sainte-Aldegonde, and a minister named *Villiers*; he said to us, speaking of Monsieur and the Catholics, who governed him, "These people have designs pernicious both for themselves and us, in which, it is "my opinion, they will not find their account. "I intreat you, Sir," added he, turning to me, "not to remove yourself from my lodging." He thought justly; and his diligence finishing what his foresight had begun, Monsieur suffered the double shame of unsuccessful treachery *.

Having

* About that time the same attempt was made, by Monsieur's orders,

Having assembled his army in the plain, he went out of Antwerp one day of the month of February under the pretence of making a review, and ordered his soldiers to enter the city again by those gates that were at his disposal, and to make themselves masters of it by armed force. Accordingly his men threw themselves into Antwerp, as into a city carried by assault, crying out, "Slaughter, "slaughter, the city is gained; the mass for ever." But the triumph was of short duration. The Prince of Orange, who watched all the motions of Monsieur, gave such good orders every where, or rather made those he had long before given to be so well executed, that Monsieur's soldiers were repulsed, cut in pieces, or almost all precipitated. For terror having once spread among them, those who could not get out by the gates, which the great number of carcases had obstructed, threw themselves from the top of the walls. I had mounted my horse two hours after noon, to go and join Monsieur in the field. I was not yet gone out of the city, when I heard the first shouts of the assailants, and almost in the same instant met the Prince of Orange, who desired me and some other French gentlemen of the Reformed religion, who were with me, to retire to his lodgings. As Frenchmen we run the greatest risk in the city at this moment; as Huguenots, we were in no less imminent hazard from the French army, if it continued in possession of the city. We followed his counsel, and saw him not again till after he had perfectly re-established the peace of the town. All the trouble that he gave himself to appease the Flemish, and to make them forget a step so inexcusable, is a proof that he was induced with regret, and in his personal de-

ders, on the principal cities of Flanders; the project succeeded upon Dunkirk, Dixmude, and Dendermonde, but failed upon Bruges, Ostend, Nieuport, &c. De Thou, book 77. The Duke of Montpensier and the Marechal de Biron made use of all their efforts in vain to dissuade Monsieur from this enterprise. Matthieu, ibid.

fence,

fence, to an action of which no Frenchman disapproved. It was not his fault, that the Proteſtant party in Flanders was not reconciled to Monſieur: and as for us, after knowing that it was our intention to join this prince, he put us into a condition to do it without danger.

We found him greatly embarraſſed in the neighbourhood of Mechlin, of which the inhabitants, by opening their ſluices, had made one vaſt mariſh. Four or five thouſand foot at leaſt, and as many horſe of Monſieur's army, periſhed there with cold and hunger, in a very rigorous ſeaſon. Monſieur, however, abode five or ſix months in Flanders after this fatal enterpriſe: but his army had been ſo conſiderably diminiſhed, the remainder was ſo wretched, the cities were ſo well upon their guard, and, to complete the misfortune, the Prince of Parma returned ſo ſuperior, that Monſieur was at laſt obliged to go back to France with the Duke de Montpenſier, and the Marechal de Biron, leaving nothing of himſelf in all the Low Countries but the remembrance of a name juſtly deteſtable.

Wo to every prince ſo imprudent as not to be able to conceal his hatred againſt them whoſe ſervice is neceſſary to him. But let us ſay once for all, to the advantage of virtue, that, every thing rightly conſidered, it moſt infallibly warrants the ſucceſs of great enterpriſes. Wiſdom, equity, good diſcipline, order, courage, good fortune, all things which beget one another, in the order in which they are here marked, are manifeſtly the whole concatenation of actions of men truly great. The procedure of thoſe who unjuſtly ſet themſelves off with this comely name, offer, on the contrary, nothing but temerity and obſtinacy, the companions of blind ambition; an intoxication of their power, a vain confidence in their talents, a preſumption upon their good fortune; all effects of flattery, which ordinarily ſubjects no perſons ſo imperiouſly as thoſe pre-

pretended heroes who believe themſelves born to ſubject the whole univerſe.

I had no mind to quit Flanders without ſeeing the places which gave birth to my anceſtors. I took a paſsport from the Count of Barlaymont, and came to Baſsée, to the houſe of Madam de Maſtin, my aunt. She received me as a nephew whom ſhe had diſinherited, becauſe he neither believed in God nor in his ſaints, and becauſe he worſhipped none but the devil. This was the notion Father Silveſter, a Cordelier, a famous preacher, and the director of this lady, had judged proper to give her of all the Proteſtants; and ſhe believed him upon his word. She carried me to ſee an abbey that ſhe had founded; and as ſhe was ſhewing me the tombs of ſome of my anceſtors, which ſhe had cauſed to be erected there, ſhe thence took occaſion to ſpeak to me of my faith. If I were ſurpriſed to hear her utter the reveries that Father Silveſter had put into her head, ſhe was not leſs, when, to undeceive her, I recited the creed and all the prayers which are in common to us with the Roman Catholics. The ſentiments of nature awakened in the ſoul of this lady with thoſe of reaſon: ſhe had never been wanting with regard to me but out of her downright honeſty. She embraced me with tears in her eyes, and promiſed me not only that ſhe would aſſure me of all her eſtates, but alſo that ſhe would make thoſe of the Viſcount de Gand to be reſtored to me. She ſpoke ſincerely: doubtleſs Father Silveſter found reaſons ſtill better to diſſuade the effect of her good intentions; for nothing of all that ſhe promiſed was ever executed.

I had above all a particular deſire to ſee the city of Bethune, the country and ancient inheritance of my anceſtors, who poſſeſſed there for a long time very conſiderable eſtates. The treachery Monſieur had uſed with the city of Antwerp, rendered all the other cities of the Low Countries ſuſpicious.

They

They would not suffer me to enter Bethune till after I had shewn my passport, declared my name, and convinced them I came from Madam de Mastin; which produced an effect that I little expected. I had taken the road to an inn, whose sign was the coronet of the family of Bethune, when I saw coming towards me a platoon of armed men, that gave me some apprehension. It was, however, the burgesses of the city, who, full of respect for the blood of their ancient Lords, no sooner knew who I was, than they thought it proper to pay me all possible honours, and brought me a present of wine, baked meats, and other refections. I did not leave this city till after I had visited exactly, and examined with secret pleasure, all the public and particular monuments which preserved to posterity the remembrance of the benefits my ancestors had conferred on this city, and its gratitude for them.

Flanders having nothing more to detain me, I returned to France, and took the direct road to Rosny, where I scarce halted. I set out for Guyenne, full of joy to meet again the King of Navarre after so long an absence. This prince received me in a manner that left me no room to doubt but he was sensibly pleased at my return. He inclined I should relate all my adventures, and those of Monsieur. "Well," said he to me, after I had done, "is not this the accomplishment of all I told "you of this prince at Coutras? but the Viscount "de Turenne, whom I dissauded as much as pos- "sible from following him, has managed his mat- "ters still worse than you."

The expedition of Monsieur into the Low Countries had irritated the King of Spain to such a degree, as to make him endeavour to gain the King of Navarre's friendship, and offer him his succours for renewing the war with the royalists of France. This proposition he received at Hagemau, whither he

he had gone to visit the Countess of Guiche *; for his passion for this lady was then at its height. The diffidence Henry had of all that came to him from Spain, and his natural antipathy against that court, prevented his giving any credit to it. I will not take upon me to answer for the sincerity of the Spaniards in all the offers which were made him at different times by Bernardin de Mandoce, the Chevalier Moreau, and Calderon. I believe, however, there were moments in which the King of Spain dealt faithfully with the King of Navarre †, and this might be of that number. But be that as it will, the King of Navarre gave no answer to this proposition, and only made use of it to convince the King and Queen-mother of the purity of his intentions. He sent me to Paris, to inform them of this step of Spain.

There was no longer almost any such thing as speaking to the King. This prince having retired to Vincennes, was inaccessible to all but his minions and the ministers of his pleasures. I expected to have been introduced to him by the Queen of Navarre; for this princess, whose humour could not sympathise with that of the King her husband,

* Diane, or Corisande Dandoins, Viscountess of Lovigny, &c. wife and afterwards widow, of Philibert Count of Grammont. In the observations upon the amours of Alcander the Great, this lady is said to have sent Henry IV. 23 or 24,000 Gascons, levied at her own expence. It is also mentioned there, that she had a son named Antony, whom that prince offered to acknowledge for his own; but the young man replied, that he chose rather to be considered as a gentleman than the bastard of a King. Journal of Henry III's reign, p. 270.

† That which induced him to believe this, was, that to this letter of the King of Spain's, presented to the King of Navarre by the Chevalier Moreau, or the Commander Motree, as Davila calls him, book 2. was added an offer of 50,000 crowns a month, made by the same Chevalier, on the frontier of Bearn, to maintain the King of Navarre's army, provided he would make war upon France. Mem. of the league, vol. 5.

had now * left him to return to the court of France: but I learned from Madame de Bethune, that she was in no better intelligence with the Queen her mother, and the King her brother. I had recourse to Madam de Sauves, who procured me an audience of Catherine. The affair appeared to her of consequence; she spoke of it to the King, and a negotiation was begun there. I even obtained from his Majesty a credential letter for the King of Navarre; but what reliance could one have on the resolutions of a court, where, it would seem, they took never a good step that was not immediately repented of? The Queen-mother judged it proper to make no other use of the King of Navarre's confidence, than to enter into a stricter union with Spain; as this prince came to know by the reproaches the King of Spain made him, for having betrayed his secret.

One consequence of this reconcilement with Spain, was the bad reception Monsieur met with from the King upon his return from Flanders, which occasioned his retiring to Chateau-Thierry, oppressed with chagrin. As I was now unemployed at home, whether I had retired after seeing my deputation miscarry, a motive of curiosity led me to visit Monsieur at Chateau-Thierry. I imagined his bad fortune might have made him wiser; but it had only abated his pride. He received me with so many civilities, that judging they could not come but from some principle of interest, I immediately concluded, he had some great designs in his head. I no longer doubted it when I heard the magnificent offers made me in his name by Aurilly, who

* From that time they always lived separate, notwithstanding the reproaches which Henry III. often made the King of Navarre on that subject, and upon some others that are mentioned by L'Etoile. One day, when the latter received some very sharp letters from Henry III. "The King," said he, "in all his letters, honours me greatly; for by the first he calls me C——, and by the last the son of P——."

had procured me the honour of kiſſing his hand. Through projects with which Monſieur * was intoxicated, I could diſcover at the bottom of his heart a melancholy and ſecret bitterneſs that devoured him, and which nothing could diſpel. It was the beginning of that languor which ſome time after terminated by death his ambitious projects †.

At my return to Paris, I received an order from the King of Navarre to attend him upon important affairs. He was meditating to diſconcert, if poſſible, all the meaſure of the league, the great ſcope of which this ingenious prince early apprehended. He needed a man of confidence at court to ſtudy all its motions; and it was to charge me with this employment, that he had commanded my attendance. He communicated his reflections to me, gave me all the neceſſary inſtructions, and when I went to take leave of him, embracing me ſeveral times, he ſaid, "My friend, remember that the "principal quality in a man of true courage and "worth, is to keep his word inviolably; in that "which I have given to you, I will never fail." I was not to ſeek for a pretext to authoriſe this ſecond journey to Paris. This favour in which I had left my two young brothers at court ‡, made it very

* Monſieur took the titles of Son of France, by the grace of God, Duke of Lauthier, of Brabant, Luxemburg, Gueldrland, Alençon, Anjou, Tourain, Berry, Evreux, and Château-Thierry; Count of Flanders, of Holland, Zealand, Zulphen, Maine, Perche, Mante, Meulan, and Beaufort; Marquis of the holy Roman empire; Lord of Friesland and Mechlin; Defender of the Belgic liberty. Hercules was the name that was given him at his baptiſm; but when it was confirmed, it was changed to Francis.

† There is not any hiſtorian who doubts that he died by poiſon. His blood ran through all his pores, as if every vein had been burſt, De Thou, book 78. This was, ſay the Memoirs of Nevers, for having lain with La——, who made him ſmell a poiſoned noſegay. Ibid. p. 163. Buſbeq. p. 33. 35.

‡ Solomon and Philip de Betune. The firſt, as eldeſt, was called *Baron of Rofny*, and was governor of Mante. The ſecond has formed the

very plausible. They began to give jealousy to the minions. The King already made them of his parties of devotion, which was a step speedily to arrive at the greatest familiarity. However, I learned, on my arrival, that they were disgraced; the reason of which I did not know till a long time after, and it is of the number of those things that ought to be passed over in silence †. This did not hinder me from entering upon my new function at Paris, and the court. I gave the King of Navarre exact intelligence of all that passed there, that he might take the measures most suitable to the state of his affairs.

Engaged in this new kind of life, which obliged me, by the nature of the occupations in which I was taken up, to frequent the court, to mingle in the most brilliant companies of the city, to take part in their amusements, their pleasures, their idleness; in the flower and strength of my age, it will naturally be expected that I paid the ordinary tribute to love. I became desperately enamoured of the daughter of the President de St. Mesmin, one of the most beautiful persons in France.

At first I wholly abandoned myself to a passion, the beginnings of which are so delightful; and when I would have resisted it afterwards, by reflecting that this alliance was not convenient for me, I found this reflection very feeble against the regards of this whole family for me, the friendship of a respectable father, and the charms of a mistress that merited affection. I should have had great difficulty to have broken this chain by my own strength. La Fond * proposed to me, for my diversion, to

the branch of the Counts of Selles and Charost. By attaching themselves to the person and party of the King of France, they both abjured the Protestant religion, in which they had been educated.

† Those who are curious to know it, need only consult the confession of Sancy, chap. 7.

* La-Fond was his valet de chambre. He is mentioned in another place.

viſit Mademoiſelle de Courtnay†, whom he wiſhed me to ſeek, as being of a party more convenient for me in all reſpects. I ſaw her, and internally approved this choice; but Mademoiſelle de St. Meſmin ſoon deſtroyed all theſe wiſe reflections.

I came one day to ſleep at Nogent upon the Seine, having with me this ſame La-Fond, and ſome other perſons. Thither a ſingular chance had conducted Mademoiſelle de St. Meſmin, and Mademoiſelle de Courtenay, which I learned the moment I alighted at the inn. The conjuncture was the moſt delicate, and I judged that there was no way of getting clear but by breaking for ever with her of the two ladies to whom I ſhould refuſe my firſt viſit and aſſiduities. There is no management nor addreſs that can in ſuch a caſe ſatisfy two women at once.

The young ſiſter of St. Meſmin came down at this moment, and found me in a revery, as a man who ſought to reconcile reaſon with love. She perceived it; and my embarraſſment affording her a fine field for the vivacity of her ſpirit, ſhe endeavoured to draw me to her ſiſter's feet; when La-Fond approaching me, whiſpered in my ear, "Turn "to the right, Monſieur: there you will find "riches, a royal extraction, and full as much beau-"ty, when it ſhall have attained to the age of per-"fection." Theſe two looſe words ſeaſonably recalled my reaſon, and fixed my irreſolution. I agreed, that La-Fond gave me good counſel, and that the only difference as to beauty between Mademoiſelle de Courtenay and her rival, was, that the one held me upon the ſcore of charms, which a year or two more promiſed the other. I excuſed myſelf from going to ſee Mademoiſelle de St. Meſ-

† Anne de Courtenay, youngeſt daughter of Francis de Courtenay, Lord of Bentin.

min,

min, which drew upon me great reproaches; but I ſuſtained the aſſault, and in the ſame breath repaired to the apartment of Mademoiſelle de Courtenay, who valued this ſacrifice above its price. She imparted to me the pleaſure ſhe took in the preference; and I applauded myſelf, when I had conſidered my new miſtreſs more attentively, and when ſome viſits more had acquainted me with her character. She admitted my addreſs, and a ſhort time after this adventure I married her.

The tenderneſs due to an amiable ſpouſe, detained me at Roſny this whole year (1584), in the occupations, exerciſes, and diverſions of the country: another kind of life no leſs new. The country, to thoſe who have been accuſtomed to live at court and in the field, is ordinarily an occaſion of double expence; but it furniſhes many reſources, to a man who knows that good œconomy can ſupply the place of great riches. A taſte for fine horſes, which I had cultivated merely for pleaſure, made a uſeful part of this domeſtic œconomy. I kept jockeys, who went to ſeek horſes in foreign countries, where they were cheap; I ſent them to be ſold in Gaſcony, at the King of Navarre's court, where I never failed to draw large ſums for them. I remember to have ſold, among others, a roan horſe marked with a peach-flower to the Viſcount de Chartres, for 600 crowns, which coſt me only 40. The tapeſtry of the labours of Hercules, which adorns the hall of Sully, came from M. de Nemours de la Garnache, who paid me in this coin a fine Spaniſh horſe that I had ſold him at 1200 crowns.

Towards the end of this year *, a letter from the

* The peace continuing in force till the following year, the Memoirs of this and the preceding contain little concerning the King of Navarre. Le Grain relates the adventure that happened to him with Capt. Michau, who pretended to have quitted the ſervice of Spain for that of this Prince, in order to find ſome opportunity of murdering him

the King of Navarre drew me from this inactive life. He informed me, that the time which he had foreſeen was arrived in which he had need of his ſervants; that the ſtate and religion were threatened with the laſt misfortune, if immediate endeavours were not uſed to prevent it; and that he ſhould inceſſantly have upon his hands a moſt cruel war. I inſtantly diſpoſed myſelf to attend this prince, taking with me, as well for his occaſions as my own, 48,000 francs, from the ſale of a wood of tall beeches which I made with this intention.

In effect, the hardy enterpriſes of the league broke out this year *; and one cannot reflect without

him treacherouſly. One day, ſays he, when the King of Navarre was hunting in the foreſts of Aillas, he perceived Miolhau juſt behind him, well mounted, with a couple of piſtols cocked and primed. The King was alone and unattended, it being cuſtomary for hunters to ſeparate; and ſeeing him approach, "Capt. Michau, ſaid he to him, with a bold and determined air, "diſmount; I have a mind to "make trial of your horſe, that I may know if it be as good a one "as you ſay it is." The Captain obeyed; and diſmounting, the King got upon his horſe, and taking the piſtols, "Do you deſign "to ſhoot me with one of theſe? (ſaid he:) I am told you intend to "kill me; but in the mean time I can kill you if I pleaſe." Saying this, he diſcharged the two piſtols in the air, and commanded the Captain to follow him. Michau having good reaſons to deſire to be excuſed, took leave of him two days after, and never after appeared. *Decade of Henry the Great*, book 8. Buſbeq, who, at that time reſided at Paris, in the quality of ambaſſador from the Emperor Rodolphus II. aſſures us alſo, in his letters (epiſt. 46.) that a deſerter, whom he does not name, adminiſtered poiſon to the King of Navarre; but that this Prince, either by the ſtrength of his conſtitution, or the weakneſs of the poiſon, felt no bad effects from it: and adds, that this ſame man having attempted afterwards to ſhoot him with a piſtol, and failed, was taken, and put to the torture; and that it was known by the behaviour of Henry III. upon this occaſion, that he had no part in the deſigned aſſaſſination.

* The firſt ſtep which diſcovered the deſigns of the league, was an aſſociation of princes, prelates and gentlemen of Picardy, who met at Peronne, to avoid obeying the edict of ſixty-three articles, given in 1576, in favour of the Proteſtants. The manifeſto that was there drawn up, ſerved for a model to all the other provinces, and even to the ſtates of Blois, which were ſummoned about the end of that year, and whoſe reſolutions obliged Henry III. to declare himſelf

without trembling, that, in less than four years, ten royal armies fell upon the King of Navarre, when the danger that threatened equally the two kings was turned against him alone, through the weakness

self the head of the Catholics against the Huguenots, that he might not leave this title to be assumed by the Duke of Guise. At first, they talked only of maintaining the Catholic religion alone in the kingdom; but at length a debate concerning the succession to the crown was introduced, into which they brought the Pope and the King of Spain. See the form of these associations in the MS. marked 8326 in the King's library, p. 160. The conspiracy of the nobility of Normandy, with the oath to preserve the Catholic religion in France, and the crown to the house of Valois, see in vol. 8832. p. 5. All this volume is likewise filled with memoirs relating to the league, and the first states of Blois. See also the treaty the league made with the King of Spain at the castle of Joinville, and signed by the respective parties, with may other pieces on the same subject, vol. 8866. All, or part of these pieces, with very curious circumstances relating to the same subject, may be found in different authors, such as the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. 1. Memoirs of the league, vol. 1. Memoirs of state by Villeroy, vol. 2. De Thou, book 63, & 81. D'Aubigne, vol. 2. book 3. chap. 3. Matthieu, vol. 1. book 7. & 8. Le Novennaire de Cayet, vol. 1. *in init.* and many others. Many persons believe the original of the league to be much more ancient, and that it took its rise in the council of Trent, thro' the endeavours of the Cardinal of Lorrain, the uncle; during which Francis Duke of Guise, on his side, formed the plan of it in France; but the death of the latter suspended the effect. It is pretended also, that Don John of Austria, passing thro' France, in his way to Flanders, concerted the scheme with the Duke of Guise. The college of Forteret has passed for the cradle of the league. It is said that an advocate named *David*, carried the memoirs to Rome; and that those memoirs, which may be read in vol. 1. of the Memoirs of the league, being intercepted by the Huguenots, gave them the first certainty of it. Some persons have doubted whether this advocate, who died in his journey to Rome, or, as others say, in his return from thence, did not treat with the Pope by his own motion, and agreeably to his own opinion: which is not less probable. As for Henry III. he certainly deserves all the reproaches which the Duke of Sully here casts upon him. He had undeniable proofs of his enemies designs upon the royal authority; to whom, when he broke the edict of pacification in 1577, he said aloud these words; "I am much afraid, that by our endeavours to "suppress Calvinism, we shall bring the mass into danger." We are assured, that all the secrets of the league were discovered by a gentleman named *La Rochette*, to whom they were intrusted, and who suffered himself to be taken on purpose, that he might reveal them without danger. In a word, it is also certain, that the Duke of Guise began to raise the standard of his party in 1585, when he was

still

weakneſs of Henry III. who received laws from his very enemies, and conducted himſelf the hand that fought to ſubvert his authority.

Henry III. perceiving the league would publicly ſet up the ſtandard of revolt, waked a little from the lethargy into which he had been plunged, and thought proper to diſpatch the Duke de Joyeuſe into Normandy, to oppoſe the Duke d'Elbœuf, who kept an army there, which the league made uſe of to extort the famous edict of July *, by which all the Huguenots were ordered to go to maſs, or to abandon the Kingdom in ſix months.

Joyeuſe, who had my two brothers in his army, paſſed by Roſny, and engaged me, without difficulty, to go with him: by attacking the league, we entered into the true intereſts of the King of Navarre. I gave him the beſt reception in my power; but nothing charmed him ſo much as the beauty of my horſes.

Lavardin likewiſe took his way by Roſny, and went to lodge at the extremity of the town. Chi-

ſtill ſo weak, that he could not depend upon more than 4000 foot and 1000 horſe. Beauvais Nangis (and he relates it himſelf in his Memoirs) aſked him one day what he intended to do if the King ſhould come to attack him; "I will retire immediately to Germany, "(replied the Duke,) and there wait for a more favourable oppor- "tunity."

* This was the treaty of Nemours, the triumph of the league, and the diſgrace of Henry III. Henry IV. told the Marquis de la Force, in the preſence of Matthieu, that the moment he was informed of this inglorious weakneſs of the King of France, his muſtaches turned ſuddenly white on that ſide of his face which he ſupported with his hand, *Matth.* vol 8. Sixtus V. manifeſted his indignation; and by the ſame bull of September 5. 1585, wherein he excommunicated all that aſſiſted the Huguenots, he likewiſe excommunicated thoſe who undertook any thing againſt the King and kingdom. He foreſaw at that time all the miſeries that would befal France. See theſe articles of Nemours, and the proceedings of the league both in France and in Rome, Memoirs of Nevers, vol. 1. p. 661, &c.

cot*, who would always give a loose to his pleasant humour, at the expence of Lavardin, whom he called a madman, sent to tell him one day, in a very mysterious manner, that that devil of a Huguenot (meaning me) had kept the deaf man prisoner, (another surname he gave to the Duke of Joyeuse). Lavardin, without reflecting that his attempt had been perfectly useless, though it had not been ridiculous, armed himself immediately, with all his domestics, and came to make a bravado before my house; where the railleries of all the company were profusely bestowed upon him.

What I am going to say, will not be easily believed. Scarce were we set out together, but upon our arrival at Vernueil, the Duke of Joyeuse received a packet from court, which informed him, that the King had made a peace with the league, and that it was his Majesty's intention, that the army, which only two days ago was to support him a-

* Chicot was a Gascon, brave, rich and a buffoon. At the siege of Rouen, he wounded Henry of Lorrain, Count of Chaligny, in the thigh; and taking him prisoner, presented him to Henry IV. saying, "Here, keep what I give thee." The Count, enraged at being taken by a fool, gave him a blow on the head with the hilt of his sword, which killed him. He used to say whatever he pleased to the King, without giving him any offence. When the Duke of Parma came to France, Chicot said to the King, before all the courtiers, "My friend, I see very well that all you do will signify nothing, unless you either turn Catholic, or pretend you are one." Another time he said to him, "I am convinced, that to be peaceably "King of France, you would give both Papists and Huguenots to "Lucifer's clerks: so true it is, that you kings have no religion "but in appearance." "I am not surprised," said he, another time to his Majesty, "that so many persons desire to be kings: it "is a good trade, and by working at it only an hour in a day, one "may make sufficient provision for the rest of the week, without "being obliged to one's neighbours. But, for God's sake, my friend, "take care and keep out of the hands of the leaguers; for if you "should fall into some of them, they would hang you up like a "hog's gut, and write upon your gibbet, At the crown of France "and Navarre are good lodgings to be let." *Memoirs of the history of France* vol. c. p. 72.

gainſt the league *, ſhould be led againſt the King of Navarre. Joyeuſe, in relating this to me, added, "Well! Monſieur le Baron de Roſny, this ſtroke "will give me a cheap bargain of your fine horſes, "for the war is declared againſt the Proteſtants: "but I aſſure myſelf, that you will not be ſo fool-"iſh as to go in ſearch of the King of Navarre, "and embark in a party that will infallibly be ruin-"ed, and make you loſe your fine eſtate of Roſ-"ny."

The Duke might have ſpoken much longer without interruption. I knew the court enough, not to be ſurpriſed at any thing from that quarter. But I was aſtoniſhed to think by how many traverſes it pleaſed Fortune to conduct the King of Navarre to that greatneſs which ſhe had deſtined for him: for I was always internally perſuaded of this; and the predictions of La Broſſe were continually preſent to my mind; ſo that my anſwer to Joyeuſe turned wholly upon them; after which I quitted him abruptly. The extravagance muſt have appeared to him a little ſtrong; and I learned that he ſaid to thoſe about him, "There goes a maſter-fool; but "he will be finely abuſed by his ſorcerer."

I returned to my houſe; from whence I departed inſtantly, after taking ſome new meaſures conformable to the ſudden change which had ſo lately happened. I went expeditiouſly to Guienne, where the King of Navarre was, and ſtaid with him four

* The King was obliged to it at Châlons by the leaguers, who were aſſembled there. He ſecretely excuſed himſelf to the King of Navarre, upon the ſcore of neceſſity. This prince and the Queen his mother ſuffered themſelves to be unſeaſonably intimidated by the threats of the leaguers, whoſe forces were exaggerated, although it would have been very eaſy to have deſtroyed them in the beginning. The council miſſed an occaſion of uniting the Low Countries to the crown, by ſending back the deputies from thoſe provinces without an anſwer, who came to offer the ſovereignty of them to the King, provided he would march with his troops on that ſide. Thus were two great errors committed at one time. De Thou, book 81.

or

or five months, during which he was employed in making preparations againſt the ſtorm. He carried me with him to Montauban, where he held frequent conferences with the Proteſtants upon the part it was neceſſary they ſhould take in this conjuncture. The miſery was, that, upon an occaſion when all was at ſtake, they did not underſtand their true intereſt ſufficiently, at leaſt ſo as to keep them perfectly united, and to concur honeſtly in the ſame views. From that time ſome of the principal chiefs thought more of their own particular advancement than upon that of the king, without reflecting that their fortunes were ſo cloſely connected with his, that if he failed, it was impoſſible they could ſucceed. Each built a fortune for himſelf, out of the general plan.

This diſunion of minds ſhewed itſelf more ſignally in a particular conference held at St. Paul de Lamiate, where audience was given to a doctor of divinity, named Butrick, ſent by the Elector Palatine. It was there that the Viſcount de Turenne gave the firſt marks of that unquiet, double, and ambitious ſpirit, which formed his character. He had, in concert with this Butrick, projected a new ſyſtem of government *, into which they had drawn Meſſ. de Conſtans, D'Aubigné, de St. Germain-Beaupré, de St. Germain de Clan, de Brezolles, and others. They wanted to form the Calviniſt part of France into a kind of republican ſtate, under the protection of the Elector Palatine, who ſhould keep in his name five or ſix lieutenants in the different provinces.

* The hiſtorian who gives us the life of the Duke of Bouillon, does not deny that theſe were the views of this Calviniſt nobleman. He was a very able politician, extremely ambitious, paſſionately deſirous of the quality of leader of the Calviniſts of France, and very capable of filling that poſt. This is all that can be ſaid of him, to ſoften their terms, a little too ſtrong, which M. de Sully frequently employs in theſe Memoirs, when he ſpeaks of the Duke of Bouillon.

In examining this project, it was agreed, that the King of Navarre was cleared of all obligations to these gentlemen; since, by this plan, they confounded the princes of the blood with the officers of the Protestant party, and reduced them to the quality of lieutenants under a petty stranger prince. This was not the only time that the King of Navarre found secret enemies in his councils, among his creatures, and, in appearance, his most zealous servants, and even among his own friends and his relations.

We must lay our account with every thing on the part of men. They do not, for the most part, keep to their duty, to society, to consanguinity, from any regard to benefits, good credit, or virtue, but according to their hopes and their success. But how could these able politicians pretend to maintain unity and concord in their pretended republic? they, who were for giving it so many heads, and heads as independent the one of the other, as unsubjected to a protector too feeble to compel their obedience. It was perceived at first what was their object: they meant to become each in their district so many sovereigns, not adverting, that by this they only delivered up one another to the discretion of Spain, and of the league, who had destroyed them easily, by attacking them separately.

The cabals of the principal officers in the Protestant party with a foreigner, which were carried on in a manner hidden enough, happily did not hinder the better party from prevailing in the assemblies. The Duke of Montmorency * was of opinion, that in the present danger we should be all united, and put ourselves effectually upon the defensive. I insisted, in all the councils, upon the

* This is Henry, Marechal Damville, afterwards Duke of Montmorency.

necessity

neceſſity of acknowledging the authority of one only head, and of not diſſipating the power, by dividing it. As we came out from one of theſe councils, the King of Navarre drawing me aſide, ſaid to me, "Monſieur le Baron de Roſny, it is not all to "ſpeak well, we muſt act ſtill better: Are you not "reſolved that we ſhall die together? It is no "longer time to be good œconomiſts; all men of "honour and conſcience muſt employ one part of "their eſtates to ſave the other. I perſuade my-"ſelf, that you will be among the firſt to aſſiſt me; "and I promiſe you if I ever have good fortune, "you ſhall partake of it." "No, no, Sir," anſwered I, "I do not incline we ſhould die together, "but that we ſhould live, and that we ſhould cut "the head off all our enemies. My good manage-"ment will not be detrimental here. I have ſtill a "wood that will produce me 100,000 francs, "which I will employ to this end. You ſhall give "me more one day, when you are immenſely rich. "This will happen. I had a preceptor, who had "a devil in his body, and he predicted it to me." The King of Navarre could not help laughing at this ſally; and embracing me cloſely, "Well, my "friend," ſaid he to me, "return to your houſe, "be diligent, and come to me ſoon again, with as "many of your friends as you can bring with you, "and do not forget your wood of tall beeches." He afterwards communicated to me the deſign he had to draw the war to Paris, or at leaſt to the Loire: which was, in effect, the only method to ſucceed. He told me alſo, that he had practiſed ſome intelligence in Angers, but that he feared the Prince of Conde would, by his precipitation, obſtruct his deſigns there more than the Catholics. The event will ſhew if he thought juſtly. He promiſed to inform me of all that paſſed, and took leave of me, after a thouſand teſtimonies of affection, which I ſhall never forget.

I arrived at Bergerac, almoſt in the ſame moment that the Cardinal de Lenoncourt, M. de Sillery, and M. de Poigny, were deputed by the court to the King of Navarre, to repreſent to him, for the laſt time, the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the will of the King, and of changing his religion *. Poigny came to me the next day, and diſcloſing to me the ſubject of his commiſſion, aſked me what I thought concerning the event of his journey. I aſſured him that he took a uſeleſs trouble; and that on an occaſion when religion, the ſtate, and the royal authority were in ſo great danger, ſomething elſe than words would be neceſſary with the King of Navarre. He ſhrugged his ſhoulders, ſighed at my anſwer, and inſtead of replying, "I believe," ſaid he, "a maſs is a difficult purchaſe in this city." I conducted him thither myſelf with the other deputies, endeavouring to perſuade them, by this li-

* In the Memoirs of the life of J. A. de Thou, book 3. there is a converſation which Michael de Montagne had with this preſident, which the reader may not be diſpleaſed to ſee here. As they were diſcourſing, ſays the author, upon the cauſes of the preſent troubles, Montagne told the Preſident, that he had been a mediator between the King of Navarre and the Duke of Guiſe, when theſe princes were at the court; and that the latter, by his cares, his ſervices, and aſſiduities, made advances to gain the King of Navarre's friendſhip; but finding that he made a jeſt of him, and that, after all his endeavours, he was ſtill an implacable enemy, he had recourſe to war, as the laſt reſource to defend the honour of his family; that the enmity which raged in the minds of theſe two perſons, was the cauſe of a war, which was at preſent ſo far kindled, that only the death of one of them could extinguiſh it; that neither the Duke, nor any of his family, believed themſelves ſecure, while the King of Navarre lived; and the King of Navarre, on his ſide, was perſuaded, that he ſhould draw no advantage from his right of ſucceſſion to the crown, during the Duke's life. As for religion, added he, which they both make ſuch a noiſe about, it is a good pretence to procure adherents, but neither of them is much affected by it. The fear of being abandoned by the Proteſtants, is the ſole cauſe that prevents the King of Navarre from embracing the religion of his anceſtors: nor would the Duke recede from the confeſſion of Ausburg, if his uncle Charles, Cardinal of Lorrain, had convinced him, that he might follow it without prejudice to his intereſt. Theſe, he ſaid, were the ſentiments he diſcovered in theſe princes, when he was employed in their affairs.

berty that was allowed to Catholics in a city wherein the Proteſtants were maſters, that we were not the real enemies of the King.

It fared with the deputation as I had predicted to the deputies. As for me, I continued my journey to Paris; where, on my arrival, I found they talked of nothing but of ruining utterly the King of Navarre, and of exterminating the Huguenots. Every thing there paſſed to the mind of the league, which ruled ſovereignly ſince the ſhameful ſtep of the King; all the Frenchmen that remained were obliged to conceal themſelves, and mourn in private the misfortunes which the King's weakneſs had drawn upon the kingdom. It was to theſe that I betook myſelf; and I had ſome conferences with Meſſ. de Rambouillet, de Montbazon the elder, d'Aumont, de la Rocheguion, des Arpentis, and ſome others. They aſſured me, that if once the King ſhould appear in the neighbourhood of the Loire, he ſhould ſoon ſee a conſiderable number of true Frenchmen in his train. I confirmed them as much as I could in theſe good reſolutions; and after I had bought horſes at Paris, I made haſte to amaſs thoſe ſums of money that I had promiſed the King.

I learned by public report, what had lately happened at Angers: but, in order to give a diſtinct account of it, the ſtory muſt be taken a little higher. Briſſac, who was governor of the caſtle of this city, placed a lieutenant there in his abſence, named Capt. Grec, with twenty ſoldiers upon whom he reckoned. Two of thoſe ſoldiers, who had been of the Reformed religion, ſuffered themſelves to be gained by the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to deliver up the caſtle to them, which would neceſſarily be followed by the ſurrender of the city. When it was learned at Angers, that Henry III. had joined with the King of Navarre againſt the league,

league, a third party was formed, conducted by Du Hallot, who courted Rochemorte and Freſne, to were the two ſoldiers named. Matters did not long continue in this ſtate: The two ſoldiers preſſed by the Prince of Condé, ſurpriſed Capt Grec, and killed him with ſome of his men; after which they ſeized upon the caſtle. Du Hallot, who knew not of the change that had ſo lately happened at court, gave himſelf no trouble: on the contrary, he reſtrained the people, by repreſenting to them, that it was by the order of the King that the two ſoldiers had acted: and he remained in his error, till offering to enter the caſtle, he experienced himſelf the treachery of Rochemorte and Freſne; and his miſtake made him loſe his life upon a wheel*.

Hitherto all went well for the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé's party; but they had alſo their reverſe. Rochemorte having been drawn beyond the bridge by the Catholics, who kept the caſtle inveſted, perceived that they ſought to ſurpriſe the place, and make him priſoner. He wanted to re-enter. In this tumult, thoſe within the caſtle thought of nothing but of drawing the bridge inſtantly. Rochemorte graſped at the chains, which eſcaping him, he fell into the ditch, where a ſtag which they fed there tore him in pieces. Freſne only remained. Two days after, as he was ſleeping upon a parapet on the wall, where he thought himſelf in great ſecurity, he was killed by a carabine, ſhot from the other ſide of the river, at the diſtance of above 500 paces. After which the Catholics chaſed the reſt of the Huguenots from the city and caſtle, with the ſame facility that they had ſeized it. All this had not happened, if the King of Navarre had conducted the enterpriſe alone; for he would not have ſuffered the two conſpirators to

* The King was ſo greatly afraid of the league, that he publicly diſavowed Du Hallot's enterpriſe.

act

act so, till he had been at the gates to support them with his whole army.

This enterprize, so ill concerted, produced more than one misfortune. The Prince of Condé being occupied in besieging Brouage, when it was told him, that his party had surprised Angers, balanced not a moment about quitting the siege, and going to second his creatures. By arriving too late, he lost both the one and the other. It was, moreover, the cause, that all the Catholic troops, hitherto dispersed and inactive, assembled again in the neighbourhood of Angers, which took away all possibility of regaining it, precipitated the actions of the campaign, and brought the Prince of Condé himself, as we shall see presently, into a danger, from whence he did not escape but by a signal instance of good fortune.

After this first act of hostility on the part of the Reformed, I judged there would be no measures kept any longer, and found myself in a very great imbarrassment. If I saw danger in continuing at Rosny, the country being overspread with royalists, I found no less risk in my intention to penetrate to the King of Navarre. This part, however, I took; persuaded, that he never had more need of succour than in the present conjuncture; and that the difficulty of conveying dispatches through the midst of an enemy's army, was the only cause of my not hearing from him as he had promised. Messr. de Moui, de Feuquieres, and Morinville, to whom I imparted my resolution, found it too hazardous, and refused to embark with me. I did not for this fail to set out, escorted only by six gentlemen, and my domestics, two of whom carried portmanteaus, in each of which were 6000 crowns in gold.

I put up the first night at Nonancourt, and the second at Châteaudun. Hitherto no unlucky rencounter befel me: for although all was full of Catholic soldiers, they imagined every where that I

was going, like them, to join the body of the Duke of Joyeuse's army; with whom, as a soldier named Motheporain informed me, every thing went very well. I dislodged from Chateaudun before day, fearing an eclaircissment, and came to Vendome; where not inclining to be known by Benchart, I made Boisbreuil, one of the gentlemen in my train, pass for the master of the troop, and I mounted, with the domestics, upon a horse that carried baggage. He who appeared to be the chief amongst us, was asked several questions; he answered properly, and we were suffered to pass. We traversed the whole city, in order to lodge in the most remote suburbs. Benchart, who believed us to be Catholics, as we had assured him we were, very obligingly sent to counsel us to return into the city, because the Prince of Condé's army, which had been repulsed before Angers, was dispersed over all the country, and sometimes made excursions to the very gates of the city, which rendered our sojourning in the suburbs very dangerous. What he represented to us as a misfortune, we should have looked upon as a very great happiness; but there was a necessity for concealing it: therefore the pretended master of the equipage, feigning to credit this advice, called instantly to replace the mails, and return into the city. It was my province who acted the domestic, underhand to protract our stay till the night should come. The tumult occasioned by the embarrassment of all those who dislodged, for the order was general, served to cover our dissimulation. At length, we did as others, but not till our horses were fed and refreshed: the night being half over, we mounted; but, instead of re-entering the city, filed off into a by-street, which I had caused to be reconnoitred, and got into the fields on that side where I supposed the Prince of Condé's army might be.

The evil was, that the artifice which had hitherto succeeded so well, might occasion our ruin, through

through the impoſſibility of diſtinguiſhing readily, what party thoſe whom we might happen to meet belonged to. A miſtake in this might coſt us our lives; but there being no remedy, we continued our route, though with uneaſineſs enough, and thought that we ought not to alter our ordinary anſwer. In effect, the firſt troop we met with was a company of light horſe, commanded by Falandre. To the *Qui vive?* we anſwered, *Vive le Roi*; and Falandre not examining the thing to the bottom, counſelled us to join him, for fear of meeting the Prince of Condé's little army, which he aſſured us was not far off; adding, that if we doubted him, we might get further intelligence from two or three companies of argoulets *, who were coming after him. Theſe laſt words furniſhed us with a pretence for eluding this perplexing civility: we feigned to have reaſons for not following the ſame route with him, and for waiting to take our meaſures from the anſwer we ſhould receive from the argoulets. Inwardly, we were no leſs apprehenſive of this other rencounter; but we prepared for it, relying ſtill upon the good fortune of eſcaping, under favour of diſguiſe. Accordingly we did not fail, to the *Qui vive?* put to us by the next company we met, to reply with aſſurance enough, *Vive le Roi*, perſuaded that we ſpoke to the argoulets of the royal army, of whom we had intelligence. We had like to have fared very badly for having reaſoned ſo juſtly. The argoulets having perceived the Prince of Condé's troops at a diſtance, had turned off the road, and had thrown themſelves into the woods. In place of them, we had to do with four companies belonging to the Prince; which we eaſily compre-

* So called from the bows with which they were at firſt armed. They ſerved on foot or on horſeback, as our dragoons do at preſent. When the arquebuſes were firſt in uſe, they were called *horſe arquebuſiers*; and it is by this name they are commonly ſtyled in theſe Memoirs.

hended, seeing that the whole troop fell upon us, and presenting their pieces, cried out to us to surrender. At that moment, I plainly distinguished three captains of my acquaintance, to whom it had not been difficult, in any other situation, to have made myself known; but I reflected, that in such sort of encounters, the first word, the first motion, tending to an explanation, are generally taken for a refusal to surrender, and followed by a close discharge. Instead, therefore, of naming myself or those officers, I used the demonstration of a man who yields himself prisoner. I alighted, suffered them to take my horses, and marched in a train, till coming near ...eff de Clermont and St. Gelais, whom I surprised greatly by embracing. They ordered my equipage to be restored to me, and likewise the portmanteaus which contained my money.

The Prince of Conde came up close behind these four companies. He could scarcely believe what he saw, so hardy did my enterprise appear to him. We lay all night in this place, after supping very frugally out of wooden dishes: and when the time came which obliged us to separate, the Prince, who was so ill accompanied, that he was in no condition to hold out against a royal army, nor even against any considerable detachment, and in a canton where he was sought for in all parts, would have engaged me to receive him into my troop, as a private gentleman. He was too well known: It would have been to ruin him, and to have ruined myself along with him. I prayed him to excuse me. I made the same compliment to the Duke de la Tremouille, and charged myself only with Mess. de Fors, Du Plessis, de Verac, and d'Oradour. The Prince of Conde remained extremely embarrassed; and finding that it was still a greater risk to continue in the midst of his 1200 horse, than to march with little noise, he divided them all into platoons, of which the most considerable consisted only of twen-

ty.

ty cavaliers, made them take by-ways, and marching himself through the same roads, by a good fortune of which there are few examples, twelve times escaped the pursuit of his enemies.

My own escape was little less signal. To the stratagems I had already made use of I had joined another, which wrought wonders. I took the name of one of my brothers; and to appear more youthful, cut off my beard and mustaches. This, however, did not disguise me so well, but that through every place where I passed, I could hear people about me say, that I perfectly resembled my brother the Huguenot. To avoid the questions that might be put to me, I assumed the style of a zealous partizan of the league. I spread the rumour of the Prince of Condé's defeat, and of the rout of the Protestants by the Duke of Joyeuse. I came in this manner to sleep at Chateau-Renard. The great difficulty was to pass the Loire: This I would hardly have accomplished, without M. des Arpentis, who did me on this occasion the office of a true friend. M. de Montbazon did me another. I no sooner alighted at Montbazon, than he sent me a present of wine and bon-chretien pears, and treated me with so much kindness besides, that although I was known in this place, I complied with his entreaties, and staid there three days. We had need, our horses beginning to be fatigued. By the death of M. de Montbazon *, which happened soon after, I was deprived of the occasions of shewing my gratitude to a man, all whose sentiments aimed at the welfare of the state.

Under favour of my new disguise, I traversed Chatelleraud and Poitiers. At Ville-fagnan, meeting with a regiment of Swiss that was going to join the Marechal de Matignon's army, I found my advantage in this encounter. The Swiss took all in

* He was slain at the battle of Argues.

good

good part that I pleased to tell them, because I took care to provide them every morning with a repast; and in the end I believe I might have reckoned upon them, even under my true name. I travelled with them four days, and we did not separate while I could possibly avoid it. Scarce had I quitted them, when passing the river at St. Marsaud, I was known by Puiferret. He advanced with his company to the bank of the river. Happily for me, I had already got to the other side; and having this advantage, I gained the house of M. de Neufvy. At Marton I went down, as ordinary, into the suburbs, and immediately, from I know not what foreboding, returned into the city. I learned the next day, that the door of the stable in which my horses were supposed to be, had been burst open in the night by a petard. I made my reflections upon this accident; but they did not hinder me from giving orders for my departure, when I was accosted by a stranger, who said to me, "Monsieur, I do "not desire to know who you are: but if you are "a Huguenot, and intend to quit this place, you "are ruined; five miles distant from hence there "is an ambuscade of fifty horse, well armed, "which, in my opinion, waits for you." I thanked this man heartily for his kindness, without appearing troubled at what he had told me. I answered coldly, that although I was not a Huguenot, yet to fall into an ambush, seemed to me to be always dangerous. I then returned to my inn, where pretending that one of my finest horses was lamed, I ordered them to be all unsaddled.

To satisfy myself of the truth of what I had heard, I made one of my valets, named Perigordin, who could imitate perfectly the jargon of a peasant, disguise himself like one; and after instructing him in what he must do, sent him to that part of the country where I was told the ambush was posted.

Perigordin meeting these fifty horsemen, told them,

them, in anſwer to the queſtions they put to him concerning the news of the city, that my departure was deferred till the next day. He followed them to a town, two leagues from thence, where they retired, not a little uneaſy at having miſſed their blow, and in the reſolution of returning next morning to the ſame place, and he came inſtantly back to me to make his report. I ſet out that moment; and after ſome other little adventures of the ſame kind, arrived at the houſe of M. de Longa, and from that place at Bergerac, where the King of Navarre then was. This prince, on whom nothing of all that was done for him was ever loſt, held me a long time embraced in his arms; and ſhewed himſelf ſenſible of the dangers to which, from my attachment to him, I had expoſed myſelf. He would know the moſt minute particularities of my journey, and principally the rencounter I had with the Prince of Conde, and the ſlippery condition in which I had left him.

Nothing can expreſs the imbaraſſment in which the King of Navarre found himſelf at this time: without troops, without money, without ſuccour, he ſaw three powerful armies marching againſt him. Thoſe of the Dukes of Maïenne and Joyeuſe were advancing, by great journeys, and he had that of the Marechal de Matignon actually in front. The 40,000 francs I had brought with me, came very ſeaſonably for this prince, who could not have found as much in all his court. We marched towards Caſtillon and Montſegur, which Matignon made a ſhew of intending to beſiege: but he falling all at once upon Caſtets, we were obliged to turn to that ſide; and after a long and very cold march, for it was in the month of February, we arrived time enough to make them raiſe this ſiege.

But when we learned that the Duke of Maïenne's army was near, then it was, that we could no longer imagine any means of being able to reſiſt the

the efforts of two armies so superior; and the astonishment was extreme. We knew not to what side to turn ourselves, nor what resolution to take. One was of opinion, that the prince should retire into the heart of Languedoc; another, still farther; and a third advised him to pass over to England, from whence, after having secured himself of powerful succours, he should go and put himself at the head of those that Germany had made him hope for. All agreed in one point, that the Prince ought to remove from Guienne. It was with regret that I saw a sentiment, which would leave the Protestant party in France without remedy, was ready to prevail. And the King of Navarre desiring to know my opinion, I represented, that the extremity was not so pressing as to oblige us to abandon things entirely: that it would be time enough to do that, after we had endeavoured once more to make head against them every where: this was what did not appear to me absolutely impossible, by leaving, for example, the Viscount de Turenne upon the defensive in Guienne, with a small body of troops, such as he could get together; and while the Duke of Montmorency did the same in Languedoc, and Lesdiguieres in Dauphiné, the King should reserve the defence of Rochelle and the neighbourhood to himself, till the foreign troops that could not but soon arrive, had put the two sides something upon an equality. The King of Navarre relished this advice, and declared that he would follow it. "But," added he, "the Duke "of Maienne is not so perverse a boy, but that "he will permit me to take a walk some time "longer in Guienne." He then gave some orders before he set out for Rochelle, and made a journey to Bearn, which the present conjuncture rendered indispensable.

He was there only eight days; and, during this interval, the two Catholic armies having joined, and

and seized all the passages by which they thought the King of Navarre could return to Poitou, he saw himself upon the point of not being able to get out of Nerac. In this critical conjuncture, the King resolving to attempt all things, rather than not secure himself a passage *, he left Nerac, followed by 200 horse, and took the road towards Castel-geloux. When he was got half way thither, he separated his whole troop, and keeping only twenty of us that were best mounted, and a like number of his guards, named Sainte-foy for a place of rendezvous for all the rest: then, turning short he took a road amidst woods and heaths, which he knew by having often been at the chace there, and arrived at Caumont, where he slept three hours. We passed the river after sunset, and marched all night through the enemy's quarters, and even over the moats of Marmande; after which, fetching one compass more by Sauvetat, we came two hours before day to Sainte-foy, where all his men, who had divided into small platoons, arrived also by different ways, without the least loss, not even of their baggage. The Duke of Maienne, nettled at this disappointment of his hopes, went to discharge all his wrath upon Montignac le Comte, where Capt. Roux and Serj. More made so fine a defence against all this army, that it could not oblige them to surrender, but by granting them the most honourable conditions.

This general found less resistance in Sainte-Bazeile. Despueilles, the governor of that small place, was allied to the family of Courtenay, and reputed a very brave man; which gave me a desire to shut myself up with him, contrary to the advice of many of my relations and friends, who without doubt

* See this passage of the King of Navarre, and all the military expeditions on both sides, in D'Aubigné, vol. 3.; Matthieu, vol. 1. book 18.; Cayet, book 1. and other historians.

knew him better than I. The King of Navarre a long time denied me the permiſſion I aſked of him; at laſt, vanquiſhed by my importunity, he gave me thirty men, with whom I threw myſelf into Sainte-Bazeille. I found the place in a very bad condition without ramparts, and the houſes all built of clay, which the canon went quite through. However, it might have held out ſome time at leaſt; but Deſpueilles, being ſeized with fear, liſtened to nothing of advice, and was mad enough to put himſelf into the enemies hands, who treated the city as they judged proper. The King of Navarre, who learned at firſt the news of this very confuſedly, was angry with us all; but when he was inſtructed in the truth, all his anger was turned againſt Deſpueilles. What exaſperated him the moſt was, that this cowardly governor being preſented before him to exculpate himſelf, advanced moſt imprudently, that if the prince himſelf had been there, he could not have acted otherwiſe. The King made him be put under an arreſt, from which, eight days after, he was releaſed, at our ſolicitations.

The King did not abandon the field till at the laſt extremity, and after having diſputed the ground inch by inch. In retreating, he threw the remains of his forces into Monſegur, Caſtillon, and Sainte-foy. I lent him 6000 livres more, to fortify Montflanquin, where Bethune commanded. At laſt, fearing ſome fatal accident on the ſide of Rochelle, he left ſome troops in Guiennt, under the command of the Viſcount de Turenne, and took the road to that city, by Pons, and St. Jean d'Angely.

There were moments when Henry III. indignant at the ſhameful perſonage the league obliged him to play, wiſhed ardently to find ſome means of revenging himſelf *. But he wanted to do this without

* It was in theſe moments that he ſaid, as L'Etoile relates, *De inimicis meis vindicabo inimicos meos*; meaning the leaguers and the Huguenots.

danger;

danger; and from this motive rejected always the thought that often presented itself, of calling in the King of Navarre, and of uniting himself with him. The deputies from the four Swiss Catholic cantons coming to Paris, to treat of the succours which some time before had been demanded of this republic; the King, who was then in one of his momentary fits of spite against the league, thought proper to make use of these Swiss for this purpose; which, with the troops that were at his particular disposal, and those which depended upon the King of Navarre, would form a body capable of reducing the league to reason. He wrote to the King of Navarre, to acquaint him with his new designs, and desired him to send a trusty person, with whom he might confer upon the whole affair, and particularly upon the use they were to make of the Swiss. A blank passport was added to this letter, which the King of Navarre filling up with my name, obliged me to depart without delay.

I arrived at St. Maur, where the court then was, and went down to the house of Villeroy, with whom I dined, and staid the rest of the day. The day after he presented me to the King. I shall ever remember the attitude and whimsical attire in which I found this prince in his cabinet. He had a sword at his side, a hood hung down upon his shoulders, a little cap upon his head, and a basket full of little dogs hung from his neck by a large riband; and he kept himself so inflexible, that, in speaking to us, he neither moved his head, nor his feet, nor his hands. He began by giving vent to his indignation against the league, which made me conclude he had received some new affront from it, and treated of his union with the King of Navarre, as of a thing the utility of which he was perfectly sensible of: but some remains of fear made him always add, that he looked upon it as impossible, so long as the King of Navarre persisted in his resolutions

of not changing his religion. I took the word, and told the King in anſwer, that it would be in vain to propoſe this expedient to the King of Navarre, becauſe by following it he muſt act againſt his conſcience; but although he were capable of doing it, this would not produce what his Majeſty expected; for that the motive by which the league was actuated, was neither a love of public good, nor that of religion; that ſo precipitate an action would therefore loſe the King of Navarre all the ſuccours that he could expect from the Reformed, without detaching for all a ſingle man from the league; that, on the contrary, ſuch a weakneſs would increaſe the pride of their common enemies. The King replied; and I ſtill perſiſted in maintaining, that the King of Navarre, by complying with the terms propoſed, could bring only his ſingle perſon to his aid; whereas by uniting with him in the condition he was now in, and without exacting the ſacrifice of his religion, he would ſtrengthen the King's party with a body powerful in the ſtate. I ſpoke in the ſame terms to the Queen-mother: and I perceived that both the one and the other remained ſatisfied of the force of my reaſons; but that the fear of the change which a union with a prince of the Reformed religion might produce, was all that reſtrained them. I did not, however, deſpair of bringing them even to ſtrike this bold ſtroke; and by the manner, not only gracious, but even free and open, in which their Majeſties acted with me, I had room to flatter myſelf with ſucceeding in this.

I left them in theſe good diſpoſitions, to go to Paris, to confer with the Swiſs deputies. I had not ſo much difficulty to bring them to my purpoſe; it only coſt me a little expence in entertainment, and eſpecially in wine; by the means of which they promiſed, without reſtriction, a ſuccour of 20,000 Swiſs; of which 4000 only were

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to remain in Dauphiné, and the other 16,000 to be employed in the ſervice, and at the diſcretion of the two Kings. The King of France again aſſured me, by Meſſ. de Lenoncourt, de Poigny, and Brulart, that his ſentiments were not changed and that he paſſionately deſired the union. It was not leſs earneſtly wiſhed for by the King of Navarre. In the diſpatches I received from him almoſt every day, he exhorted me to ſet every thing to work to make it ſucceed, and even to ſacrifice for this ſomething of his intereſt.

At my return to St Maur, after having given the King an account of my journey, I brought upon the carpet the queſtion about the employment of the 16,000 Swiſs, and the route they muſt obſerve. The King demanded, that they ſhould be brought into the neighbourhood of Paris; and even, if there was need for it, ſerve him againſt the league. I foreſaw all the inconvenience that might ariſe from this arrangemant, and did not condeſcend to this artifice, but by the expreſs commandment of the King of Navarre, who thought ſo little ought not to fruſtrate the accommodation. It will be preſently ſeen, whether this article was ſo frivolous as was imagined, and what was the conſequence of this evil compliance.

The treaty between the two Kings being concluded, upon the conditions that have been mentioned, I thought of nothing but quitting the court. I left only Marfilliere at Paris, under colour of purſuing the negotiation that had been begun: but he had only attended me to Paris, to take the firſt favourable occaſion of going to Germany, by the means of Meſſ. de Clairvant and de Guitry; on purpoſe to facilitate there the miſſion of a body of German troops, which the Proteſtants of thoſe countries had promiſed to the King of Navarre. This deſign Manfilliere executed happily. As for me, after remaining eight days only at Roſny with

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my wife, I rejoined the King of Navarre, very well ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of my commiſſion.

This prince could not reſolve to continue ſhut up and uſeleſs in La Rochelle. He ſo managed, that he obtained from the inhabitatants 1200 foot, 200 horſe, and three cannons, which he gave to the Duke de la Tremouille, to go and take Talmont, which he could not ſuffer to continue in the hands of the enemy. I followed the Duke de la Tremouille, with Mignonville, Fouquerolles, Bois-du-Lys, and ſome other officers, and I had the charge of the artillery.

The town having no fortifications, we ſeized it without oppoſition, and immediately attacked the caſtle. The walls were very ſtrong, but had no works on the outſide. Maroniere, who was governor of it, although he did not expect to be attacked, reckoned upon ſome ſpeedy ſupplies that Malicorne had engaged to bring him; which determined us to preſs the place vigorouſly. The paſſage by ſea from Talmont to Rochelle is but ſix hours. I imbarked for that place to fetch a ſupply of powder, of which I had not a large enough proviſion, and to inform the King of Navarre, that we ſhould hardly ſucceed with ſo ſmall a number of men. The King ſpeedily raiſed 2000 more in the neighbourhood of Rochelle, and ſhipped them on board of three veſſels, which for two days were in danger of periſhing. At length we arrived at Talmont; the three veſſels caſt anchor there, one after another; and the beſieged, learning that the King of Navarre conducted the attack in perſon, ſurrendered to him.

It was want of money that had prevented Malicorne from fetching ſupplies to the governor of Talmont. The King of Navarre, ſeeing himſelf delivered from this fear, led his troops to attack Chizai. Fayolle, who commanded there, defended himſelf perfectly: he made good uſe of a culverine,

rine, which was the only piece of artilery he had in the place; and did not yield till he saw himself deprived of all resource. I remarked it as a singular thing, that Madame having sent the steward of her household with a letter to the King her brother, a bullet of this culverine entered into the body of his horse by his fundament, and came out at his breast, yet he was not thrown down, but continued upright above half a quarter of an hour.

Another shot from an arquebuse caused a much greater misfortune. A gentleman charged with a verbal message to the King of Navarre, concerning important affairs, was shot dead at the feet of this prince, having only had time to tell that he came from Heidelberg, from Messr. de Clairvant and de Guitry. This officer was sent to inform the King, that the German horse, and other Protestant troops from Germany were ready to enter France; and to inquire at him through what place he thought it proper they should march. Some were for their entering by Lorrain, where the league was most powerful; others maintained, that they ought to take their route by the Bourbonnois, from thence by Berry and Poitou, coasting the Loire. Messr. de Montmorency and de Chatillon gave their opinion for keeping them in Languedoc, and all along the Rhone. Never was seen so great a diversity of sentiments, and, as ill fortune would have it, the very worst prevailed; that is to say, the advice to make them enter into Beauce; doubtless because the King of France did not incline to remove them from himself, to the end that he might be enabled to employ them upon occasion against the league, or at least to give it an umbrage. It is not probable that the King of Navarre would have consented to this: but the accident that has been related was the cause that he was not even informed of all these contestations.

This prince, with the same good fortune, took

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Sanzay, and afterwards St. Maixant. The noiſe of five or ſix canons, which hitherto were ſeldom made uſe of in ſieges, produced this effect. He availed himſelf of his good fortune; and ſeeing himſelf reinforced with 200 horſe and 1500 foot, which were brought him by the Prince of Condé, and the Count de la Rochefoucault, whom he had juſt made Colonel-General of his infantry, he believed himſelf able to undertake the ſiege of Fontenay, the ſecond place in Poitou; although he was not ignorant, that in this place there was a brave governor, and a ſtrong garriſon. This governor, whoſe name was *La-Rouſſiere*, reſolved to defend not only the city, but the ſuburb Des-Lodges alſo, which was larger and richer than the city itſelf, and ſurrounded on the outſide with a large ditch; to which were added ſtrong barricadoes, which ſhut up the entrance of this ſuburb. The King of Navarre ſent La-Rochefaucault, at the head of forty gentlemen, to attack the head of this ſuburb in a very dark night. I joined Meſſ. de Dangeau, de Vaubrot, d'Avantigny, de Challandeau, de Feuquieres, de Braſſeuſſis, Le Chene, and two or three others. We poſted ourſelves at the ſide of the barricadoes, with our pikes in our hands, and our piſtols at our girdles, to throw them down, or leap over them. We were repulſed three times. Vaubrot, Avantigny, and I, in falling, drew five or ſix barrels of dung upon us, under which we thought to remain intangled; but thoſe who were at our ſide having at that moment forced their barricadoes, we raiſed ourſelves under favour of this effort; and the enemies ſeeing us maſters of the barricade, thought of nothing but retreating, after having ſet fire to it, for fear that, by purſuing them too cloſely, we ſhould enter pel-mel with them into the city.

We lodged ourſelves in the fineſt houſes of the ſuburb, where we found at the ſame time commo-

diouſneſs and abundance. The only inconvenience we ſuffered, was from the ſmall ſhot of the place, which, from the terraſs of the grand gate, commanded the whole ſtreet, and made the entrance to the King's and our own houſes very dangerous; and the batteries upon the ramparts commanding all the avenues of this ſuburb, it was impoſſible to enter it without being expoſed to continual diſcharges. One day, as I croſſed the ſtreet, going from my own houſe to that of the King, which was the moſt beautiful in the ſuburb, a ball battered againſt my headpiece, juſt as Liberge, my valet de chambre, came up to faſten it. I cauſed a rope to be inſtantly faſtened acroſs the ſtreet, and, by means of ſome cloaths that were hung over it, prevented the beſieged from ſeeing at leaſt comers and goers.

We afterwards applied ourſelves without remiſſion to the trenching and the ſap. The King of Navarre took incredible pains in this ſiege; he conducted the miners himſelf, after he had taken all the neceſſary precautions againſt the ſupplies that might arrive from without. The bridges, avenues, and all the roads that led to the city, were ſtrictly guarded, as likewiſe great part of the country. One night, when I was upon guard with twenty horſe, at the ford of a river, I heard the noiſe of horſes and irons at a diſtance, which left me no room to doubt but I ſhould be inſtantly attacked. This noiſe ceaſed for ſome minutes, then began again with more violence, and was heard ſo near, that I put myſelf upon the defenſive. I ſuffered the troop to approach, in order to give them a cloſe fire: but when we were juſt ready to diſcharge, I perceived that what had given me ſo great an alarm was only a herd of horſes and mares, which had been wandring all over this plain, and came to water at the river. I was the firſt to laugh at this adventure; but inwardly I was not ſorry that I had

given orders to the perſon whom I pitched upon to go for aſſiſtance, not to depart till we ſhould be engaged in fight.

At this ſiege, my principal employment was to conduct the artillery. The ſap was at laſt ſo far advanced, that we could hear the voice of the ſoldiers who guarded the parapets, within the lodgment of the miners. It was the King of Navarre who perceived this firſt. He ſpoke, and made himſelf known to the beſieged; who were ſo aſtoniſhed at hearing him name himſelf from the bottom of theſe ſubterraneous places, that they demanded to capitulate. The propoſitions were all made by this ſtrange way; the articles were drawn up or rather dictated by the King of Navarre, the ſecurity of whoſe word was known ſo thoroughly to the beſieged, that they did not require a writing. They had no cauſe for repentance; the King of Navarre, charmed with the nobleneſs of this procedure, granted the garriſon all honours, and preſerved the city from pillage.

A woman of the city having killed a fat hog the ſame day that they had capitulated, hearing that the garriſon had ſurrendered, imagined a pleaſant ſtratagem, to conceal the prey from the avidity of the ſoldiery. She made her huſband hide himſelf, and wrapping the dead animal in a ſheet, laid it, by the help of ſome friends, in a coffin, and by her cries drew all her neighbours together. The lugubrious apparel of a funeral, inſtructed them in the ſubject that the pretended widow had to lament at ſuch a rate. The prieſts were deceived as well as others: one of them conducted the proceſſion acroſs the ſuburbs, into a church-yard without the city, with the permiſſion of the King of Navarre. The ceremonies being performed, and the night being come, people poſted by this woman near the grave, came to take up the dead, and were juſt ready to carry it into the city; when they were perceived by

by ſome ſoldiers, who driving them from thence, diſcovered the truth, and ſeized the prey. One may well imagine the ſecret was not kept; it was already no longer one in the city; a prieſt, to whom this woman, preſſed with remorſe of conſcience, had opened herſelf, ſpread the adventure every where.

The King of Navarre leaving the Lord of La-Boulaye governor in this place, went to take the abbey of Maillezais, the ſituation of which he found ſo advantageous, that he conceived a deſign of forming it a regular fortreſs. He ordered me to draw a plan; and Davailles a relation of La-Boulaye, was appointed to guard it. His troops moreover ſeized Mauleon, and after that the caſtle of La-Garnache; from whence M. de Genoveis * drove his own mother. She retired to Beauvois, a ſmall town upon the ſea-coaſt, whither her ſon ſtill purſued her; but he fell at this time into her hands himſelf, and ſhe in her turn made him priſoner of war.

I was not preſent at theſe ſieges: the ſorrowful news I received from Roſny obliged me to go thither. During my ſtay at St. Maur, I obtained a protection for my caſtle and eſtate of Roſny, and all the paſſports that were neceſſary for my going thither when I ſhould think proper. It was this that made me eaſy with regard to my wife, at a time when all ſorts of outrages againſt the Proteſtants were authoriſed. I learned that this town was

* D'Aubigné (vol. 3. b. 1. c. 10.) explains this better. The lady of La-Garnache, ſays he, ſiſter to the Duke of Rohan, held the city of La-Garnache, and the caſtle of Beauvois upon the ſea, in neutrality. Her ſon, called *the Prince of Genevois*, upon a pretence of his mother's marriage with the Duke of Nemours, ſeized La-Garnache, by means of a correſpondence he held with the domeſtics. He made the ſame attempt upon Beauvois; but he found himſelf the priſoner of his mother. The reſult of all this was, that the King of Navarre intereſting himſelf in procuring his liberty, obtained it, and by the ſame means the place, &c.

at that time almoſt totally depopulated by the plague: my wife had there loſt the greateſt part of her domeſtics; and fear had obliged her to fly into a neighbouring foreſt, where ſhe had paſſed two days and two nights in her coach. She had afterwards taken refuge in the caſtle of Hüet, belonging to Madame de Champagnac, my aunt, which is not far diſtant. The joy which ſhe felt to know I was ſo near her, gave way to her fears of the danger I incurred by coming amongſt perſons infected with the plague: and ſhe thought to force me to return, by ordering the gates of the caſtle to be ſhut upon me. She had too much need of ſuccour and conſolation to be abandoned in this ſtate. I entered, notwithſtanding her reſiſtance, and ſtaid a month in this houſe, having only two gentlemen and two domeſtics with me, and breathing the air of the country in freedom; for the report of the plague kept from my houſe all the importunate. I was not wholly uſeleſs to the King of Navarre all this while: my wood-merchants ſtill owed me 24,000 livres, and I preſſed for the payment of it. The perſecution that opened againſt all Proteſtants, left me at their mercy; and the fear leſt this money, together with all my eſtates, ſhould be confiſcated for the uſe of the league, obliged me to content myſelf with 10,000 livres.

As ſoon as the contagion ceaſed, I carried my wife back to Roſny, after having taken the neceſſary precautions to purify the houſe; and I quitted her upon the report, that the Duke of Joyeuſe, whoſe march had hitherto been ſlow, and his operations inconſiderable, was advancing haſtily, to drive the King of Navarre from Poitou. This prince had juſt then been repulſed before Niort and Parthenai; and finding himſelf unable to keep all his fortreſſes againſt forces ſo ſuperior, he cauſed the greateſt part of them to be raſed and diſmantled,

tled, and preserved only Fontenai, Talmont, Maillezais, and St. Maixant, retreating to Rochelle, where I found him.

The treaty of alliance between the two Kings, which was mentioned above, seeming to promise quite another thing, the reader, doubtless, is impatient to know the success. It was no longer in the question; in one moment all was overthrown. The procedure of the court had something in it very singular. It would be a mystery absolutely incomprehensible, if one did not know of what variations a prince is capable, who abandons himself to irresolution, timidity, and sloth. In matters of state, nothing is worse than this spirit of indetermination. One must not in these difficult conjunctures abandon all, nor refuse all to hazard; but after having chosen an end by wise and cool reflections all the steps that one makes ought to tend to arrive at it. One cannot indeed too dearly buy, nor press too much a necessary peace; but in critical circumstances, nothing ought to be more carefully avoided, than keeping the minds of a people in suspense, between peace and war. It was not by such maxims that Catharine's counsellors conducted themselves; if they formed any resolution, it was only momentary, but never final; and in so timid a manner was it always formed, that it did not remedy even the present evil but most imperfectly. The fault of all minds taken up in little frivolous intrigues, and, in general, of all those who have more vivacity than judgment, is to represent to themselves that which is near, in a manner that dazzles them; and not to see at a distance what is through a cloud. A few moments, a few days, are what they call futurity.

To this fault of never being able to come to a decision, the King, or rather the Queen-mother, added

added another to crown all *. It was the using I know not what little affected diſſimulation, or rather a miſerable ſtudy of doubleneſs and deception, without which ſhe imagined there could be no politics. The firſt of theſe errors concealing from us the evil which threatened us, and the other tying the hands of thoſe who might have aſſiſted us to prevent it; what could we expect if it was not to be overwhelmed ſooner or later? It was this that happened to Henry III.; for not being able to reſolve to make uſe of the remedy that was offered him, I mean the junction of his troops with thoſe of the King of Navarre, in order to repel vigorouſly the enemies of his authority. It was requiſite to engage him in this, (for he did reſolve upon it in the end), that he ſhould ſee himſelf in an extremity which might have been as fatal to the royal name, as ſhameful to the memory of this prince.

Catharine had recourſe to her ordinary artifices, and thought ſhe performed a great deal, becauſe ſhe travelled a great deal. She went to Poitou, and conferred many times with the King of Navarre † at Coignac, Saint-Brix, and Saint Mai-

* It has been affirmed, that the intereſt of the true religion had no part in the politics of this Queen. Witneſs theſe words which ſhe was heard to ſay, when ſhe thought the battle of Dreux was loſt. "Well! we muſt pray to God then in French!"

† The Queen aſking him what he would have? he replied, looking at the young ladies ſhe had brought with her, "There is nothing "here, Madam, that I would have." Peref. Matthieu (vol. 1. b. 8 p. 518.) adds, that Catharine preſſing him to make ſome overture, "Madam," ſaid he, "there is no overture here for me." This interview was at St. Brix, Sept. 25. He was hunting one day at St. Brix, and wanting to ſhew that his horſe was more lively than two very fine ones belonging to Bellievre, a hare ſtarting behind a hedge frighted his horſe, who threw himſelf over upon him. He remained ſenſeleſs, bleeding at the noſe and mouth. They carried him like one dead to the caſtle. However, two or three days after he was not to be ſeen there. Mem. of Nevers, vol. 2. p. 588.

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xant. Sometimes she sought to seduce him, at other times to make him tremble at the sight of the considerable forces that were ready to pour upon him, and whose operations, she told him, she had hitherto suspended. In a word, she forgot nothing that she thought might induce him to change his religion. It may well be believed, that it was not without regret she saw the league in a condition to oppress the King of Navarre, because it was not her interest that this should happen. But what security did she give this prince, by the rash and unseasonable measures in which she wanted to engage him? Had he not reason to believe, that this proposal of abjuring his religion, which she was incessantly laying before him, was not, at bottom, but an artful snare to deprive him of the assistance of the Protestants, to make him countermand the troops that came to him from Germany, to draw him to court, to ruin him, and, after him, all his adherents? I had particularly proofs that justified this thought. The conferences at which I was present with the King, not affording me the means of clearing my suspicions, I held private ones, by his orders, with the Ladies D'Uzes and De Sauves, who were better acquainted with Catharine's inclinations than any other persons; and by whom I was so much beloved, that they always called me their son. The better to know their thoughts, I feigned to be assured of what I did only conjecture, and complained that the Queen-mother sought by all manner of means to sacrifice the King of Navarre to the league. These two ladies confessed to me in confidence, that they believed religion served Catharine only for a pretence, and that things were in such a state, that the King of Navarre must no longer think of getting out but sword-in-hand. They assured me afterwards, that they saw with a good deal of uneasiness the bad dispositions of the council towards this prince. These words I have always

always believed to be sincere, although spoke in a court where, next to gallantry, falsehood was the principal study.

Whatever were the Queen-mother's intentions*, she returned without having obtained any thing; and Joyeuse with an army came to occupy her place. The conduct of an army intrusted to Joyuse was a second mystery. Was it to mortify the heads of the league, who had pretensions there, or to ruin them outright, if the new general had succeeded? Was it, on the contrary, the discovery of his connections with the league, that induced the King to give him a place, wherein he was assured this ungrateful man would perish, or at least miscarry? Or was it only to remove a favourite, whom a new comer had deprived of the good graces of the King: for it is often a mere bagatelle, a nothing, that produes the effects, which we are always willing to attribute to motives the most grave. Was it not rather to inhance the lustre of his favour by a post the most honourable? Such was the spirit of the court, that conjectures, even the most oppofite, were supported by equal probabilities? One thing however which seems to determine in favour of the last, is, that the army which Joyeuse commanded was composed of the principal forces of the kingdom, that it was eminently filled with the flower of the nobility, and abundantly provided with all that could render it victorious.

The King of Navarre employed himself principally in putting St. Maixant in a condition of defence: he went thither with so much precipitation,

* After a long conversation, the Queen mother asking him if the trouble she had been at was to produce no other fruit to her who wished nothing more than repose; he replied, "Madam, I am not "the cause of it; it is not I who hinders you from sleeping in your "bed, it is you that prevents me from resting in mine; the trouble "you give yourself, pleases and nourishes you; peace is the greatest "enemy of your life." Peref. pa. 1.

that,

that, sinking under his watching and fatigue, he was obliged, in his return to Rochelle, to throw himself into a waggon drawn by oxen, where he slept as in the most elegant bed. To spare the provisions with which he had stored St. Maixant, he had ordered the two regiments of Charbonnieres and Des Bories, named to defend it, to post themselves at La-Motte Saint-Eloi, and there to expect the enemy's arrival. All this could not prevent the reduction of this last place, and of its castle, nor that of St. Maixant, Maillezais, and many others, any more than the defeat of several companies, among others that belonging to Despueilles, which was beat almost in the fight of La-Rochelle. The cruel behaviour of the conquerors rendered these misfortunes still more sensible: all we could do in revenge, was to fall upon the waggons and the straglers, during the marches of this army.

One day, as the Duke of Joyeuse led his army back again from Saintes to Niort, I posted myself with fifty horse in the forest of Benon, near the highway, seeking the occasion of striking some blow. A soldier mounted by my order to the top of a tree, to observe the order and motions of the enemy's army, told us, that he saw a detachment advancing at some interval from the first battalions. Those who accompanied me were for falling upon this detachment, which might perhaps be subdued, before it could be succoured. I did not relish this proposal. I remembered a maxim of the King of Navarre's, That one rarely succeeded in attacking a party at the head of a whole army; and I restrained the ardour of my troop, who burned with desire to come to blows. We saw therefore this detachment pass by, and afterwards the whole army, the battalions of which we could easily count. The last ranks marched so close, that I was of opinion, there was nothing to be done: but as we were ready to retreat, the sentinel informed us, that he

saw two small squadrons of fifty or sixty horse each, marching at a great distance from each other. I wanted still to have suffered the first to pass by; but it was impossible now to restrain the troop. We fell upon the first, and routed them; twelve or fifteen were left dead upon the place, we took as many prisoners, and the rest saved themselves as they could. But what regret did I not feel for not having followed my own opinion, when I learned that this second troop was composed of fifty of the principal officers of the Catholic army, with the Duke of Joyeuse himself at their head, who had stopped at Surgeres, to refresh himself with a collation! When I gave the King of Navarre an account of this action, he told me smiling, that he perceived very well I was willing to spare the Duke's squadron, in favour to my two brothers who were with him. One of them having a desire to see La Rochelle, I obtained a passport for him, and conducted him every where. I had myself occasion to take a tour to Niort, where the enemy's army lay, to agree upon terms of a combat that had been proposed between the Albanois of Capt. Mercure's company, and a like number of Scots under the command of Wymes; but the Duke of Joyeuse would not permit it to be executed.

I found this general gloomy and disquieted. I guessed so truly the cause of his uneasiness, that when he told me, that he was on the point of going as far as Montresor; I did not hesitate to answer with an air meant to increase his suspicions, that from thence he could go very easily as far as the court. At these words he turned towards my brother, as accusing him of having revealed what had passed. Tho' he knew that there was nothing in it, he imagined his disgrace was certain, since the report of it had already reached Rochelle; and it was this, I believe, that confirmed him in his resolution to go and destroy, by his presence, the

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cabals of his ill-willers. He concealed his sentiments, however, and answered coldly, that I suffered myself to be deceived by my too great discernment. He endeavoured to persuade me, that he had no intentions of returning to Paris. I was so well assured of the contrary, that I went back immediately to the King of Navarre, to concert with him proper measures for availing ourselves of his absence, which would leave the Catholic army without leaders; for I did not doubt but a part of the general officers would take this journey likewise: in effect, Joyeuse was no sooner set out than his whole army, already badly disciplined enough, lived without rule and without obedience.

The King of Navarre, who had secretely assembled 1200 men, drawn out of his garrisons, fell so seasonably upon the companies of Vic, of Bellemaniere, the Marquis of Resnel, Ronsoy, and Pienne, and even upon that of the Duke of Joyeuse, that finding part of them in bed, and part at table, he cut them all in pieces. He oftener than once alarmed the whole army, which remained under the command of Lavardin. He followed it to La-Haye in Touraine, and found means to keep it, as it were, besieged during four or five days. If on this occasion he had had forces sufficient to have enabled him to keep his post longer, I believe, that hunger would have delivered the whole army into his power. The soldiers spreading themselves over the villages, and exposing themselves every where to procure provisions, we passed the river, and surprised them every moment.

In this little time, we killed and took above 600 men. With six horses only, I went into a village full of soldiers: they were so accustomed to be beaten, that I ordered the arms of those who were at the tables, and upon the beds, to be seized, and their matches to be put out, without their offering to repulse us, although they were about forty in

number. I brought them to the King of Navarre, and they inlisted in his troops.

The Count of Soissons, who had long been discontented with the court, gave the King of Navarre hopes, that he would come over to his party; and this prince neglected nothing that could keep him in this disposition. The negligence of the Catholic army furnishing an occasion, such as both the one and the other waited for, the Count of Soissons took the road towards the Loire, and the King of Navarre sent all his troops to Rosiers, to facilitate this prince's passage over the river. They served him likewise to seize the baggage of the Duke de Mercœur. The great convoy that escorted it, was attacked so suddenly near a bank, that they surrendered without striking a blow, and the baggage, which was extremely rich, was entirely pillaged. My part of the booty amounted to 2000 crowns. My brothers were no longer in this army; I had obtained a passport for them to leave La-Haye.

This service did not remain without recompence: they procured me from the court a passport to Paris, whither a pressing occasion called me. At this time the persecution against the Protestants was at the height. On which side soever they turned, they saw nothing but open abysses. In the villages, where all became soldiers for the sake of pillage, their houses could not secure them from the fury of their persecutors. In Paris, and the great cities, they were exposed to rigorous searches, which the zeal of religion inspired, and the desire of being enriched by their spoils made but too cruelly executed. Princes will often see themselves subjected to misfortunes like these, the greatest that can befal a kingdom, so long as they will not know how far their rights and duties extend in this respect. They cannot beyond measure be enraged at any kind of action by which nature, society, or the laws, are wounded.

wounded *. A religion capable of authorising such actions, becomes necessarily an object of the rigour of their justice; and in this only instance is religion subjected to the power of crowned heads; but their power is not extended to the internal sentiments of consciences. In the precept of love to God the different apprehensions of which form the diversity of religions, the Sovereign Master reserves to himself whatever reaches not beyond speculation, and leaves to princes all that tends to destroy common practice. The ignorance or the contempt of this maxim was the cause that the Reformed led an unhappy life. They whose estates were large enough to admit of their living in Paris, chose that as the least dangerous way, because of the facility with which they could keep themselves unknown in a city so confused and so tumultuous.

My wife had retired thither some time, having used the precaution to take a borrowed name: to her was added, besides the common misfortunes, that of being far advanced in her pregnancy, du-

* It is true, it has never been demonstrated, that religion obliges sovereigns to persecute those who make profession of another faith: but this does not hinder the maxims which the Duke of Sully establishes here from being very dangerous, in that they seem to discharge kings from that indispensible obligation they are under to preserve the true religion; an obligation which includes that of making the worship, and all the exterior practices of it, to be exactly observed; which is equally conformable to the principles of a wise policy, as to those of religion; a fatal experience having but too well shewn, that it is much more necessary to prevent all disputes upon matters of religion, than to silence them when they are begun. After the confession M. de Sully so often makes in his Memoirs, of that spirit of revolt and independence which conducted all the steps of the Calvinist party in France, it is strange that he is not sensible, that, according to his own maxims, this body deserved to suffer all the rigour of the law. This place, in my opinion, sufficiently justifies what I have said in the preface to this work, that it is more proper to relate all the author's sentiments in theology, than to suppress them. It is not possible to understand his meaning here on the subject of charity. Obscurity is generally a proof of false principles, and weak reasoning. —— "This note is suppressed in the Geneva edition. It evidently "favours persecution, and shews it was written by a Roman Catholic."

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ring which she wanted all kinds of conveniencies. When I supposed she drew near her time, the fear of all that might happen to her in this condition, was what induced me to take a journey to Paris. I found her just delivered of a son, to whom I gave for godfather the Lord of Rueres, then a prisoner in the goal of the parliament, and the child was carried from the baptismal font to church, by a citizen named *Chaufaille* and his wife; for the worship and assemblies of the Protestants were not suspended, for all the severe informations that were made against them. At this time there were several women burnt for this cause: The dangers I ran myself were very great; and I avoided them only by the surprising happiness of not being known.

At last the number of spies increasing in all parts of the city, the search was so diligent, that nothing could escape. I did not think it possible to stay any longer in Paris without exposing myself to evident peril. I left it therefore alone, and in disguise, and fled to Villepreux; from whence I took a by-road to Rosny.

The Duke of Joyeuse had been received in Paris with praises and acclamations, which ought to have made him blush in secret for not having deserved them better. They did not, however, hinder him from being sensibly affected with the defeat of his army, of which he was speedily informed. He indeavoured, by all possible means, to make satisfaction for this loss; which, in the disposition the King was in with regard to him, was not a difficult task. His arrival had disconcerted all the intrigues of his enemies, and his favour with Henry was risen to such a height, that he could refuse him nothing. All the courtiers attached themselves to him *; and he

* In his embassy to Rome, he was treated as the King's brother; he had a heart worthy of his ample fortune. One day having made the two secretaries of state wait too long in the King's antichamber, he

he set out again for Guienne, with the flower of the French nobility; while many other bodies of troops, taking separate ways, assembled at the rendezvous he had appointed for them.

These different marches of the troops having made the roads less safe, I found no other means of returning to Rochelle, but by accomodating the date of my passport, which was expired. By this chicanery I got safe to the King of Navarre, whom I found employed in taking measures to prevent the dreadful storm he saw ready to burst upon him. He drew together all the soldiers he could find in Poitou, Anjou, Tourainne, and Berry, and sent orders to the Prince of Condé, the Count of Soissons, Mess. de Turenne, de la Trémouille, and Rochefoucault, to join him with all the forces they had. With all these supplies, his troops were greatly inferior to those of the Duke de Joyeuse. They only served to put him in a condition of opening a way through Guienne, Languedoc, and the Lyonnois, towards the source of the Loire, where he reckoned upon meeting the German auxiliaries. He made use of his utmost endeavours to accomplish this junction before the troops of Joyeuse were all joined. This prince, therefore, advanced with his army towards Montlieu, Montguyon, and La-Roche-Chalais, but always closely followed and watched by the enemy's general, who having penetrated into his design, thought he ought not to wait for the arrival of the Marechal de Matignon, nor of several other regiments that were coming to join him, lest he should suffer an occasion to escape him, which he might never be able to recover. His forces were already so much superior to the King of Navarre's, that this determination could not be accused of temerity; and the King, who never ha-

he excused himself by resigning up to them a donation of 100,000 crowns which the King had just given him. Notes on the Henriade.

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zarded a signal action, but when forced to it by neceſſity, inſtead of ſeeking the battle, thought of nothing but how to get the river between them, that he might purſue his march without obſtacle, and gain the Dordogne, upon which he had places commodious enough for putting a ſtop to the purſuit of the enemies.

With theſe diſpoſitions on both ſides, the King of Navarre arrived at the paſſage of Chalais and Auberterre. The poſt of Coutras appeared of importance to him, for facilitating this paſſage. It appeared of no leſs importance to Joyeuſe, for retarding it. He ſent Lavardin to poſſeſs himſelf of it; but La Trémouille, being more diligent, prevented him, and maintained himſelf in it, after a ſkirmiſh ſharp enough. The King of Navarre reſolved to take advantage of this poſt to attempt the paſſage, and made us endeavour it all night. He reſerved to himſelf the care of tranſporting the troops, and left that of the baggage, particularly the artillery, conjointly to Clermont, Bois-du-Lys, Mignonville, and me. As it was neceſſary to make uſe of all poſſible diſpatch, we ſet ourſelves to work immediately, having the water up to our knees. One half was already got to the other ſide of the river, when the ſcouts, whom the King of Navarre had ſent during the night to make diſcoveries, returned with ſome priſoners they had taken, and informed us, that Joyeuſe, reſolute to attempt every thing to force the King of Navarre to a battle, had decamped about ten o'clock at night, and would be up with him at furtheſt by ſeven or eight in the morning. This intelligence convinced the King, that our labour was not only uſeleſs, but very dangerous; becauſe, if found by the enemy employed in paſſing the river, that part of his troops which ſhould remain on this ſide of it muſt be inevitably routed, as it could receive no aſſiſtance from the troops on the other. Thoſe who had already got

over,

over, were ordered to return immediately. Our labour was now redoubled, and to add to it, he deprived us of Mignonville *, for whom he had occasion. Although we were extremely weakened by the fatigue we had suffered, yet that did not hinder the King from pointing out to me an eminence, upon which he expreſſed a wiſh that his artillery could have been placed, but durſt not hope that we ſhould have time to gain it. In effect, we already diſcovered the enemy's van. Luckily Joyeuſe, who without doubt was not ſufficiently acquainted with the ground, or ſuffered himſelf to be too much tranſported by his ardour, had given orders for fixing his artillery in a place ſo low, that afterwards finding it would be uſeleſs, he cauſed it to be removed, and by that means gave us a ſpace of time, of which we were wiſe enough to avail ourſelves, to place our own. It muſt be confeſſed, that this general, after all that he did, drew almoſt no ſervice from his artillery; and this doubtleſs was one of the chief cauſes of his loſing the battle. This ſhews, that there is nothing more neceſſary for the general of an army, than an exact and piercing ſight, which ſhortens diſtances, and prevents confuſion. I never knew a general that poſſeſſed this quality in an equal degree with the King of Navarre †.

The battle ‡ was already begun, before our artillery,

* Mignonville, who was ſlain ſoon after, before Nonancour, when Henry IV. ſtormed that city. He was mareſchal de camp, and an excellent officer. Henry had a great number of ſubaltern officers of uncommon merit and abilities in his army; ſuch were Montgommery, Bellezuns, Montauſieur, Vaudoré, Des Ageaux, Favas, whom the hiſtorians, in ſpeaking of this battle, have mentioned with honour.

† Le Grain makes him pronounce this military harangue to his ſoldiers. "My friends, behold here a prey much more conſiderable "than any of your former booties; it is a new married man, who "has fill the nuptial portion in his coffers, and all the choice of "courtiers is with him." Dec. of Henry the Great, book 4.

‡ It began Oct. 20. at nine in the morning, and ended at ten. The victory was complete; 5000 of the enemy were left dead upon

lery, which consisted only of three pieces of canon, was fixed; and we had soon occasion for it. The quarter of M. de Turenne, whose troops behaved very ill, and that of La-Trémouille, had been forced the first shock, which was beginning to throw the whole army into disorder. The Catholics cried out Victory; and indeed they wanted but little of being victorious in reality. But at this very moment our artillery began to play; and so terrible was the fire †, that every discharge carried away twelve, fifteen, and sometimes five and twenty men. It put a stop immediately to the impetuosity of the enemy, and galled them so much, that, to avoid the fire, they dispersed, and offered only an ill-compacted and ill-sustained body to the efforts of the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Count of Soissons, who had come together at the head of three squadrons. These three princes ‡ performed prodigies of valour; they overthrew all that opposed them, and advanced victorious over the bodies of the dead. Their armour was all battered with blows. In a moment all was changed,

the place, and 500 taken prisoners. In the King of Navarre's army there was but a very small number of soldiers slain, and not one person of distinction. See the historians. Father Daniel (vol. 9. 4to.) gives an exact description of the battle of Contras. I would fain have transcribed the whole article here.

† The first fire of the artillery, says Le Grain (book 4.) carried off seven captains of the regiment of Picardy, the best and most warlike in the Duke's army.

‡ All I shall say to you, said the King of Navarre to them, is, that you are of the house of Bourbon, and, as God lives, I will shew you, that I am your eldest brother.——His valour was that day far superior to that of all others. He wore a plume of white feathers on his helmet, to make himself remarkable. Some throwing themselves before him, to defend and cover his person, he cried, "Stand off, I "beseech you; do not eclipse me; I would be seen." He forced the first ranks of the enemy, took several prisoners with his own hand, and collared one named Châtau-Regnard, corner of a company of foot, saying, "Yield thee, Philistine." Peref. *ib.*

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and the death of the Catholic general * secured to the Proteſtants a complete victory.

As ſoon as I beheld the enemy fly, I abandoned the canon as uſeleſs, and mounting my horſe which Bois-Breuil kept ready for me behind the artillery, I flew to learn tidings of my brothers; and I had the conſolation to hear, that neither of the two had been in the battle. I met the King of Navarre buſy in diſperſing the fugitives †, and compleating his victory, which he did not think ſure ſo long as any remained to make head againſt him. The bodies of Joyeuſe and St. Sauveur his brother, were drawn from under a heap of carcaſes, and laid upon a table in the hall of the caſtle of Coutras, and a coarſe ſheet thrown over them ‡.

* Slain in cold blood, by La Mothe St. Henry; others ſay, by two captains of foot, named Bordeaux and Deſcentiers.

† Some perſons ſeeing the fugitives halt, came and told him, that the Marechal de Matignon's army appeared: he received the tidings as a new ſubject of glory, and turning courageouſly to his men, "Let "us go, my friends," ſaid he: "two battles in one day, is what has "never been ſeen."

‡ The following is an anecdote, the truth of which I cannot anſwer for. However, the reader may not be diſpleaſed to ſee it. It is to be found in the Memoirs of Amelot de la Houſſaye, vol. 2. p. 443. who relates it as drawn from the hiſtory of the lords of Enghien, by Collins. "The King of Navarre," ſays this author, "gained the "victory, to the great ſatisfaction of the King of France, who ſe-"cretly correſponded with the victorious army, through the faithful "interpoſition of the Marquis of Roſny, of the houſe of Bethune, "now Duke of Sully, who remained unknown at Paris." This author ſeems to have been acquainted with the Duke of Sully's ſecret negotiations with Henry III. already mentioned: but he is miſtaken in this, that theſe negotiations produced no effect, ſince the Duke of Joyeuſe was ſtill in high favour with this prince, at leaſt if we may believe M. de Sully, who ought to know better than any other: and that Sully could not be at Paris, becauſe he was at the battle; and that even the laſt journey he took there, ſome time before, had no other motive than the deſire of ſeeing and aſſiſting his wife.

BOOK III.

THAT the Proteſtant party might have derived great advantages from the victory of Coutras, and that they did not derive any, is equally true. I am ſincere enough to confeſs, that the King of Navarre did not, upon this occaſion, do all he might have done. If, with an army victorious and maſter of the field, he had advanced to meet the foreign auxiliaries, nothing could have prevented their junction; and, after a ſtroke ſo important, his party would have been equal at leaſt to the Catholics. It is certain, that one never knows all the value of a moment: the wiſeſt are deceived in this *. The ambitious deſigns and intereſted views of ſome of the chiefs of the victorious army, ſnatched from the King of Navarre the fruits of his victory; but this is a truth few people are acquainted with.

The Prince of Condé, ſeduced by the advice of Trémouille, thought the time was at laſt come, when he could execute the hardy project he had long premeditated, which was to diſmember the crown of France of Anjou, Poitou the countries of Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, to compoſe of them for himſelf an independent principality. With this view, he haſtily withdrew all the troops he had brought to the general army, and turned all his thoughts to make himſelf maſter of Saintes and Brouage, which he imagined he would carry eaſily

* Our beſt hiſtorians are equally agreed in theſe two things, that the King of Navarre knew not how to avail himſelf of this victory, and that this was not entirely owing to himſelf. D'Aubigné is almoſt the only perſon who exculpates all his officers, and lays the blame wholly upon the prince himſelf. Vol. 3. b. 1. c. 15.

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upon the first alarm; after which he saw nothing that could be able to resist him. For ambition resembles the bird in the fable, who has a strong wing, and an insatiable appetite *.

The

* The Duke of Sully does not agree here with D'Aubigné, Du-Plessis-Mornay, and the author of the life of the Duke of Bouillon. It is probable he had better memoirs than them all, with regard to the design he attributes to the Prince and the Duke on this occasion; but I am afraid there was some prejudice and passion on his side. In my opinion, M. de Thou is better able than any other person, to decide this question. Speaking of the consequences of the battle of Coutras, he says, that a council being assembled, to deliberate upon what measures were necessary to be taken, the Prince of Condé proposed, that they should go to meet the foreign troops along the side of the Loire, and secure them a passage over this river, by seizing Saumur; that this advice was not followed, for reasons which he relates, and which are very bad; and it was agreed only, that the Prince of Condé should go, with what troops they could spare him, to join to the German army towards the source of the Loire, taking his way through the heart of Angoumois and Limosin. That the King of Navarre, on his side, seeing himself abandoned by the greatest part of the Nobility of Poitou and Saintonge, marched towards St. Foi in Agenois, from whence he took the route up to Pau, leaving the conduct of his little army to the Viscount de Turenne; who not willing to let the soldiers be idle, besieged Sarlat in Perigord, designing at least to lay it under contribution if he could not take it. This is what De Thou says: to which may be added, a very important circumstance, and at the same time a very true one, since neither the Duke of Bouillon, nor his apologists, could contradict it; which is, that it was the Viscount himself who rejected the Prince of Condé's prudent advice. From all this it follows, that the Prince of Condé was not guilty of what he is here accused of: which is further confirmed by D'Aubigné, who adds, that it was upon a promise the King of Navarre made him to join him soon, that he advanced to Angoumois, where he waited a long time to no purpose. This prince, however, is not cleared of having had likewise views of independence, of which no historian doubts.

Although the Viscount Turenne appears to have acted upon this occasion in consequence of the resolution of a general council; yet, in my opinion, we are not the less authorised to think disadvantageously of him. It is bad reasoning in Marsolier, to grant on one side, that he was instigated by his ambition to wicked designs, and, on the other side, to complain, that those designs are supposed the motives of his conduct. This is to destroy the idea he would give us of the Duke of Bouillon, as of the greatest politician of his time. These rash judgements are condemned by religion, but are allowed by the laws of history; and political conjectures are often reduced to this foundation alone.

As

The Viſcount Turenne, with ſimilar deſigns upon the Limoſin and Perigord, where he already poſſeſſed great eſtates, purſued the ſame conduct with the Prince of Condé; and obliging all his troops (which alone compoſed one third of the army) to follow him, led them to the ſiege of Sarlat, flattering them that this expedition would enrich even the meaneſt ſoldier. He perfectly juſtified the proverb, that great promiſers perform the leaſt: the check he received before this little paltry town, ought to have convinced him timeouſly of the vanity of his pretenſions. The Viſcount had the misfortune not to be pitied by any, and leaſt of all by the King of Navarre; for he had acted quite contrary to his advice.

The Count of Soiſſons concealed his deſigns more artfully: however, it is certain that his new attachment to the King of Navarre was not more ſincere, and had been dictated ſolely by ſelf-intereſt. He had gained the heart of the Princeſs Catharine, the King's ſiſter, and he was continually expreſſing to this prince, the paſſion he had of uniting himſelf yet more cloſely to him by marriage; but this deſign concealed another too ſhameful for him to ſuffer it to be perceived. He pretended by this marriage to ſupplant the King of Navarre in all his rights; and as he ſaw no probability that this prince, having the Pope, Spain, and the French Catholics for his declared enemies, ſhould ever ſucceed in his enterpriſes, he reckoned upon enriching himſelf with his ſpoils, and upon gaining, at leaſt, the great eſtates which make up the appennage of the houſe of Albret on this ſide the Loire. Such being his intention, he took care neither to aſſiſt him with

As for what has been ſaid in the ſame place againſt the Count of Soiſſons, it is, and will be ſtill more ſupported hereafter, by unanſwerable proof. De Thou, book 87.; Mem. of Du Pleſſis, book 1.; D'Aubigné, vol. 3. book 1. chap. 15.: Marſolier's hiſtory of Henry Duke of Bouillon, vol. 1. book 3.

his

his advice, or his arm, to purſue his laſt victory on the contrary, he ſeized that moment to preſs him ſo earneſtly to allow him to go to Bearn to viſit the Princeſs his ſiſter, that the King, ſeeing himſelf in a more forlorn condition than if he had loſt the battle, thought he was obliged, in gratitude for the aſſiſtance the Count had given him, to grant him this ſatisfaction. He himſelf was alſo dragged thither (and the Count was not ignorant of it), by a paſſion which had always been the weakneſs of this prince. Love called him back to the Counteſs of Guiche, to lay at her feet the colours taken from the enemy, which he had cauſed to be ſet apart for that purpoſe. Accordingly they took the road together to Bearn. Happily this unſeaſonable journey did not produce all the diſadvantages that might have been reaſonably feared from it: it was ſo far of uſe to the King of Navarre, as to give him a more particular knowledge of the perſon on whom he was upon the point of beſtowing his ſiſter. The Count of Soiſſons could not ſo well diſſemble, but that the King gueſſed at ſome part of his ſentiments; and a letter which he received from Paris perfectly revealed them. By this he learned, that the Count of Soiſſons had taken this ſtep purely at the inſtigation of the eccleſiaſtics, who had deviſed this artifice to deprive him of all his poſſeſſions: that the Count had ſolemnly ſworn to them, as ſoon as he had married the Princeſs, he would bring her with him to Paris, and abandon for ever the party of his benefactor, and afterwards concert meaſures with them to accompliſh the reſt. This letter, which the King of Navarre received at his return from hunting, when he was juſt ready to fall into the ſnare that was laid for him, gave him an averſion for the Count, which nothing was ever able to efface. He broke with him, and regretted too late, that he had abandoned himſelf to his counſel.

I had not the mortification to be a witneſs of all thoſe

thoſe reſolutions which were taken after the battle of Coutras, and which I ſhould in vain have oppoſed. Some days after the battle, before theſe fooliſh reflections had impoiſoned all their minds, the King of Navarre took me aſide, in a garden, and aſked my opinion concerning the condition into which this laſt action had put his affairs. I told him, that he muſt, without loſs of time, march with all his forces towards the ſource of the Loire, to receive the foreign ſupplies, or, what would be the ſame thing, facilitate their paſſage, by taking poſſeſſion of all the towns on this ſide of the river; which, unleſs it were Poitiers and Angoulême, which he might leave, ſeemed to me not difficult to be won. By this means he would at leaſt ſecure to himſelf, in all events, the fineſt and beſt provinces, from whence he could not be driven in a ſhort time, or by inconſiderable forces.

The King of Navarre approved of this advice, and ſeemed to me determined to follow it exactly. He told me, that he had juſt ſent Montglat to the foreign army, and that ſince he could not go to put himſelf at the head of it, he ardently wiſhed the Prince of Conti would accept of that charge. He had juſt received letters from this prince, in which he offered to aſſiſt him in perſon. The pretence of going to join the remains of the royal army, might enable the Prince of Conti to reach the auxiliaries without danger. The King then left to me the care of prevailing upon the Prince to take this ſtep, and commanded me not to give it over.

I ſet out from the army, charged only with a letter of three lines, and ſending my equipage to Pons, paſſed into the Maine, where I expected to have found the Prince, by means of the acquaintance I had with the governors of thoſe places thro' which he muſt paſs. I learned, at my arrival, that the Prince of Conti had ſet out by himſelf two days before, but had not been able to keep his route ſo

ſecret, but that his intelligence with the foreigners was perceived; which was the cauſe that the roads were ſtill infeſted by detachments that were ſent after him. I was therefore obliged to take a circuit, in order to join him, and to paſs by Roſny; from whence coming to Neaufle, I was there informed, that the Germans engaged without order, and without guides, in provinces unknown, ſtopped by large rivers, and harraſſed inceſſantly by the troops of the league, had at length been totally defeated at Auneau *: that the Swiſs, to avoid the like misfortune, had inliſted, to the number of 12,000, in the troops of the league: that the King of Navarre was at Bearn, his troops inactive, and diſperſed on all ſides.

This ſad news ſhortening my journey, and fruſtrating my commiſſion, nothing now remained for me to do, but to turn back to Roſny; where, while I deplored in my heart the effects of ſo bad conduct, I feigned, for my ſecurity, to take part in the public rejoicings that followed upon the defeat of Auneau. I viſited my eſtates in Normandy, expecting the remedies which time, and the King of Navarre's return, might bring to our misfortunes: and when I was informed that this prince had returned from

* See the detail of this in De Thou, book 87. D'Aubigné, vol. 3. book 1. Mathieu, vol. 1. book 8. p. 537. Chron. Noven. vol. 1. p. 39. and particularly the Memoirs of the league, vol. 1. where it is obſerved, that at the time this army was incamped near the river Yonne, Montglat came from the King of Navarre, to deſire the commanders of it would march towards the ſource of the Loire, where he would put himſelf at their head; but they did not think proper to do ſo. The leaders were the Baron d'Ohau or Dona, Guitry, Clervant, Bauvais La-Nocle, &c. If they had obeyed this order, the King of Navarre, then returning from Bearn, would have had time to join them with all his troops, and the army would not have been defeated. Davila (book 8.) relates the Duke of Guiſe's reply to the Duke of Maienne, who thought it a great riſk to attack an enemy ſo much ſuperior in number. "Thoſe," ſaid he, "that do not care to fight, "may ſtay here. What I could not reſolve upon in half an hour, "I could never reſolve upon all my life."

Bearn, I went to join him at Bergerac, where the news of the taking of Caſtillon conſoled him a little, amidſt ſo many ſubjects of affliction. The ſiege of this place had coſt the Duke of Maïenne a million of crowns, and the Viſcount Turenne retook it * for leſs than two crowns.

A little afterwards, we were informed of two events that were likely enough to change the face of affairs. One of them was the death of the Prince of Condé †, a death as ſudden as tragical, the impriſonment of ſome of his chief attendants, and the puniſhment of one of his domeſtics ‡, who was torn to pieces by four horſes, left no room to doubt but that he died by poiſon. The news of the populace * riſing at Paris †, and barricading the ſtreets, and of

* By means of a ladder of cords.

† Although there was a ſecret jealouſy between the Prince of Condé and the King of Navarre, yet the King was extremely afflicted for his loſs, and ſhutting himſelf up in his cabinet with the Count of Soiſſons, he was heard to ſend forth great cries, and to ſay, "That "he had loſt his right hand." Perefixe, part 1. This prince was called Henry, and was ſon to Lewis of Bourbon, firſt Prince of Condé. He had no children by his firſt wife: but at his death he left his ſecond, Charlotte Catharine de la Trémouille, three months gone with child. It was a great error which was ſpread among the people, that Henry of Condé, the ſecond of that name, was born thirteen months after the death of his father. He was born the 1ſt of September following.

‡ The name of this domeſtic was Brillant. One of his pages was executed in effigy. The Princeſs herſelf was comprehended in this accuſation. René Crenont, the lieutenant-particulier of St. Jean, commenced a proceſs againſt her, which was ſuſpended on account of the birth of Henry II. Prince of Condé. After ſix years impriſonment, the Princeſs preſented a petition to the parliament of Paris, who brought this affair before their tribunal, and acquitted Charlotte Catharine de la Trémouille of the crime of which ſhe was accuſed. The Prince of Condé died at St. Jean d'Angely, March 5. 1588, aged thirty five years. De Thou, book 90. Moriſot, I know not upon what authority, ſays, that the death of the Prince of Condé might be occaſioned by a wound he received in his ſide, by a lance, at the battle of Coutras. Henry Magn. cap. 12. p. 27.

* Thurſday, May 12.

† I ſhall not give a detail of it here, as it would be too long, and may beſides be found in a great many other books. It is ſufficient to ſay,

of the King, departure from that city, followed soon after, and was spread every where by the courier,

say, that Henry III. to prevent the dangerous designs of the league, having ordered about 6000 troops, the most part Swiss, to enter Paris and spreading them in different quarters of the city, the people rose and being kept together by some of the chiefs of the league, fortified themselves in the streets, repulsed the soldiers, disarmed the Swiss, defeated the King's guards, and carried the barricades within fifty paces of the Louvre, &c. Henry III. seeing himself ready to be besieged in the Louvre, and not willing to expose himself to the violence of an enraged populace, went out privately by the Tuileries, and the suburb Montmartre, from whence he got to Chartres. The affair was afterwards turned into a negotiation between the Queen-mother and the Duke of Guise, and the absolute decision of it remitted to the states of Blois.

I observe, after D'Aubigné, that it was very fortunate for Henry III. that his troops seized and kept possession of the suburb St. Honore, and the back of the Tuileries; and that no one of the league thought of seizing these quarters. Those who guarded the gate of Nesle fired at a distance upon the King's troops, and seeing the ferry-boat of the Tuileries approach, in which they supposed the King to be, cut the cable. Chron. Noven. tom. 1.

Henry III. was, on his side, guilty of a much greater fault, in forbidding Grillon, colonel of the French guards, to take possession of the square Maubert, and the quarter of the university, and by hindering his soldiers from firing upon the populace; who, by a step more firm and seasonable, might have been retained in their duty. The Duke of Guise waited six whole days at Soissons, not daring to come to Paris, contrary to the King's orders, which were signified to him by Bellievre, in two letters that he sent him at different times by the post. They were to blame, as Matthieu also observes, vol. 1. book 8. for not sending these letters by an express to the Duke of Guise; for the Duke imagined that he might elude this order, by denying he had received the letters, as in effect he did at the Queen's palace, in the presence of the King and Bellievre; to whom he protested, with deep oaths, that they were never delivered to him. This fault was not committed through negligence, but because they had not 25 crowns to pay the courier for his journey.

Henry III. was advised by the Duke of Epernon, to suffer his guards to assassinate the Duke of Guise as he came to the Louvre; and this prince, they say, would have engaged La Goesle and Villequier in the design, but they dissuaded from it. It is reported also, that the same day wherein the streets were barricadad, Alphonso d'Ornano assured him, he would bring him the head of the Duke of Guise, if he would permit him. In a word, it is thought, that the King did not make use of half the precautions he might have done, informed as he was of all the designs of the league, having himself narrowly missed being taken as he was going to Vincennes; and had just been convinced, by what had happened at the imprisonment of

courier, who was dispatched to give notice of it to the Duke of Epernon. To this shameful condition a

La-Morliere, a famous leaguer, that the people only waited for an opportunity of insulting him. The King's council acted without comparison better in that affair of La-Morliere, than on the day of the barricades. Memoirs of the league, v l. 5. Satyr. Menip.

The Duke's design in this enterprise has given rise to great disputes, which I cannot here enter into a detail of. In this, as in all other dubious matters, much has been said *pro* and *con*. Those who will have it, that he intended to carry, or suffer the people to carry things to an extremity, to seize the King's person, in a word, to put the crown upon his own head, support their assertions by some writings of great consequence, to which I am obliged to refer the reader. See Memoirs of the league, vol. 1. and the volume marked 8866. in the King's library, The chief of which are, A letter written to him by the Duchess of Lorrain, after the victory of Auneau, in which she advises him to make use of the present opportunity to declare himself King, &c. A letter written by the Duke himself the next day after the fortifications in the streets of Paris, to the governor of Orleans, wherein are these words: "I have vanquished the Swiss, cut "in pieces part of the King's guards, and hold the Louvre so closely "invested, that I shall be able to give a good account of those that "are within. This victory is so great, that it will never be forgot," &c. Many other letters, in which he mentions the King very disrespectfully, and the Princes of the blood with the utmost contempt. To this they add, the discontent the Duke discovered, and the reproaches he made the Queen-mother, for having amused him with conferences, while his prey escaped him. In fine, the writings that were, say they, published by his commands, wherein was attempted to be proved, the pretended right the house of Lorrain had to the crown, not to mention an infinite number of other pieces, which were indeed but so many satyrical libels against Francis Duke of Guise, reproaching him with having attempted to assert his chimerical claims upon Anjou and Provence; and the Cardinal his brother, with endeavouring to make himself sovereign of Metz, under the protection of the Emperor; a project which the vigilance of Salcede prevented the execution of; but he lost his head for it, and for having treated about religion with the King of Spain, at the council of Trent, without his master's participation. The greatest part of these writings are still in every body's hands.

For the Duke's justification they bring those arguments made use of by himself in a letter, or a sort of manifesto, which he drew up the same day, being the 13th of May. He there declares, that the report of the King's intention to fill the city with foreigners, and to fall upon the citizens with them, was the true cause of the populace rising; that, instead of supporting them, he had made use of his utmost endeavours, till two hours after midnight, to calm the tumult; that he had preserved the Swiss, and prevented the massacre: that he had intreated the rebels to respect the royal authority; and that, far from attempting any thing against the King's person, "I might," said

a King saw himself reduced, who knew neither how to prevent, to stifle, or to divide factions; who amused himself with conjecturing, when he ought to have acted; who never practised either prudence or firmness, nor was ever acquainted with those whom he commanded, or those that were nearest his person. The revolutions which happen in great states, are not the effects of chance, or of the caprice of the people. Nothing so much occasions the revolt of the nobility of a kingdom, as a weak and disor-

said he, "have seized him a thousand times, if I had been inclined "to do so," &c. Add to this, that in treating with the Queen-mother, he required nothing but the destruction of the Protestants, and that religion should be secured; and declared likewise, that it was not in his own name he treated, but in that of the Cardinal of Bourbon, whose interests he supported against those of the King of Navarre, and the other princes of the blood.

I do not find it sufficiently proved against the Duke of Guise, that his design was to place himself upon the throne, after the death of Henry III. and the Cardinal of Bourbon; and this is very extraordinary. What ambitious man, and in his place, could have resisted suggestions of the Pope, the King of Spain, and a great part of Europe, who all conspired for his elevation? See the Duke of Parma's opinion of this event, Davila, book 9. It was, "That the Duke of "Guise had made a shew of doing too much, and effectuated too "little; that he ought to have remembered, that whoever draws his "sword against his prince, ought to have that instant thrown away "the scabbard." Sixtus V. when he received the news, cried out, "Oh, that rash Duke, and that weak King." The Earl of Stafford ambassador from England, (I relate this anecdote in the words of Le Grain, book 4.), "being advised to take a safe conduct from the "Duke of Guise, I will have no other assurance, said he, than the "right of nations, and the protection of the King to whom I am sent, "whose servants and subjects you and the Duke of Guise both are." The first President de Harley answered the Duke of Guise with the same firmness, That, in the King's absence, he would go and take his orders from the Queen-mother.

There is a piece upon the different steps of the league and council, before and after the mutiny in Paris, that deserves to be read, and is intitled, "The verbal process of Nicolas Poulain, the mayor of Pa-"ris, upon the league, from 1585 to 1588." This Nicholas Poulain, who secretly favoured the King's party, often gave good advice in this affair, which was never followed. This morsel of secret history is to be found in the Journal of Henry III.'s reign, vol. 1. p. 132. et seqq.

derly

derly government. For the populace, they never rebel from a desire of attacking, but from an impatience of suffering. The just resentment that filled the heart of the King of Navarre, for an insult so outrageous, offered to one of his own blood, and which, in some degree, reflected a disgrace upon all crowned heads, effaced in a moment the remembrance of Henry III.'s injurious treatment of himself. He declared his sorrow for it in his council, who all, with one voice, approved of his resolution to assist and defend the King of France; and he sent his secretary immediately to this prince, to assure him, that he might dispose of his person and of his troops.

The Count of Soissons, whose mind was delivered to perpetual chimeras, looked upon this event as a stroke of fortune, which, by ridding him of all his rivals, would give him the chief sway in the council and court of Henry III. Changing therefore his battery in an instant, he resolved to go and offer his service to this prince; and to make a greater merit of this action; he sought dependents in the court of the King of Navarre, and from among his most affectionate servants, whose fidelity he did not scruple to tempt. The King of Navarre was sensible, as he ought, of the indignity of this procedure; but dissembling his resentment, and reflecting that it was his interest to have some person with the Count of Soissons, in whom he could confide, to watch all his motions, and study the new system he pursued at court: he commanded me to lend an ear to the Prince's discourse, and to affect a zeal for him that I did not feel. The Count of Soissons suffered himself to be easily deceived; he applauded himself for having gained me. The distinction with which he treated me, procured me some enemies, who envied me the share I possessed of his favour. I accompanied him in his journey, after having secretly received instructions from the

King

King of Navarre, and concerted with him thoſe meaſures which his ſervice required me to take upon this occaſion.

During our whole journey, the Count continually entertained me with the favour, the magnificence, and the honours that waited him at court. The King of Navarre, he fancied, would not even think to vie with him. In all the ſtrokes of vanity and inſupportable pride, which eſcaped him, he inſenſibly mingled a vein of gall and bitterneſs againſt the King of Navarre, that diſcovered the hatred and antipathy he bore him. I could neither reſolve to flatter his inclinations, nor to applaud his ridiculous ſchemes; and all my anſwer was, that I foreſaw the diſunion of the royal family, which had been already the cauſe of ſo many misfortunes, would finally bring France under the power of the houſe of Auſtria, after it had made them deſtroy each other. A diſcourſe more flattering would have been more to his taſte; but mine, however, ſeemed to bear the marks of a ſincere attachment to him, which could not fail of pleaſing.

We arrived at Nogent-le-Rotrou, and afterwards at Mante, where the King of France was. We found him abandoned to that agitation which ariſes from the moſt violent reſentment, and filled with confuſion for the affront he had ſo lately ſuffered. Notwithſtanding all this, he was ſo incapable of profiting by this reverſe of fortune *, that even at that

* It is believed that if Henry III. had acted with more prudence and ſteadineſs, he would have been ſtill able to retrieve his affairs. It is certain, that the Pariſians, in conſternation at his leaving Paris, ſent deputies to him at Chartres, to ſupplicate him with every kind of ſubmiſſion to return to that city. To render this deputation more affecting, they made the Capuchins walk in proceſſion, and enter the cathedral with the inſtruments of the paſſion, crying, *Miſericordia*. The King received them with the air of majeſty and authority ſuitable to the occaſion. He careſſed the deputies from the parliament, which had not been any wiſe concerned in the affair of the barricades;

that very time he made the Duke of Epernon Admiral, and soon after gave him the government of Normandy, vacant by the death of the Marechal Joyeuse. The Count of Soissons was received so ungraciously, that it was impossible but he must have felt the folly of his great projects. The King addressing himself to me, asked me if I had quitted the King of Navarre? I evaded this embarrassing question, by telling him, that in coming to offer my service to his Majesty, I did not reckon myself separated from the King of Navarre; because I was assured, that that prince, whose interests were the same with his, would in a little time do the like. I found this answer did not displease the King; but being surrounded, and carefully observed by persons on whose countenances it was easy to read the uneasiness which my discourse gave them, he concealed his sentiments. The weakness of this prince had something in it incomprehensible; his real enemies could not be hid from him, after the audacious manner in which they had so lately taken off the mask; but still feigning ignorance, he again delivered himself up to the Queen-mother *, and through

cades; the others he threatened with a resolution never again to enter Paris, and to deprive it of its charters and sovereign courts; at which they were so greatly alarmed, that the Duke of Guise needed all his address and all his credit to pacify them.

* In the circular letter that Henry III. sent into the provinces, after the action of the barricades, and which began thus, "Dear and "well-beloved, you have, as we suppose, heard the reasons that in"duced us to leave our city of Paris the 13th of this month," &c. this prince speaks more like a supplicant than a king; he defends himself for having introduced a foreign garrison into Paris, and doubted the fidelity of the Parisians. He gives a false and bad colour to his evasion, and declares that he is ready to begin the war against the Huguenots, at the head of the league. *MSS of the royal library.* No. 8866.

The author means the conferences which the Queen-mother held, by this prince's command, with the Cardinal of Bourbon and the Duke of Guise, to which were also, admitted, as I find in vol. 8906. of the MSS in the King's library, the Lords de Lanfac, Lenoncourt,

through her to his perſecutors, to whom ſhe reconciled him. Perhaps, however, this laſt ſtep was in this prince but a ſtroke of the moſt profound diſſimulation; for the hardy action † he committed

noncourt, Des Chatellers, and Miron, firſt phyſician to his Majeſty, who had been employed in carrying meſſages between the two parties on the day of the barricades. Theſe conferences were held at Chalons, at Sarry, a houſe belonging to the Biſhop of Chalons, at Nemours, &c. The league made moſt extravagant demands there, ſuch as the entire abolition of the pretended reformed religion, the diſmiſſion of all the Calviniſt officers, even if they abjured; the publication of the council of Trent, the inquiſition, &c.; and at laſt obtained all they demanded by the edict of July 21. which was given in conſequence of thoſe conferences. Mem. of the league, vol. 1. Mem. of Nevers, vol. 1. Matthieu, vol. 1. book 8. Chron. Noven. vol. 1. and others.

† The death of the two brothers, the Duke and the Cardinal of Guiſe, whom this prince cauſed to be murdered in his own apartments, by his guards, Dec. 23. at Blois, where he held the ſtates. See this execution in the ſame hiſtorians, with a detail of the proceedings and intrigues of both parties in the ſtates of Blois. The Cardinal of Bourbon was kept priſoner: the other brothers of the Duke of Guiſe fled.

The Duke of Guiſe periſhed as the Admiral de Coligny did: preſumption hindered them both from ſeeing the danger with which they were threatened. The Duke heeded none of the warnings that were given him. It is ſaid, that the Marchioneſs de Noirmoutier, the ſame lady who made ſo much noiſe under the name of *Madam de Sauves*, came on purpoſe to paſs the night with him; and neither by arguments nor intreaties could hinder him from going the next day to the council.

Some perſons took upon them to juſtify Henry III. for this action; among others the Cardinal de Joyeuſe, in a long memorial upon this ſubject, which he ſent from Rome, where he then was. Villeroy's memoirs of ſtate, vol. 2. p. 175. But the moſt judicious of our hiſtorians, and even thoſe who have carried the privilege of the royal authority fartheſt, all deteſt it. "The ſhocking circumſtances of the "murder of the Guiſes," ſays Perefixe, "appeared horrible, even "in the eyes of the Huguenots, who ſaid, that it too much re"ſembled the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew." On the other ſide it cannot be denied that Henry III. had no other way of preſerving the crown in his houſe, and perhaps on his own head; for there is not the leaſt probability in what Villeroy aſſerts in his Memoirs, vol. 1 p 25. that the King, without taking that courſe, might have made himſelf maſter of the deliberations of the ſtates of Blois, and have obliged them to comply with his will.

committed againſt the ſtates of Blois, leaves room to believe, that he did not loſe for a moment the view of his vengeance. And if one might form a judgement of this aſſembly, in all appearance, every individual there had each a latent object that he purſued

In this alternative one cannot help lamenting the conſequences of bad conduct in a prince, which reduces him to ſuch a ſad neceſſity. He was himſelf a fatal example of this truth, that he who ſtrikes with a knife, ſhall periſh by a knife.

The Duke of Guiſe was the idol of the Catholics, eſpecially of the people, who called him always *Our great man*. He had a ſcar on the left cheek below his eye; which only ſerved to make him more reſpected, becauſe he received it fighting againſt the Huguenots, at the battle of Château-Thierry, by a piſtol-ſhot from a German trooper. He was, on the contrary, ſo hated by his own family, whom he treated with an inſupportable inſolence and ſeverity, that we are aſſured his relations, and even his own brothers, through fear of falling under the power of a tyrant, were the perſons that ſent Henry III. the moſt certain intelligence of his actions and deſigns; an intelligence which was ſuſpected by this prince, as that given to the Duke by many of the courtiers concerning the King's violent reſolution againſt him, was by him; for they both imagined from thence, that the deſign was to prevail upon them to quit the party, and break with the ſtates of Blois, in which each of them would have found his account. Henry III. at firſt deſigned only to arreſt the Duke of Guiſe; but he found it would be dangerous, and ſtill more to make him priſoner; therefore he determined to have him poignarded. Both the bodies were conſumed in a fire, the bones burnt in a low hall of the caſtle and the aſhes thrown into the air.

The King of Navarre, who had no hand in this aſſaſſination, was the perſon that gained moſt by it. In all appearance, while the Duke of Guiſe lived, he would never have obtained the crown. We are aſſured alſo, that there were then great deſigns formed between France and Spain, not only to extirpate the Proteſtant party, but even to dethrone Eliſabeth; which the event of the barricades, followed by the death of the Duke of Guiſe, was only able to hinder the execution of. The King of Navarre lamented the fate of the Duke of Guiſe, without blaming Henry III. "I always, (ſaid he) "foreſaw, and ſaid, that Meſſ. de Guiſe, would never undertake the "enterprife they had conceived, and bring it to an iſſue, without "endangering their lives." Cayet, vol. 1. p. 114. Several other perſons were of the ſame opinion. "Curſed be Lorrain" ſaid Hubert de Vins, in the Memoirs of Caſtelnau, "for his ſtupidity in "ſuppoſing, that a King, whoſe crown he was attempting, would "not likewiſe diſſemble with him, to take away his life." "Since "they are ſo near each other," ſaid Madam de Tourbin, the ſiſter of

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purſued by ways, which ſucceſs diſcovered in ſome, and diſappointment concealed in others.

The death of Catharine de Medicis which happened ſoon after * the aſſaſſination of the Duke of Guiſe, did not afford Henry III. more liberty to follow the inclination which led him to unite himſelf with the King of Navarre. The league was not extinct with the Duke of Guiſe. He had the people to calm, the grandees to regain, the Pope to appeaſe, Spain to keep in, and all the Catholics to manage, who, after this execution, were thoroughly diſpoſed to take umbrage at his religion.

de Vins, "we ſhall hear the very firſt day, either the one or the o-
"ther has ſlain his companion."

The tragical events of the year 1588 have appeared to ſome to verify the prediction of Regiomontanus, and other aſtrologers, that this year would be the climacteric of the world. I find in it only a new confirmation of the folly of this ridiculous ſcience.

* In the opinion of thoſe who have beſtowed ſo many praiſes upon this princeſs, it ſeemed ſufficient to merit the title of a politician, that ſhe knew how to ingroſs the management of all affairs, and to keep herſelf in poſſeſſion of authority; but when one reflects, that theſe ſuppoſed abilities, which conſiſted, however, in making uſe of unworthy means and contemptible artifices, brought things at laſt to ſuch an extremity, that neither ſhe, nor any other, knew any longer what remedies to apply to them; it may be juſtly aſſerted, that the quality of a politician did not compenſate for the numberleſs faults ſhe committed. It is believed, that the fatal conſequences which ſhe apprehended would attend the murder of the Guiſes, in which ſhe had had no part, the Cardinal of Bourbon's reproaches, the horror of the preſent time, and perhaps the ſtings of her conſcience, haſtened her death, which happened Jan. 5. 1589. She was forgot ſoon afterwards. De Thou, book 94. Her laſt advice to her ſon was, to put an end to the perſecution, againſt the Proteſtants, and to eſtabliſh an intire liberty of religion in France. Chron. Noven. vol 1. p. 132. Brantome's prejudices againſt this queen render all he has ſaid to her diſadvantage very doubtful, vol. 7. of his Memoirs, p. 310 *et ſeqq.* Varillas is not more to be believed, when he ſays, that her death was occaſioned by her grief for the murder of the Duke, of whom ſhe was very fond. Siri praiſes her like a foreigner, who was not well acquainted with the affairs of our court at that time; for he came to France long after the death of that queen. Memoirs of Recon di Vittorio Siri, vol. 1. p. 26.

Henry, consistently with the character of all weak men, moreover magnified to himself all these difficulties: he hoped to rectify all by mildness: he explained his right and his reasons, and endeavoured to justify himself by dint of declarations. He ought to have employed arms alone against a party which had no longer any respect for the royal authority; and, instead of increasing the audaciousness of the populace (who in power are no less insolent, than abject in obedience) by a moderation which can only be imputed to weakness, he ought to have declared himself boldly the aggressor, and sought for vengeance like a King. Had he acted in this manner, conjunctly with the King of Navarre, he might, in all probability, have prevented the loss of Orleans and an infinite number of other* places; nor had he been at last reduced to the cities of Blois, Beaugency, Amboise, Tours, and Saumur.

I was either a witness to all these events, or I was well informed of them at Rosny, whither I had retired, as to a place from whence I could easily remark all that passed at court. I left it, as soon as I thought it was time to give the King of Navarre an account of these transactions. He had not been a little perplexed himself, during this interval, in unravelling and disconcerting the schemes of the Viscount Turenne; who putting himself in the Prince of Conde's place, continued all his projects for himself, and acted in the same manner by the King of Navarre as the Duke of Guise did by Henry III. In an assembly of the Protestants, held at Rochelle, he boldly declared, that France, in the present conjuncture, could not possibly avoid seeing her monarchy dismembered; and he gave them likewise to understand, that, in this division, he would not forget himself. The King of Navarre

* 'Tis a puff of wind, said Henry III. speaking of those cities, which has thrown down a pack of cards.

complained

complained of this conduct in the same assemblies; and, to engage the Protestants the more firmly to his person, he joined actions to words, seized upon Garnache, and took Niort by storm, after a bloody battle. It was at his return from this expedition, that he fell dangerously ill at La-Mothe-Frelon *.

I took my way through Blois, in order to form my last conjectures upon the situation in which I should find the court. Although I took all precautions to avoid being known by any person, the Marquis of Rambouillet, seeing me pass through the street, knew me, though wrapped up in my cloak, and ordered me to be followed, to know where I put up. The Marquis was an upright man, who had always the good of the state in view, without any considerations of self-interest: he believed it his duty to avail himself of this encounter, to make his last effort upon the King's mind, and engage him finally to throw himself into the arms of the King of Navarre. He found him in such a disposition as he wished and the King consented the more willingly to employ me upon this occasion, as he remembered I had already been deputed to him on that business. Rambouillet coming to me by his order, we concerted together what was necessary to be done on this occurrence; after which he presented me to his Majesty, who confirmed to me himself his intentions. The many ineffectual engagements into which he had entered with the King of Navarre, made me think it necessary to ask him for a letter of credence to that prince; but he refused it, out

* He left St. Hermione, in Lower Poitou, in the month of January, to go and assist Garnache, which was besieged by the Duke of Nevers. Du Plessis-Mornay led his troops, and he himself marched on foot, as if he was shooting. He overheated himself, and was seized with a pain in his side, attended with a fever, which obliged him to stop at the first house he came to, which belonged to a gentleman called La-Mothe Frelon. Du-Plessis persuaded him to be let blood, which cured him. Life of Du Plessis-Mornay, b. i. p. 125.

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of an apprehenſion that it might fall into the hands of Nuncio Moroſini, or the Duke of Nevers *, to whom he ſaid, notwithſtanding his goodwill towards me, he ſhould be obliged to deliver me, if I came to be diſcovered in Blois. I muſt therefore paſs from the letter. I afterwards demanded, for the ſecurity of the King of Navarre, that when he ſhould advance into the midſt of a country full of his enemies, a town might be given him, that would afford him a free paſſage over the Loire. This, for the ſame reaſon, was refuſed. I did not attribute theſe refuſals to any bad intention of his Majeſty, but only to the fear he was in of thoſe two men, upon whom he had voluntarily rendered himſelf dependent. I did not, however, believe, that the King of Navarre, without this laſt article eſpecially, ought to advance with his troops as far as Blois. But this difficulty was in ſome meaſure removed by Brigneux, the governor of Beaugency, whom I viſited before I went away. This officer prevented me: after telling me, that he ſaw, with grief, this place, like the reſt, would be infallibly loſt by the meaſures the King purſued, he offered to reſign the care of it to me, or to Rebours, or to any other officer the King of Navarre would ſend thither; chuſing rather to loſe the place, and follow his prince as a ſimple voluntier, than to continue in Beaugency, where they did not hearken to his counſels.

After this aſſurance, I returned ſpeedily to the

* John Francis Moroſini, Biſhop of Breſce. Lewis de Gonzague, Duke of Nevers. Sixtus V. had juſt then publiſhed a bull of excommunication againſt Henry, which this prince uſed his utmoſt endeavour to get recalled. "It is Pope, who was ſaid to be equally fit to govern a great kingdom as to be the head of the church, ſecretly approved of that juſtice which the King of France had executed upon the Duke of Guiſe; but he could not pardon him for involving a cardinal in it. See in Villeroy's memoirs of ſtate, vol. 2. p. 175. the Cardinal de Joyeuſe's letters already cited. Sixtus V. foretold, that the league would reduce Henry to the neceſſity of applying to the King of Navarre and the Huguenots for aſſiſtance.

King

King of Navarre. This prince listened to me attentively; but not being able to divest himself of the diffidence that the past had inspired him with, he often asked me, with an unquiet tone, and scratching his head, if the King acted at this time sincerely? I assured him of it; and added the engagement of Rambouillet. "Well then," replied the King, "I "will not take his towns, while he continues to "treat honestly with me;" for he had taken Châtelleraud that very day. "Return then," added he, "and carry him my letters; for I neither fear "Morosini nor Nevers." He made me go with him that moment to breakfast in his closet; and I took post again for Blois.

The King of France, who did not doubt but the King of Navarre's answer would be such as he desired, had, through impatience, advanced as far as Montrichard, with all his retinue. I found all the lodgings in this little place either taken up or bespoke; so that, as I arrived very late, I began to think I should be obliged to pass the night in the street. Happily Maignan found out the Marquis of Rambouillet's lodgings, and he provided me with those that had been designed for one of my brothers, then at Tours. At midnight I went to the King, who waited for me in a garret of the castle. He approved of, and signed every thing, even to the passage over the Loire; and would have had me to set out again that very night. The rumour of a treaty between the two Kings had already reached Châtelleraud, when I arrived there; and was so passionately desired by the people, that I received a thousand blessings as soon as I appeared.

The King of Navarre was no longer there. This prince, who never almost reckoned but upon his sword, being informed that the league had entered Argenton through intelligence, marched hastily thither, and arrived so seasonably, that he disloged the troops of the league, before they had received the supplies

supplies that were necessary to maintain them there. He left Beaupré governor in this place, after I had visited the castle, and put into a proper condition the fortifications of the place.

The fatigue of so many journeys made so precipitately threw me, at my return, into a continued fever, which confined me to my bed twelve days completely. Du-Plessis found means to avail himself of this accident, to deprive me of the honour of a treaty which he had only the trouble of dressing, and in which the Marquis of Rambouillet * had a much greater share than himself. This treaty was signed at Plessis-le-Tours, to the great satisfaction of the two Kings. Samur was the place of security that was agreed upon, and Du-Plessis did not fail to procure the government of it, as the natural recompense for him to whom they had the obligation of the treaty.

This procedure appeared to me so irregular, that I could not help complaining loudly of Du-Plessis, and even of the King of Navarre himself, who had favoured another with the fruit of my labour. The Count of Soissons, who never accommodated himself to the general interest, or took part in the public joy, laid hold upon this occasion, to endeavour to draw me into his new designs; and my two brothers, on the other side, pressed me earnestly to attach myself wholly to the party of the King. I rejected this proposition; nor was my fidelity to my prince to be shaken by all the efforts which were made to seduce me. When I reflected also, that the government of Samur would have obliged me to a continual residence there, and by consequence must have removed me from the King of Navarre for ever; I found, that what had appeared an act

* It is just to inform the reader, that the facts are related very differently in the life of Du Plessis-Mornay, book 1. p. 131.; but to which of the writers most credit ought to be given, is not easy to determine.

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of injuſtice, was rather a favour which merited my acknowledgement.

Nothing now remained for the two Kings to do, but to have a conference together, in order to concert their enterpriſes. For this purpoſe, the King of Navarre ſet out for Pleſſis-les-Tours. Agitated by ſome remains of diſtruſt *, which he could not eaſily diveſt himſelf of, I remember he halted near a mill, about two leagues from the caſtle, and would know the opinion of each of the gentlemen that compoſed his train, upon the ſtep he was taking. I was of this troop, and the remembrance of what I called injuſtice kept me ſilent. The King of Navarre turning to me, "You ſpeak not a word," ſaid he, "of what you think?" I anſwered, in few words, That although the ſtep he was taking was not without danger, becauſe the troops of the King of France were ſuperior to his, I believed this to be one of thoſe occaſions, where ſomething ought to be left to hazard; and one ought to be contented with taking all the precautions which prudence could ſuggeſt. This prince reflected a few moments, then turned towards us. "Let us go, "let us go," ſaid he, "the reſolution is taken, "we muſt not think of it further *."

The King had advanced into the country to meet the King of Navarre; and the joy of an union ſo deſired had drawn together a concourſe of people

* His old Huguenot officers, they ſay, were afraid, that at a time when treachery was ſo neceſſary to Henry III. to extricate him out of the labyrinth into which the action he had committed at Blois had brought him (for he had been excommunicated by Sixtus V.) he would not ſcruple to purchaſe his abſolution at the price of the King of Navarre's life. Perefixe, ib. This prince had of himſelf ſaid, as De Thou relates, "That he never went to the King's cloſet but "through the midſt of two armies, ranged on each ſide."

* He wrote to Du Pleſſis-Mornay in theſe terms. "Monſieur "Du-Pleſſis, the ice is broken, not without many warnings, that if "I went, I ſhould be a dead man. I paſſed the water, recommend-"ing myſelf to God," &c.

ſo prodigious, that the two Kings continued near a quarter of an hour, at fifty paces the one from the other, without being able to approach nearer. They embraced, with equal ſatisfaction *, and took the road together to Tours, where the King of Navarre lay only one night, and then returned to his quarters at Maillé. As for me, I ſtaid at Tours, being detained by a great number of my friends and relations, whom I found there, and took a lodging in the ſuburb St. Symphorien.

The Duke of Maïenne, armed to revenge the death of the Duke of Guiſe, and to ſupport the intereſt of the league, had no deſign to leave us there tranquil. He marched with his whole army towards this city. The King, who had walked as far as Marmoutier, unarmed, and followed only by twenty horſe, wanted very little of being taken, and was obliged to return precipitately to Tours. The ſuburbs having no other entrenchments than ſome ſlight barricades, erected in haſte, by ſix or ſeven regiments of royaliſts, who defended them, I quitted the ſuburb of St. Symphorien, and ordered all my equipage to be tranſported to the city. My precaution was by the officers taxed with timidity; but it was not long ere it was juſtified.

The Duke of Maïenne attacked the ſuburb. He was ſtopped ſome moments by means of five or ſix houſes, on the top of the hill, where our people had poſted themſelves; but they were very quickly obliged to abandon them, in order to entrench themſelves behind the barricades, where expecting ſoon to be aſſaulted, they made uſe of this interval to ſnatch a morſel in haſte.

* At the bridge of La Motte, a quarter of a league from Tours. "Courage, my Lord," ſaid Henry IV. to Henry III. "two Henrys "are worth more than one Carolus." Matthieu, vol. 1. p. 152. The Duke of Maïenne's name was Charles.

I found

I found the King at the gate of the city, who made me enter it, by telling me that it woud be idle, in his opinion, to defend the ſuburbs In effect, the barricades could not reſiſt the enemy's cannon; they were forced at the very firſt; and as they had no ditch to ſupport them, their retreat into the city was ſo confuſed, and ſo much expoſed to the enemy, that I am ſurpriſed all the ſoldiers in the ſuburbs were not either taken or ſlain, and even that the enemy did not enter the city along with them. Two pieces of cannon would have been ſufficient for this purpoſe. I beheld the rout of our people from the convent of Jacobins, which looked over the walls of the city; and fearing leſt the misfortune ſhould become ſtill greater, I ran with my two brothers to the gate, by which they were all entering tumultuouſly. By the favour of ſome ſlight intrenchments, which we ordered to be made, we leſſened the danger, and with a little time and order, they all entered; after which we cloſed up the gate, and ſet a ſtrong guard over it.

It being no longer doubted, but that the city would be beſieged in form, I joined Chatillon and ſome others, and we went to intreat the King to confide ſome important poſt to our defence; he gave us the iſles *, and we laboured there without interruption from that moment till the next morning, when the King came in perſon to viſit our work; and addreſſing himſelf to me, greatly praiſed our diligence. It was uſeleſs. At the firſt news of what had happened, the King of Navarre haſtened with his troops to Tours, and appeared in three hours before the city. The Duke of Maïenne did not wait for him, but retreated, after plundering the ſuburbs, and the neighbouring places. A ſervice of this importance gave great expectations of the al-

* Read the Iſle. This quarter, which is inhabited only by watermen, and the meaneſt people, is of great conſequence to the defence of Tours.

liance of the two Kings, and made the inhabitants of Tours look upon the King of Navarre † as their deliverer.

The two Kings paſſed eight or ten days together, after which they ſeparated for the expedition that had been projected on the city of Poitiers. While they carried on the works there, the King of Navarre ordered me, with 300 horſe, and a like number of arquebuſiers, to whom he alſo gave horſes, to defend Chartres, it having been diſcovered, that Maintenon was privily endeavouring to poſſeſs himſelf of this city, in the name of the league. I provided myſelf with rope-ladders, petards, and other inſtruments, and came directly to Bonneval, without eating any thing that whole day. Some priſoners whom we took from a detachment of twenty-five troopers, informed us, that there was a party of 400 horſe in the field, having Broſſe Saveuſe at their head; and that Reclainville, who conducted the twenty-five troopers, had taken us for the troop of 120 horſe with which Lorges had juſt ſurpriſed Chateaudun. We judged from this account, that the party of 400 horſe wanted to come up with us; and we, on our ſide, having the ſame deſire, left our arquebuſiers to purſue the road to Chartres leiſurely, and taking ours through the little hills, in order to reach the enemy's ſquadron, we met them on the top of a ſmall hill, which each party had climbed up on his own ſide; ſo that we neither ſaw them, nor they us, till we were within two hundred paces of each other.

We came to blows without deliberation, and with ſo much fury, that, by the firſt ſhock, forty of our men were thrown to the ground. I was of this number, together with Meſſ. de Chatillon de

† Henry IV. highly extolled the behaviour of Henry III. who ſhewed great courage upon this occaſion. Mem. of Nevers, vol. 2. p. 589.

Mouy.

Mouy, de Monthazon, d'Avantigny, and de Preſſaigny. Happily I had received no wound; my horſe, who was only ſplit in the jaw by the puſh of a lance, got up again, and I found myſelf ſtill on his back. Perhaps there never was an action, of this kind of combat, more hot, more obſtinate, or more bloody. Four or five times we returned to the charge, the enemy rallying again the moment they were put into diſorder. I had two ſwords broke, and I had recourſe to a pair of large piſtols loaded with balls of ſteel, againſt which no arms were proof. Our enemies finding they had loſt 200 of their men, left us at laſt the field of battle.

We were ſcarce in a condition to reliſh the fruits of our victory, becauſe of our wounds and our wearineſs, which rendered us almoſt motionleſs. A little repoſe was all we wiſhed for, when a heavy rain fell, which, mixing with our ſweat, wet us all over in an inſtant; for we were obliged to cover our arms with our cloaths: and to compleat our misfortune, we learned that the Duke of Maïenne was at our heels. In this melancholy ſituation, a council being held, it was reſolved, notwithſtanding the condition in which we were, that we ſhould march all night, and endeavour to get back to Beaugency. We arrived there, almoſt ſpent with fatigue and thirſt. My ſtrength failing me, all I could do was to ſink down upon a bed; nor was it poſſible to awake me to take any nouriſhment.

The report of this battle being ſpread, the King of Navarre came to Beaugency to viſit us, and praiſed infinitely our action. Saveuſe being among the priſoners, was brought before him; and the King, who, from the ſame principle of generoſity, was led to careſs the brave, and to bewail the unfortunate, endeavoured to conſole him, by praiſes on his conduct, and every kind of good treatment. But Saveuſe knowing that a great number of his relations, and almoſt all his friends, had periſhed in the

the fight, his grief for their loſs, joined to the ſhame of having been vanquiſhed, and the conſiderable wounds he had received, threw him into ſuch deſpair, that he became furious, and died in the height of a raging fever, without ſuffering his wounds to be dreſſed. The King of Navarre made us ſet out for Chateaudun, where eight days repoſe made us forget the paſt.

I was ready to depart, when a courier brought me notice, that my wife was dangerouſly ill. I flew to Roſny, with Dortoman, firſt phyſician to the King of Navarre, whom this prince ordered to accompany me. All this canton was in the intereſts of the league; and one of my brothers, who had taken poſſeſſion of my houſe, the ſame wherein my wife lay ill, had the cruelty to draw up the bridge, and refuſe me entrance. Pierced to my inmoſt ſoul, with a treament ſo unnatural, I ſwore I would enter, or periſh. I began actually to force my own houſe, and the ladder was already applied to the wall, when my brother, who did not perhaps expect ſo much intrepidity, ordered the gate to be opened.

The only conſolation I had was to find my wife ſtill alive, and to receive her laſt embraces. All remedies were ineffectual, and ſhe died four days after my arrival. I acknowledge, that the loſs of a wife ſo dear, and whoſe life had been expoſed to ſuch cruel viciſſitudes, ſhut my heart, during a whole month to every other ſentiment. I heard with inſenſibility the progreſs of the arms of the two Kings, which at any other time would have inflamed me with an ardent deſire of having ſome part in it: for it was about this time that Gergeau, Pluviers, Eſtampes, Charteres, Poiſſy, Pontoiſe, the iſle Adam, Beaumont, and Creil, were beſieged. Every little inconſiderable town boaſted of having ſtopped her King, who found nothing but revolt and diſobedience over all. He was now ſenſible

sible of the great advantage he drew from the King of Navarre's assistance. As for this prince, he was as prodigal of life as if he had been weary of it. Where-ever there was most danger, there was he certainly to be seen at the head of his soldiers. In one of those frequent encounters which he had to maintain, at the very moment when, to rest himself, he was leaning upon Charbonniere, this colonel was, by a musket-shot, laid dead at his feet.

I waked as from a profound sleep, when I heard that the two Kings kept Paris besieged *; and tearing myself from a place where every object I saw renewed my affliction, I hastened to join the army. It was here that I soothed that grief which still filled my heart, by exposing myself heedlessly in all the skirmishes we had with the enemy, then more frequent than ever, particularly in the field which was called *the scholar's meadow*. The King of Navarre perceived it, and observing that Maignan, my equerry, whom he often ordered to go to me, and force me away, durst not do it, he desired him simply to tell me, that he wanted to speak to me.

Scarce had he uttered one word, when he was interrupted by a gentleman, who whispered something in his ear, and left him immediately. The King of Navarre, struck with what he had heard, called me again instantly, and told me an assassin had dangerously wounded the King with a knife *. He

* If we may believe Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 3. these two kings were not greatly contented with each other. Henry III. could not conceal his jealousy of Henry IV. who, far from expecting to reign, resolved to retire as soon as he had re-established the King upon his throne.

* By James Clement, a Jacobin monk, born in Sorbonne, a village in Burgundy. He was introduced by La-Guesle, the solicitor-general, into the King's chamber, as having a letter of great consequence to deliver to him. This prince, who had a great kindness for monks, rose from the close-stool upon which he was sitting, having already read part of the letter, when the assassin struck him in the belly

He had about him only five and twenty gentlemen, with whom he took the road with all speed to St.

belly with a knife, which he left sticking in the wound. The King drew it out, and wounded the Jacobin with it in the forehead, who was immediately killed by the gentlemen of his chamber. His body was burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Seine. The historians have not forgot to observe, as a circumstance at that time not doubted of, that Henry III. was murdered in the same house, and (if we believe them) in the same chamber, place, and month, where, seventeen years before, that prince had assisted at the council, in which the massacre of St. Bartholomew was resolved upon. M. Bayle seems to have given credit to this anecdote, which is now proved to be false, the house at the massacre of St. Bartholomew not being built. Henry III. died in the night between the 2d and 3d of August, aged 38 years. James Clement (say the notes on the Henriade) being at St. Cloud, some persons who suspected him, went at night into his chamber, to observe him. They found him in a profound sleep, his breviary before him, open at the article of Judith. He fasted, confessed himself, and received the sacrament before he set out to assassinate the King. He was praised for this action at Rome, in the chair where Henry III.'s funeral oration ought to have been pronounced. At Paris, his picture was placed on the altars with the eucharist. Cardinal de Retz relates, that on the anniversary day of the barricadoes, in the minority of Lewis XIV. he saw a gorget upon which this monk was engraved, with these words underneath, *St. James Clement.*

The King of Navarre (says Chron. Noven. vol. 1. p. 223.) kneeled at his bed-side, sighs and tears not permitting him to speak a word. He took his Majesty's hands between his and kissed them. The King perceiving that he was silent through the strong emotions with which he was agitated, embraced his head, kissed him, and gave him his benediction. Had not the knife been poisoned, the wound would not have been mortal; for it was not deep, and had not reached the intestines, p. 217. Burgoin, prior of the Jacobins, was tore to pieces by four horses. They could extort nothing but these words from him: "We have done what we could, but not what we would "have done;" which made it be believed, that Henry IV. was designed to have been assassinated at the same time. The Sieur de Rougemont was arrested, for having desired to strike the blow himself, p. 228. He died like a good Christian. He forgave his enemies, and even Clement himself, says Matthieu. See, in the historians, a fuller account of his death. His character may be collected from what is said of him in these Memoirs. He was called, at his baptism, Edward-Alexander, by Edward VI. King of England, and Antony King of Navarre: but Catharine made him afterwards assume the name of his father.

It is said, that seventeen or eighteen persons having gathered up the ashes of Clement, which the wind had dispersed, getting into a boat with these ashes, the boat was swallowed up by the Seine, and all that were in it.

Cloud,

Cloud, where the King's quarters were. At his entrance into this prince's apartment, he found he had just received an injection, which came away again without either pain or blood. He approached his bed, with all the inquietude that the sincerest friendship could inspire. The King conforted him with assurances, that his wound would have no bad consequences, and that God would prolong his life, that he might be in a condition to give him new proofs of his affection. The wounded monarch pronounced these words in such a manner, as removed part of the King of Navarre's apprehensions, and seeing besides no mortal symptom, he left him to his repose, quitted his chamber, and returned to his quarters at Meudon.

My lodgings were at the bottom of this castle, in the house of a man named Sauvat. After I had seen the King of Navarre dismounted, I went home to sup, and had just placed myself at table, when I saw Ferret his secretary enter, who said to me, "Sir, "the King of Navarre, and perhaps the King of "France, desires you in an instant." Startled at these words, I went with him immediately to the castle; and, by the road, he told me, that Dortoman had informed the King of Navarre, by an express, that if he would see the King alive, he had not a moment to lose.

I went straight to the apartment of the prince, where, while our horses were saddling, he did me the honour to consult me upon the present conjuncture. The different reflections with which my mind was filled at this moment, kept me for some time silent. The King was in no less agitation. It was no longer the happy issue of a little negotiation, nor the success of a battle, nor a small kingdom, such as Navarre, upon which he meditated; it was the finest monarchy in Europe. But to arrive at it, how many obstacles were to be surmounted? and by what travel must he not purchase it? All that the

King of Navarre had suffered until this moment, might, in comparison, be accounted nothing. How crush a party so powerful, and so creditable, that it had made a prince established on the throne to tremble, and almost obliged him to defcend from it! This difficulty already so great, appeared insurmountable, when one reflected, that the King's death would deprive the King of Navarre of the principal and the greatest part of his forces. He could not reckon either upon the princes of the blood, or upon the grandees; and in his present condition, he had occation for every one's assistance, yet he had no one in whom he could confide. I trembled, when it came into my mind, that such surprising and unexpected news might occasion a revolution, which would expose the King of Navarre, with only a handful of his faithful servants, to the mercy of his old enemies, in a country where he was destitute of all resources.

Notwithstanding all this, all agreed that the King of Navarre had but one only part to take, that of availing himself of the occasion, and of using it with all those precautions which ordinarily render it happy or otherwise. Indeed, without attempting to judge of the future, which depends upon too many things, and still less to subject it to our precipitation; in great and painful enterprises, we should endeavour to subdue obstacles one after another; nor suffer ourselves to be rebuted by their greatness, or by their number. We ought never to despair of what has been possible to any one. How many things to which we have attached the idea of impossible, have become easy to those who knew how to take advantage of time, occasions, lucky moments, the faults of others, different dispositions. and an infinitude of other circumstances?

The answer I made the King was agreeable to these maxims. He did not think differently himself. We agreed therefore, that, instead of return-

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ing to the diſtant provinces, this prince ſhould remain in the midſt of the royal army, to ſupport his claim, and that we ſhould ſet out inſtantly for St. Cloud, but well armed at all events, taking care, however, to keep our extraordinary arms concealed, that we might not ourſelves be the firſt to create terror and ſuſpicion. Upon entering St. Cloud, they told us the King was better; and obliged us to put off our ſwords. I followed the King of Navarre, who advanced towards the caſtle; when all at once, we heard a man exclaim, "Ah! my God, "we are loſt." The King of Navarre making this man approach, who continued crying, "Alas! the "King is dead," aſked him ſeveral queſtions, which he ſatisfied, by ſuch a circumſtantial recital of the King's death, that we could no longer doubt the truth of it.

Henry no longer doubted, when advancing a few ſteps, he ſaw the Scotch guard, who threw themſelves at his feet, ſaying, "Ah, Sire! you are at "preſent our King and our maſter." And ſome moments after, Meſſ. de Biron, de Bellegarde, d'O, de Chateauvieux, de Dampierre, and ſeveral others, did the ſame.

The King of Navarre perceived, that this was one of thoſe critical moments, the good or bad employment of which muſt decide his deſtiny for life. Without ſuffering himſelf to be dazzled with the view of a throne, upon which this inſtant placed him, or overpowered by difficulties, or by uſeleſs grief, he calmly began to give orders for keeping every one in their duty, and preventing mutinies. He turned himſelf to me, and with that air of familiarity with which he entertained thoſe of whoſe affection he was aſſured, bid me go to the Marechal d'Aumont's quarters, and there, with all the addreſs neceſſary to attach them more ſtrongly to his intereſt, ſpread among his troops the news of the King's death, and to make this marechal ſpeak

to the French guards, to engage their officers to come and pay their homage to him in the afternoon, and to prevail upon the nobility to do the same. He recommended me to have a sharp eye upon my own quarters, and to keep all there in due obedience. He studied, moreover, to strengthen himself by all the foreign powers, on whose assistance he thought he might rely. He wrote or sent deputies to Germany, England, Flanders, Switzerland, and the republic of Venice, to inform them of this new event, and the right which it gave him to the crown of France.

I represented to him, that one of the things that seemed to be most pressing, was to get possession of Meulan, a place, upon this occasion, of the utmost importance, the governor of which (who was called St. Marc) he knew to be a zealous leaguer in his heart. I explained to him in few words, how easily this might be executed; and the King approving, I went to Meulan, and demanded a conference with St Marc, upon affairs, I said, of great consequence to him. He came to me; and while I amused him with a feigned confidence, the Marechal d'Aumont passed over the bridge with his troops, and, taking advantage of the first moment of consternation, proceeded to the castle, which he made himself master of, and we drove out the too credulous St. Marc.

The King offered me this government, which many considerations kept me from accepting. Part of the King's apprehensions were soon justified by the event. He found it impossible to keep either the Duke of Epernon *, or many other disaffected Catholics,

* The author of his life assigns very bad reasons for this retreat: it is plain that nothing can excuse it. Upon this occasion it appears, that, besides the Protestant party, there were three others among the Catholics themselves; the first of which was composed of those persons who abandoned Henry IV. after the death of Henry III.; the second, those who not being able to prevail upon this prince to declare

Catholics, in his ſervice, eſpecially thoſe who owed their fortune to the deceaſed King. Their deſertion reduced him almoſt to thoſe troops only which he had brought with him, and put it out of his power to continue the ſiege of Paris, or even to continue in its neighbourhood. The foreign powers either gave him nothing but fine words, or offered him ſuch ſupplies as could be no remedy to actual evils. He was obliged therefore to retire to the centre of the kingdom. He had already (though without diſcovering his real motive for it) cauſed a report to be ſpread among the ſoldiers of an intended journey to Tours. This retreat was no leſs neceſſary for the ſafety of his perſon, than for the ſtate of his affairs. A thouſand dangers threatened him, in the neighbourhood of a city, where the King his predeceſſor, though a Catholic, and with a powerful army under his obedience, could not eſcape a tragical end. There they had juſt taken final reſolutions to rid themſelves of this prince; and he had ſtill more reaſon to tremble when he reflected that thoſe cruel counſels were held in the

declare that very moment, that he would embrace the Catholic religion, cotinued with him, but had neither affection to his perſon, nor a ſincere attachment to his intereſt. The number of theſe was very great. The chief among them were the Dukes of Longueville and Nevers, d'O, (who had ſpoken to him in the name of the reſt) and many others. The third party was made up of thoſe who declared publicly, (ſays D'Aubigné), that they would ſerve the King without any conditions: and theſe were indeed but very few in number; among which were the Marechals D'Aumont and Biron, Givry, &c. Henry was extremely perplexed at the rude propoſition made him by the Catholics, and the declaration they added to it, that they would retire, if he did not give them this ſatisfaction. He told them reſolutely, that he would never be reproached with having been conſtrained to take ſuch a ſtep; and demanded ſix months time to think upon it. See the hiſtorians upon this ſubject, and particularly D'Aubigné, vol. 3. b. 2. c. 23. Henry IV. received ſuch important ſervices upon this occaſion from the Marechal Biron, that it was reported, it was he who made him King: and the Marechal is ſaid to have reproached Henry with his ſervices in theſe very terms. Mem. of Brantome, vol. 3. p. 346.

midſt

midſt of his army, and that the aſſaſſins were perhaps near his perſon.

In a conjuncture ſo imbarraſſing, it was neceſſary to place a governor in Meulan, who had a regiment actually ready to defend it againſt the league, which becoming inſolent by the King's death, in imagination already enjoyed the conqueſt of it. I had not one; nor ſufficient time to raiſe one; the government of Meulan was therefore given to Bellengreville *.

The King, in his retreat, took Clermont, and ſome other ſmall towns. His forces were too inconſiderable for greater enterpriſes; and this alſo was the reaſon that I miſſed of taking Louviers, upon which I had a deſign that in all appearance would have ſucceeded. This deſign I communicated to the King, and deſired he would give me ſome forces for the execution of it. He could give me only a company of his light-armed horſe, commanded by Arambure, which was not ſufficient; but he aſſured me that I ſhould be joined at Louviers by a regiment of 1200 men, which was then at Nogent; and for this purpoſe he wrote to Coronneau the colonel of this regiment.

In this hope I came before Louviers, where I waited in vain for the ſupplies that had been promiſed me. The river of Eure, which ran into the ditches of Louviers, having been turned, a great aqueduct that ſupplied the city with water, became dry. This I had remarked, and it was through this place that I propoſed to enter it: but it was not probable, that Meſſ. d'Aumale, de la Londe, de Fontaine-Martel, de Medavy, de Contenant, and many other officers of the league, of which this city was full, would ſurrender, or ſuffer themſelves to be taken, without ſtriking a blow, I thought it would be raſhneſs to attempt to force them with a

* Read Joachim de Berengueville.

handful

handful of men. In order therefore to juſtify the the truth of what I had aſſerted, I contented myſelf with ſending ſeveral perſons into this aqueduct, where I employed them only in enlarging the entrance, by forcing up with a petard the grate that cloſed it. By this means they ſeveral times penetrated into the city, and came out again without being perceived; which convinced them, that the enterpriſe only failed for want of men.

I returned by Pont de l'Arche, to meet the King at Ecouy; from whence he hoped to paſs immediately to Touraine; but he found the Normans ſo well affected to him, that he was determined, by their offers, to attempt the important ſiege of Rouen. While preparations were making for this expedition, we took Gournay, Neufchâtel, the city of Eu, Treport, and Darnetal; where the King received advice, that the Duke of Maienne ſought to come to a battle with him. I was commanded to go with fifty horſe to reconnoitre this general's army, which I found in the neighbourhood of Mante, and ſpread over all my lands. I went and poſted myſelf in my foreſt; from whence I made obſervations, and brought the King information, that the army of the league conſiſted of 25,000 effective foot, and 8000 horſe. The King, who had only a little flying camp to oppoſe ſo formidable an army, was not willing to neglect any precaution. He had already cauſed the commander of Chaſtes to be ſounded, to know if in caſe of any inconvenience, he would receive him into Dieppe: and he had reaſon to be perfectly ſatisfied with his anſwer; but, in order to be better aſſured of this governor's intentions, he went himſelf to confer with him, and returned very well ſatisfied. Seeing therefore that he might reckon upon

upon a retreat so secure as Dieppe *, he the less feared to keep the field before the enemy; and resolving to make head against them to the last extremity, he came and posted himself before Arques.

At the end of the causey of Arques there is a long winding hill, covered with coppice; beneath is a space of arable land, in the midst of which is the great road that leads to Arques, having thick hedges on each side. Lower down, upon the left hand, there is a kind of great morass or boggy ground. A village called *Martinglise* bounds the hill, about half a league from the causey. It was in this village, and in the neighbourhood of it, that the whole army of the Duke of Maienne was incamped. The King was sensible, that by attempting to resist an army of more than 30,000 men, with less than 3000, his conduct might be taxed with temerity. But besides that it would be very difficult to find a place more favourable for his few forces, and that there was danger in going back, he thought that the weakness of his party demanded some bold stroke at the beginning. He neglected nothing that could any how compensate for the smallness of his number. He ordered deep trenches to be cut at the causey, and above as well as beneath the great road; he posted 1200 Swiss on each side of this road, and 600 German foot to defend the upper trenches; and placed 1000 or 1200 others in a chapel, which stood in the midst of the upper and lower trenches. It was all the infantry he had: his cavalry, which amounted upon the whole only to 600 men, he divided into two equal squadrons: and with one posted himself

* Henry IV. it is said, was reduced to such an extremity under the walls of this city, that he was upon the point of retiring into England; which the Marechal de Biron prevented, by advising him to make good his post at Arques. Before the battle at Arques, he said, that he was a king without a kingdom, a husband without a wife, and a warrior without money.

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made a terrible attack on the bridge on that side; but this was their last effort. The King posting himself at Orgreux, they were afraid of being overcome, and decamped forthwith.

The Marquis of Allegre had better success, and seized Rouen for the league. I received the news of it at Rosny. The King, who had done every thing to hinder the reduction of this place, marched instantly to Rouen; but upon his arrival at Gaillon, he learned that the evil was without remedy. In exchange, he went to besiege Dreux, after putting men in garrison in Passy. The Duke of Maienne, who had just been reinforced with the whole Spanish army, passed the river, and spread his troops all around Mante and Rosny, resolute to raise this siege. The vanguard of this army, which was conducted by one of my relations, that bore my name, had orders from the general to possess himself of Passy in his way. I gave the King notice of his approach; who replied only, that I might do as I pleased. I resolved, therefore, to defend myself; and although M. de Rosny wrote me, representing to me, that it would be rashness to suffer myself to be stormed in a place that had not even walls, and offered me very advantageous conditions *, yet he could gain nothing upon me.

I thanked him for his false politeness, and, in the night, caused a ditch to be dug, which served the garrison at least for a shelter. Luckily the ene-

* Matthieu mentions this fact, exactly in the same manner as it is here; he even relates the Duke of Sully's reply, in the very words he made use of. "Here is the King ready to give battle; tell the "Duke of Maienne that he is now reckoning upon winning it; and "then I will consider whether I am to lose it."

The only difference in the two recitals is, that this officer of the enemy's, who is here called Rosny, was, according to Matthieu, the Baron de Rosny, one of the general officers of the league. However, to those who read the Memoirs of Sully, it would seem impossible for the error to be on his side. Compare the two writers. Oeconomies Royales, &c. vol. 1. p. 71. and Matthieu's hist. vol. 2. b. 1. p. 25.

my had no mind to waſte time in ſo inconſiderable a capture, and wanted only to ſeize the place as they paſſed. Next morning, the noiſe of the baggage gave me to underſtand, that the army had purſued its route; which drew me out of great perplexity. During the night, which I ſpent entirely without in fortifying Paſſy, I thought I ſaw diſtinctly two armies fighting in the air *. I know not whether this was a reality or an illuſion; but this object made ſuch an impreſſion upon my mind, that I was not ſurpriſed at reading a letter next day from the King. He informed me, that the Duke of Maienne's army, joined to the Spaniards, had approached with a deſign to offer him battle; that he had waited for it till the evening of that day on which he wrote me, but that the whole day had been paſſed in ſkirmiſhing, making lodgements, and ſecuring advantages, and that the general action was put off till the morrow. His letter concluded with theſe words: "I conjure you therefore to come, and "bring all with you that you can, particularly "your own company, and the two companies of "Badit and James's horſe-arquebuſiers that I granted you; for I know them, and would make uſe "of them."

I was ſenſible, that, without very great diligence, I ſhould arrive too late for the battle with theſe companies, which I foreſaw the King would be in extreme need of, as he was much inferior in number

* Davila, who alſo takes notice of this phænomenon, book 11. deſcribes it in this manner. "The thunder and lightning, ſometimes mingled with horrid darkneſs, added to their terrors; and ſuch a flood of rain poured ſuddenly down, that the whole army was alarmed. A prodigious apparition, which appeared in the ſky as ſoon as it had ceaſed to rain, increaſed the general conſternation; for during the noiſe of the thunder, at which the ſtouteſt among them trembled, two great armies were diſtinctly ſeen in the air, that, after continuing ſome time engaged in fight, diſappeared, covered with a thick cloud; ſo that the iſſue of the battle could not be diſcovered by the ſpectators."

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to the enemy. I therefore loſt not a moment, and was fortunate enough to arrive an hour and a half before it began. The King ordered me to make my company paſs to the right wing, where his own ſquadron was, to which he joined it; and making the two companies of arquebuſiers diſmount, ſent their horſes among the baggage, deſigning to make uſe of them as the forlorn hope. After this, he bid me follow him to ſee the diſpoſition of the two armies, "in order," added he, "that I may learn "my trade." He had no ſooner placed himſelf at the head of his ſquadron *, than the trumpets ſounded the charge.

I ſhall attempt nothing here againſt the rights of hiſtorians; I leave it to them to particulariſe this battle, and ſhall confine myſelf only to what I was an eye-witneſs of. It is ſufficient to ſay, that, upon this occaſion, the principal cauſes that gave the victory to the weaker party, were, the valour of the Marechal d'Aumont, who prevented the entire defeat of the light horſe; the infinite difference between the enemy's manner of uſing their artillery and ours; and more than all this, the ſingular talents of the King, which were never ſo perfectly known as in the day of battle, in the diſpoſition of his troops, rallying them, their diſcipline, and their exact and ready obedience.

* "My companions," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to his ſquadron, "if to-day you run my fortune, I alſo run yours. I am reſolved to "die, or conquer with you; keep your ranks, I beſeech you, and if "I ſhould quit them in the heat of the battle, rally immediately, "which will be gaining the victory: you will do it between thoſe three "trees which you ſee up there on the right; and if you ſhould loſe "ſight of your enſigns, your cornettes, or your ſtandards, keep my "white plume of feathers always in view; you ſhall ever find them "in the road to honour and to victory." Perefixe, ibid, part 2. They loſt ſight of him in the battle, where, accompanied only by twelve or thirteen perſons, he was ſurrounded by the enemy. He killed the Count of Egmont's equerry with his own hand. "We muſt uſe our "piſtols," ſaid he to his troop, "the more men the more glory." Matthieu, vol. 2. book 1. p. 36. &c.

It is certain the Duke of Maïenne, and the Count of Egmont, who were at the head of the Spaniards, imagined, that if the King durſt wait for them, the victory would certainly be theirs; and that, if he yielded, or gave ground before them, as they expected, they did not reckon upon any thing leſs, than forcing him out of whatever place he ſhould retreat to, and thus finiſhing the war at a ſingle blow. With ſuch diſpoſitions, what muſt be the conſequence? I ſay nothing of the perſons of the generals, who alone are worth many thouſand men. The ſtronger party never makes uſe of thoſe precautions that are neceſſary againſt an enemy of equal ſtrength; and, upon the other hand, the weaker never forms a reſolution to defend itſelf againſt a more numerous army, without determining likewiſe to ſupply, by valour and addreſs, the deficiency of numbers. The ſurpriſe that a courage, animated by glory and difficulties, creates, aſſiſts a ſmall number againſt a greater: by this all become in ſome ſort equal.

The King's ſquadron * where I was, had the attacks

* See upon this action De Thou, book 58. D'Aubigné, vol. 3. book 3. chap. 3. Le Grain, book 5. Memoirs of the league. Father Matthieu, id. Chron. Noven. vol. 2. p. 327. and an account printed in 1590, and others.

De Thou and Cayet obſerve, that Henry IV.'s artillery had fired nine times before the Duke of Maïenne's began; they alſo blame the Duke for having diſpoſed his army in the form of a creſcent, like Henry's, when, being ſuperior in number, he ought to have given it the form of a triangle. According to Matthieu, Henry IV. was guilty of a great fault, in not beginning the battle, by falling upon the light horſe commanded by Du-Terrail, and upon the Duke of Maïenne's body, who, having advanced too far, was obliged to go half a league about in retreating. It appears, that the cavalry only fought there; and, if we believe Le Grain, 1200 horſe defeated an army of 20,000 men. But here is a little exaggeration. The King's army was compoſed of about 2000 cavalry, and 6 or 700 infantry; and the league's conſiſted of 5000 horſe and 8000 foot. The Count of Egmont, who had boaſted that his ſquadron alone was ſufficient to ſubdue the royal army, was ſlain in the fight. He was the ſon of [illegible]l d'Egmont, who was beheaded at Bruſſels with the Count of Horne.

tacks of the Count of Egmont to ſuſtain, who fell upon us with his own ſquadron, and a ſecond of 1000 or 1200 German horſe. It is true, the Germans, who profeſſed the ſame religion as our ſoldiers did, fired almoſt in the air: but the Count of Egmont, we muſt do him juſtice, behaved like a man who was determined to conquer. He charged us with ſuch fury, that, notwithſtanding the deſertion of the Germans, after a terrible fire, and encounter which laſted a full quarter of an hour, and covered the earth with dead bodies, the left of our ſquadron fled, and the right was broke and gave ground. At the firſt onſet, my horſe was wounded in the noſtrils, and in the neck at a ſecond, where the ſaddle did not reach, and a third brought him quite down, carrying away two of his feet, and a piece of fleſh off the calf of my leg. I received another wound in my hand. A piſtol-ſhot gave me a third wound more conſiderable; the ball entered my hip, and came out near my belly. I ſhould have infallibly periſhed, if my equerry had not run to my aſſiſtance with another horſe, upon which I mounted, though with a good deal of difficulty. This affection brought many wounds upon poor Maignan, and had like to have coſt him his life.

At a ſecond charge, this horſe was likewiſe ſlain, and in the ſame moment I received a piſtol-ſhot in the thigh, and a cut with a ſword in the head. I remained upon the ſpot, and with my ſenſes loſt all the remaining part of the action, which, from the advantage the Count of Egmont had already gained, bode, I thought, no good to us: and moſt certainly the King had been vanquiſhed, if all the reſt of the enemy's army had behaved in the ſame man-

Horne. It is ſaid, that when he came to Paris, the perſon who complimented him, mixed in his diſcourſe ſome praiſes of L'Amiral his father. "Do not mention him," he replied; "he was a rebel, and "d ſerved to die."

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ner. All that I know is, that, a long time after, recovering my ſenſes, I ſaw neither enemies, nor any of my domeſtics near me, whom fear or diſorder had diſperſed; another preſage which appeared to me no leſs unfavourable.

I retired without a head-piece, and almoſt without armour, for my own had been battered to pieces. In this condition I ſaw a trooper of the enemy's running towards me, with an intention upon my life. By good fortune I found myſelf near a pear-tree, under which I crept, and with that little motion I was ſtill capable of, made ſuch good uſe of the branches, which were extremely low, that I evaded all my adverſary's attempts, and kept him at a diſtance, who being weary with turning round the tree, at laſt quitted me. Feuquieres had not the like good fortune; I ſaw him killed that moment before my eyes. Juſt then La-Rocheforet (who has ſince been with me) paſſing by, I aſked him for a little nag which he was leading, and paid him for it upon the ſpot thirty crowns. I always believed, that on ſuch occaſions it is proper to carry a little money about one.

Thus mounted, I was going to learn news of the battle, which I believed to be loſt, when I ſaw ſeven of the enemy coming ſtraight towards me, one of whom carried the white ſtandard belonging to the Duke of Maienne's company. I thought it impoſſible to eſcape this new danger; and upon their crying *Qui vive?* I told my name, as being ready to ſurrender myſelf priſoner. What was my ſurpriſe, when, inſtead of attacking me, I found four of theſe perſons intreating me to receive themſelves for priſoners, and to ſave their lives; and while they ranged themſelves about me, appearing charmed at having met with me! I granted their requeſt: and it ſeemed ſurpriſing to me, that four men unhurt, and well armed, ſhould ſurrender themſelves to a ſingle man, diſarmed, covered with

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his own blood, mounted upon a little paltry nag, and ſcarce able to ſupport himſelf, that I was tempted to take all I ſaw for an illuſion, or the effect of my wounds. I was ſoon undeceived. My priſoners, (ſince they would be ſo) made themſelves known for Meſſ. de Châtaigneraie, de Sigogne *, de Chanteloup, and d'Aufreville. They told me, that the Duke of Maïenne had loſt the battle; that the King was that moment in purſuit of the vanquiſhed, which had obliged them to ſurrender, for fear of falling into worſe hands, their horſes not being in a condition to carry them out of danger: at the ſame time Sigogne, in token of ſurrender, preſented me with the white ſtandard. The three others, who were the Duke of Nemours, the Chevalier d'Aumale, and Tremont, not ſeeming inclined to ſurrender, I endeavoured to perſuade them, by good reaſons, that they ought to do ſo; but in vain. After recommending their four comerades to me, ſeeing a body of the victors advance, they rode away, and ſhewed me that their horſes were ſtill vigorous enough to bear them from their enemies.

I advanced with my priſoners towards a battalion of Swiſs, and meeting one of the King's chief pages, I gave him the charge of the ſtandard, which was a burden too heavy for me. I then ſaw more plainly the marks of our victory. The field was full of the fugitive leaguers and Spaniards, and the victorious army † of the King purſuing, and ſcattering

* John de Vivonne, Lord of Châtaigneraie. Charles de Beauſoncle, Lord of Sigogne, Cornet of the Duke of Maïenne's company. The hiſtorians take notice of the priſoners M. de Roſny took in this encounter, and the wounds he received, to the number of ſeven. It was for ſome time believed, that Henry IV. was ſlain. What probably occaſioned this falſe report was, that the Marquis of Nelle, who had that day dreſſed himſelf like the King, was ſeen ſurrounded by the enemy, and wounded in ſeveral places, of which he died. Matthieu, ib.

† The King cried, "Spare the French, and fall upon the foreigners." Pereſixe, ibid. part 2. Henry (ſays the author of the Henriade)

ing the reſt of the large bodies, that had diſperſed, or gathered together. The Swiſs ſoldiers of the two armies meeting, bullied each other with their pikes lowered, without ſtriking a blow, or making any motion.

The white ſtandard embroidered with black flowers-de-luce, was known by every one to be that of the Guiſes, which they bore in memory, and through horror of the aſſaſſination of Blois, and attracted all, as to a prey equally rich and honourable. The black velvet coats of my priſoners, which were covered with ſilver croſſes, were reſplendent from afar in the field. The firſt who flew to ſeize them, were Meſſ. de Cambrai, de l'Archant, du Rollet, de Crevecœur, de Palcheux, and de Braſſeuſe, who were joined by the Count de Torigny. I advanced towards them, and ſuppoſing they would not know my face, altogether diſfigured by blood and duſt, I named myſelf. The Count de Torigny no ſooner knew La-Châtaigneraie, who was his relation, than judging that, in the condition he ſaw me, I could not preſerve my priſoners from inſult, he intreated me to give Châtaigneraie to his care, for whom he would be anſwerable to me. I readily granted his requeſt, yet it was with regret that I ſaw him go away. What Torigny did through a principle of friendſhip, had in effect a fatal conſequence for the unhappy Châtaigneraie. He was known ſome moments after, by three men belonging to d'O's com-

riade) owed this victory to the ſuperiority of his ſkill and valour. But he confeſſed, that Maienne had performed all the duties of a great general; he had no fault, he ſaid, but in the cauſe he ſupported. The Duke of Maienne would have been taken, but for his precaution in breaking the bridge of Ivry as he fled. But by that means he butchered the German horſe and foot, 1200 of which were killed upon the ſpot; a like number of French infantry, and 1000 horſe. Some have made the loſs much greater. Of the royaliſts, 500 private men and about 20 gentlemen were killed. This battle was fought between Dreux and Nonancourt, at the villages of St. André and Foucrainville.

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pany, who had been guards to Henry III. Theſe men levelling their pieces at him, ſhot him dead, crying, "'Sdeath! thou traitor to thy King, whom "thou haſt murdered, and triumphed in the deed."

I might have made the Count of Torigny pay this priſoner's ranſom, and I was counſelled by ſeveral perſons to do ſo; but I could not reſolve to add this new cauſe of affliction to what he already felt for the death of a man with whom I had myſelf been particularly acquainted.

I was not long ere I was ſurrounded by many perſons, amongſt whom there was not one that did not envy my good fortune. D'Andelot came after the reſt, and preſſing through the croud, perceived Sigogne, and the page who carried the ſtandard. He was preparing to ſeize it, believing his good deſtiny had kept this prey for him, when a report that the enemy had rallied, obliged him to depart abruptly. I had not time to draw him out of his error; for after he had bid the page keep that ſtandard for him, he ſuddenly diſappeared. The intelligence was found to be falſe, and had no other foundation than the arrival of 200 ſoldiers from Picardy, which Meſſ. de Moy and de la Boiſſiere had brought to the Duke of Maïenne.

Being now diſengaged from the croud, and having need of help, eſpecially for the wound in my hip, by which I loſt a great deal of blood, I advanced with my prize to the head of Vignole's regiment, which had behaved bravely in the battle. Here, fearing no further ſurpriſe, I ordered a ſurgeon to bind up my wound, and deſired ſome wine to prevent fainting, which I found coming upon me. My ſtrength being a little recovered, I got to Anet, the keeper of which gave me an apartment, where I cauſed the firſt dreſſing to be put on my wounds, in preſence of the Marechal Biron, who ſpent a few moments there after my arrival, and took a collation in my chamber. He was conduct-

ing the corps de reserve, which he commanded, to the King, who, without stopping after his victory, had passed the river of Eure, in pursuit of the enemy; and, as it was reported to me, had taken at last the road to Rosny, where he lay the same night *.

After the Marechal Biron was gone, D'Andelot arrived at Anet, full of resentment against me for wresting from him his prize, for so he thought it. He entered my chamber, attended by five or six armed men, and, with an air equally fierce and insulting, demanded an explanation, or rather sought to do himself justice: for perceiving the white standard, which, with that belonging to my company, had been placed at the head of my bed, he would have taken possession of it by force, without attend-

* That night he supped at the castle of Rosny. Being informed that the Marchal D'Aumont was come to give him an account of what he had done, he rose up to meet him, and embracing him affectionately, made him sit down at his table with these obliging words, that it was but just, that he who had served him so well at his nuptials, should share in the feast. Perefixe, ibid. part 2.

Perefixe, in the same place, relates another circumstance, which does honour to the King. He remembered, that, the evening before the battle, he had used some harsh expressions to Col. Theodoric Schomberg, who had asked him for money, and told him in a passion, that it was not acting like a man of honour, to demand money when he came to take orders for fighting. He afterwards went to him, when he was ranging his troops in order, and said, "Colonel, we are "now upon the point; perhaps I shall never go from this place; it "is not just that I should deprive a brave gentleman as you are of "your honour; I come therefore to declare, that I know you to be "an honest man, and incapable of committing a base action." Saying this, he embraced him with great affection. The Colonel, sensibly moved with this behaviour, replied, with tears in his eyes, "Ah! "Sire, in restoring to me my honour of which you had deprived me, "you deprive me of my life, for, after this, I should be unworthy "of your favour, if I did not sacrifice it to-day for your service. If "I had a thousand lives, I would lay them all at your feet." In fact, he was killed upon this occasion. Ibid.

The Marechal Biron, who, at the head of the corps de reserve, had greatly contributed towards this victory, said to Henry IV. "Sire, "you have performed what Biron should, and Biron has done that "which the King ought to have done."

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ing to what I ſaid to him. I changed my tone immediately, and words run high on the one part and on the other. In the condition wherein I was, I could do no more. But as he ſpoke with tranſport, and made uſe of threats, the noiſe drew fifteen or twenty of my armed troopers into the chamber, at the ſight of whom D'Andelot reſtraining his rage, went out, commanding Sigogne to follow him, which he refuſed, endeavouring, but in vain, to make him comprehend the injuſtice of his pretenſions.

The next morning I cauſed myſelf to be carried by water to Paſſy, with an intention to go from that to Roſny, to get myſelf cured. On my arrival at Paſſy, I learned that part of the ſoldiers in my train, and my valets, with all my baggage, had retired thither, not knowing what was become of me, and intimidated by a falſe report which was ſpread, that the King had loſt the battle. Being apprehenſive of the reproaches I might make them, they kept themſelves concealed. I cauſed them to be ſought for, but they were ſo much aſhamed of having diſcovered their cowardice, that the night following they fled away on foot; nor have I ſince been ever able to learn what became of them. They left all my baggage behind them, with four of their own horſes, which I ordered to be ſold by auction, and I diſtributed the money among their wounded companions.

As I was not in a condition to endure a horſe, I ordered a kind of litter, compoſed of the branches of trees, with the bark ſtill on, and the hoops of ſome veſſels, to be made for me in haſte, and travelled by Beurons, to avoid the aſcents and declivities of Rougevoie and Châtillon.

Maignon, who was a youth full of gaiety and imagination, thought proper to give this march the air of a little triumph. Two of the grooms of my table were at the head of this train, each leading one

one of my fineſt horſes; they were followed by my pages, one of whom rode on my horſe, the ſame who having received three wounds in the battle, and being thrown to the ground by a fourth, got up again without a ſaddle, and running about the field of battle, was fortunately known by three of my arquebuſiers. This page carried my cuiraſs, and the Duke of Maienne's ſtandard, the other bore my bracelets, and my helmet, all ſo bruiſed and battered, that they were no longer of any uſe. My equerry, the contriver of this pleaſant fancy, marched next, his head bound up, and his arm in a ſcarf; he was followed by Moreines, my valet de chambre, dreſſed in my coat of orange-colour'd velvet, with thin plates of ſilver, and mounted upon my Engliſh nag, holding in his hand, as a trophy a bundle of the ſhivers of my piſtols, the broken pieces of my ſwords, and the fragments of my plume of feathers. The litter in which I lay came next, covered only with a cloth, upon which they had hung the black velvet coats of my priſoners, with their plumes, and pieces of their piſtols and ſwords at the four corners. Theſe priſoners themſelves followed my litter, and preceded the reſt of my domeſtics; after whom, ranged in order, came my own company of houſehold troops, and the march was cloſed with James's and Baddit's two companies of arquebuſiers. They were ſo maſſacred, that you could ſee nothing among them, but heads bound up, and arms in ſcarfs; and ſome of theſe brave ſoldiers were even obliged to make themſelves be carried.

When we came near Beurons, we perceived all the plain covered with horſes and dogs; and the King himſelf, who, after a ſlight repaſt, had returned from Roſny to Mante, hunting in my warren. This ſhew ſeemed to rejoice him; he thought it very happily diſpoſed, and ſmiled at the vanity of Maignan, who had the honour of being known to

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this prince, ever since his father, who was a very brave man, had distinguished himself at the taking of Eause. The King approached my litter, and, in the sight of his whole train, disdained not to descend to all the testimonies of sensibility that a friend (if I may be permitted to make use of this term) could render to his friend. I could not express my acknowledgement by throwing myself at his feet, but I assured him, and with truth, that I would suffer with pleasure a thousand times more for his service. He had made himself acquainted with all the hazards I had run in the battle. He inquired, with an obliging anxiety, whether all my wounds were of such a nature, that I might hope to be cured without mutilating any part of my body, which he thought almost impossible, knowing that I had been thrown down senseless, and trampled under the horses feet. When he was convinced that I had nothing to fear, he cast himself on my neck, and turning to the princes and the grandees who followed him, he said aloud, that he honoured me with the title of a true and honest chevalier, a title which, he said, he regarded as superior to that of a chevalier companion of his orders. He was afraid of exposing me to speak too much, and finished this agreeable conversation with his ordinary protestations, that I should share in all the good things that Heaven might send him; and, without giving me any time to answer, left me with saying, "Adieu, my friend; take care of yourself; "and be assured you have a good master." There are princes who are capable of gratitude; but how rarely is this sentiment augmented, or even preserved, in good fortune!

BOOK IV.

THE ſame day that the King gained the battle of Ivry, his party alſo obtained a victory at Auvergne, where Randan commanded the troops of the league. But fortune, it would ſeem, when ſhe gave this Prince ſucceſſes ſufficient to put him in poſſeſſion of many crowns, took pleaſure, at the ſame time, in producing circumſtances which hindered the effect, and left him of his victories only the glory of having vanquiſhed. After the battle of Ivry, terror and conſternation ſeized the whole party of the league, ſo that it ſeemed hardly poſſible for the King, who was at this time attentive to avail himſelf of all his advantages, to have failed of drawing very great ones. Nor did he expect to ſee them raviſhed from him by a general mutiny of his army, particularly of the Swiſs, who refuſed to advance a ſtep further, till they were paid the ſums which the King owed them.

This Prince had then neither money nor means in readineſs to recover any. He came to Mante, to demand ſome of the ſuperintendant of the finances. This man, who ſecretly bore a mortal hatred to the King, and beheld his ſucceſs with grief, took pleaſure in augmenting his imbarraſſment, and had but one anſwer to make to all his inſtances. In this time of confuſion, when the royal treaſure became a prey to the firſt invader, the finances were very difficult to manage, and the King's revenues ſcarcely ſufficient to ſatisfy the avidity of the receivers, which ordinarily increaſed with public miſery. Henry wanted that abſolute authority, which alone was able to check them,

and ſtill more the means of convicting them of any miſdemeanour; for he had not the ſlighteſt knowledge of the affairs of the finances. Notwithſtanding this, he entered, contrary to his inclination, into a detail which became neceſſary for him and obliged d'O to remit certain ſums, which it was not difficult to ſee had paſſed through his hands. Theſe ſums he made uſe of to pacify his ſoldiers; but this affair took up at leaſt five days, during which the King could not leave Mante, or, by conſequence, derive any advantage from his victory. I remember to have heard this Prince declare, that at this moment, for the firſt time in his life, he ſaw himſelf in a ſituation to convert his deſires into deſigns: "for I have often had deſires," ſaid he, "but never found the ſeaſon to form deſigns." He took this laſt term in the ſignification that all wiſe men give it, for a project, the ſucceſs of which is warranted by reflection and prudence. In this ſenſe indeed a man may incline to take what ſeems right in his own opinion, without prejudice to any other perſon; but fools only raſhly engage in deſigns, without any appearance of ſucceeding in them.

During the King's ſtay at Mante, D'Andelot went to him to complain of me; and this prince gave himſelf the trouble to come to Roſny, that he might hear us both. D'Andelot was there generally blamed, and the raillery his ridiculous pretenſion drew upon him from the principal officers, made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, that he went over to the party of the league. I did not think the ſame juſtice was done me with regard to the government of Mante, the taking of which was almoſt the only fruit of the battle of Ivry. The King, of whom I requeſted this poſt, gratified the Catholics *, at which I could not help making loud

* This government was given to M. de Roſny's youngeſt brother.

complaints. I confeſs, to my confuſion, that if I had ſeriouſly reflected upon the ſituation the King was then in, every moment upon the point of being abandoned by the foreigners for want of payment, and thoſe catholics that were in his ſervice, ready to ſeize the ſlighteſt occaſion of diſcontent for a pretence to quit him, I ſhould not have murmured that he granted to a Catholic, who had but little affection to his perſon, what he refuſed to a faithful ſervant. There was more greatneſs of mind in being ſatisfied with the friendſhip of this prince, without its effects, than in receiving favours, which he was obliged to adjuſt to policy, and to the neceſſity of the times.

All obſtacles being removed, the King advanced with his troops, took Dreux, and marched towards Sens, which he expected to have ſurrendered through the correſpondence he held within the city; but this failed, and Henry, unwilling to have come ſo far in vain, and being beſides informed that the place was unprovided with ammunition, he undertook the ſiege of it. It was not long before he found himſelf, through the malice of his ſecret enemies, in a general want of all things neceſſary to finiſh this enterpriſe, and was therefore obliged to abandon it. To efface the ſhame, he gave out, that he raiſed this ſiege, only in order to go and inveſt Paris itſelf, and he took his rout thither by Corbeil, Meulan, Lagny, and St. Denis, which he made himſelf maſter of in his way.

I was not at any of theſe ſieges; and my wounds were not yet even half cured, when I learned that the King was before Paris. I could not reſiſt the deſire I had to be preſent at this expedition; I ſet out, with my arm in a ſcarf, and ſupported by two crutches. The King, forgetting all my complaints, received me with his uſual goodneſs, and commanded me to ſtay near his perſon. He communicated

nicated to me the design he had formed upon Paris, all the suburbs of which he was resolved to make himself master of at the same time, in order to deprive the city of the subsistence it drew from them, such as fruit, vegetables, &c. He divided his army into ten little bodies, to equal the number of the suburbs he designed to storm; and having made choice of the night for the execution of his scheme, he withdrew to the mountain of Montmarte, to be able to send supplies wherever there was occasion for them. He placed himself in an abbey, where he was not only followed by the wounded, who could not partake in the glory of this night, but by all the aged, and the gentlemen of the robe and the pen. He gave me a place at the window from which he beheld the action; during which he conversed with Du-Plessis, Rusé, de Fresne, Alibour, and me.

The attack began at midnight, with a terrible noise of artillery, which was answered by the city. There was not one person, who did not think that this immense city would be destroyed, either by the fire, or by the infinity of mines kindled in its intrails. Never was there a spectacle more capable of inspiring horror. Thick clouds of smoke, through which darted by intervals sparks of fire, or long trains of flames, covered all that place of the world, which by the vicissitudes of light and darkness, appeared plunged in black darkness, or buried in an ocean of fire. The thunder of the artillery, the noise of arms, and the cries of the combatants, added to this object all that can be imagined frightful, which was moreover redoubled by the natural horror of night. This scene continued two whole hours, and ended with the reduction of all the suburbs, not excepting that of St. Antoine; altho', by its great extent, we had been obliged to begin the attack at a considerable distance. They blocked up the city gates, so that nothing could now enter

without the permiſſion of thoſe who guarded them; and the people immediately ſaw themſelves reduced to an exceſs of miſery and famine, which I cannot yet think of without horror.

I muſt be permitted to paſs rapidly over this place; I find no pleaſure in enlarging upon ſo dreadful a ſubject. The King, naturally compaſſionate, was touched. He could not bear the thought of ſeeing this city, the empire of which was deſtined for him by Providence, become one vaſt burial-place. He underhand permitted every thing that could contribute to its relief, and ſhut his eyes to the ſupplies of proviſions which the officers and ſoldiers ſuffered to enter the city, either out of compaſſion to their relations and friends who were in it, or with a deſign to make the citizens purchaſe them at a high price. Doubtleſs he imagined this conduct would gain him, in the end, the hearts of the Pariſians: but he was deceived; they enjoyed his benefits, without ceaſing to look upon him as the author of the public miſery; and, elated with the Prince of Parma's arrival, they inſulted him, who only raiſed the ſiege becauſe he diſcovered himſelf too ſenſible to the misfortunes of the beſieged *.

To

* Perefixe, Cayet, and many others, are alſo of opinion, that the King was with-held from taking Paris by ſtorm, and from yielding to the repeated intreaties of his ſoldiers, particularly the Huguenots, by his having perceived, that on this occaſion they were reſolved to revenge the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, by putting all within Paris to the ſword. The Duke of Nemours, ſays Perefixe, ſent all uſeleſs mouths out of Paris: the King's council oppoſed his granting them paſſage; but the King, being informed of the dreadful ſcarcity to which theſe miſerable wretches were reduced, ordered that they ſhould be allowed to paſs. "I am not ſurpriſed, (ſaid he,) that the Spaniards, and the chiefs of the league, have no compaſſion upon theſe "poor people; they are only tyrants: as for me, I am their father "and their king, and cannot hear the recital of their calamities, "without being pierced to my inmoſt ſoul, and ardently deſiring to "bring them relief." Perefixe, part 2. The Cardinal de Gondy, Biſhop

To justify an action, in itself as much blamed by the masters in the art of war, as praised for its principle thoroughly humane, the King spread a report, that he had raised the siege of Paris, only to meet the Prince of Parma, and, by a decisive action, to terminate a war already too long. He made use of all the precautions necessary to secure a safe retreat from a city so populous as Paris, and commanded every one to hold themselves in readiness for a general signal; to the end that, all the suburbs being evacuated in a moment, no person might remain at the mercy of the populace. This retreat required great wisdom and conduct, and was happily effected on the 1st or 2d of September in the same year: after which the whole army arrived at the common rendezvous, without meeting with any inconvenience.

Bishop of Paris, having been sent, during this siege, to make Henry propositions for peace. "I will not dissemble, (said he,) but discover "my sentiments to you freely. I am willing to grant you peace, I "desire it myself; I would give one finger to have a battle, and "two to have a general peace. I love my city of Paris, I am jea-"lous of her, I am desirous of doing her service, and would grant "her more favours than she demands of me; but I would grant "them voluntarily, and not be compelled to it by the King of "Spain or the Duke of Maïenne" It may be added, that Henry IV. expected the Parisians would capitulate before the Prince of Parma's arrival. The extremity to which this city was reduced, raised at once compassion and horror. In the space of a month, 30,000 persons died of hunger; mothers fed upon the flesh of their children; by the Spanish ambassador's advice, they dug up the dead bodies, and made use of their bones pounded, to compose a kind of paste. This detestable food cost the greatest part of those that eat of it their lives. See a relation of this in the historians, particularly in Villeroy's Memoirs of state, p. 358. &c. Read also the fine verses of the Henriade upon this subject, canto 10. The Parisians owed their safety chiefly to the Duke of Nemours, whose gallant defence has been highly praised by our writers. The people seconded him with an obstinate eagerness, which had more of fury than true courage in it. A regiment of priests and monks were seen there, Capuchins, Feuillans, Carthusians, &c. grotesquely armed above their frocks This awkward regiment being eager to salute the legate, killed his secretary at his side. The monks of St Genevieve, the Celestins, and some others, would have no part in the military masquerade; Cayet's Chron. Noven. *ib.* 360.

The

The King * knowing that the Prince of Parma was in the neighbourhood of Meaux, poſted himſelf between this city and Paris, and made his light horſe advance as far as Claye; where the two camps being ſo contiguous one to the other, that an infinity of ſmart encounters enſued. The King, upon the Marechal Biron's repreſentations, preferred to this poſt that of Chelles, and went thither contrary to his own opinion; becauſe he looked upon this poſt to be more advantageous, and at the ſame time fitter to ſhut up the road to Paris from the enemy's general; for he had ſtill ſome views upon the city, and carried on a correſpondence within it, which, if the Prince of Parma had entered, would have failed him, as it did without this. The King therefore occupied a riſing ground, which on one ſide preſented nothing to view but a deep valley and a moraſs, that took away all poſſibility of acting in that place. The Prince of Parma no ſooner perceived this, than he incamped on a hill oppoſite to this. It was neither his deſign nor his intereſt to hazard a battle, but to be a check upon us; his camp anſwered this purpoſe moſt exactly, as he was there ſheltered from all inſult, and out of the reach of the cannon. The King became ſenſible of the error, which too much complaiſance had drawn him into; when, after remaining two or three days in this poſition, he ſaw Lagny taken before his eyes, without being able to hinder it †.

This

* De Thou ſays, that Henry IV. was obliged to pretend, that he only raiſed the ſiege of Paris in order to go and meet the Prince of Parma, and to give him battle; for fear that his ſoldiers, who had nothing but the hopes of the pillage of Paris had prevailed upon to ſtay with him, ſhould have abandoned him.

† The Duke of Sully is more candid than the greateſt part of the hiſtorians, who will not confeſs that Henry IV. committed any fault upon this occaſion. They cannot agree among themſelves, either about the raiſing of the ſiege of Paris, or all theſe different incampments. Villeroy, in his Memoirs, mentions this circumſtance in the ſame manner as Sully does: and attributes to that one fault, of preferring

This event, joined to his raising the siege of Paris, gave him sensible uneasiness, because he perceived that it might be concluded from thence, that the enemy was superior to him in capacity, which the prince considered as a matter of extreme importance in war. What troubled him still more, was, that none were more ready to believe, or even to spread, these disadvantageous reports, than the Catholics of his own army. He could but little rely upon the arms of those whose hearts he did not possess. The King, moreover, knew that the disobedience of his soldiers, and the want of money, which he suffered, were effectuated by the same persons; and he concluded, that this disposition with regard to him was an incurable malady, which his good or his bad fortune equally rankled. Such, in effect, is the antipathy of which religion is the principle; and, in the sequel, the King often and severely experienced it.

He took a prudent part, and the only one that was left him. He no longer persisted in his design of taking Paris, which so many circumstances concurred to frustrate. He quitted his camp at Chelles, where he run great hazards with an army so little connected in interest with its chief, and even suddenly abandoning all those quarters, retreated to the river of Oise, and settled at Creil; where, without ceasing to harrass the Prince of Parma, he suffered him slowly to consume of himself. During all this time, he made no other motions than what served to keep his army from being enervated by idleness.

ferring the post of Chelles to Claye, all the honour the prince of Parma gained, by obliging the King to raise the siege of Paris, without coming to a battle; the taking of Lagny, &c. vol. 1. p. 190. vol. 2. p. 466. See likewise upon all these expeditions Matthieu, ibid. p. 53. &c. and the other historians. The Prince of Parma was desirous of seeing Paris, and entered it incognito. "I am informed," said he, to the Duke of Maienne, "that the King of Navarre makes more "use of boots than shoes, and that one can ruin him sooner by de- "lay than by force." Cayet's Chron. Noven. ibid. p. 390.

He

He engaged it in the ſiege of Clermont, and employed it in frequent detachments. My company he poſted in the neighbourhood of Mante, to keep the country of Chartraine, and part of the iſle of France, in order. I obtained leave to continue near his perſon, though I was not in a condition to do him any great ſervices; the wound in my hip not permitting me to ſit my horſe, but with great uneaſineſs and aukwardneſs; and that in my elbow took away the uſe of one of my hands.

It happened as the King had foreſeen. The Prince of Parma forthwith boaſted of his advantage in being maſter of the field; and to make uſe of it, he laid ſiege to Corbeil. The King had provided this place, as well as all the other royaliſt towns, with whatever was neceſſary to ſupport a long ſiege. The enemy's general did not expect this, and was greatly aſtoniſhed at the firm reſiſtance of Rigaut, governor of Corbeil, whom he a long time deſpaired of ſubduing. He thought his honour was engaged, and in the end he ſucceeded. It was with this only exploit, however, that the campaign was concluded. He had bought it too dear to attempt a ſecond at the ſame price; and not being able to affect any thing upon the King's army, more than upon his towns, he thought it wiſeſt to return to the Low Countries; to the extreme regret of the league, whom his preſence had greatly relieved.

He judged, like an able general, that the King, who had (ſo to ſpeak) cloſed his eyes upon all his advances, would open them upon his retreat; and that this would not be effected with the ſame eaſe as the reſt. He was not miſtaken; but he conducted with ſo much prudence, that one may ſay he prevented the laſt misfortune which probably had happened to any other. He could not however do ſo well, but that the King, by an infinite number of attacks and ſkirmiſhes, ſometimes beat up his quarters effectually, and brought him within a finger-

between the wood and the road, and separating the other into platoons, made them go down between the road and the morass, to fill in some sort the interval. He did not lie down that whole night; during which, fearing that the enemy would make themselves masters of the causey, he kept guard there himself. In the morning, they brought him something to eat into the trench, where he called his principal officers to breakfast with him; after which he thought, perhaps, to have taken a few moments rest, when he was informed by the guards, that the army of the league was marching towards him, in order of battle.

At this news, he ordered the Viscount de Chartres, Patcheux, Brasseuse, Avantigny, and three or four others, to advance into the wood, to make some prisoners: they returned in an instant, bringing with them the Count de Belin. The King went to meet him, and embraced him smiling. He, whose eyes were every where in search of the King's army, seeing hardly any soldiers about him, answered him no otherwise than by marking his surprise to see so few around the King. "You "see not all," said the King to him with the same "gaiety: "for you reckon not God, and my just "right, who assist me." Accustomed as I was to see this prince, I could not help admiring his serene and tranquil countenance, on an occasion so much the more desperate, as it left him full time for reflection. His air was so stayed, and his ardor tempered with so much prudence, that he appeared to the soldiers to have something more than humanity, and inspired them in their turn with all the intrepity of their chief.

The Duke of Maienne ordered the upper trenches to be attaked by a squadron of his German foot, who made as if they declined fighting, because they had only Germans to encounter. They even pretended to surrender; and our Ger-

mans were so effectually deceived by this artifice, that they suffered the others to advance and gain the trench, from whence they drove out ours; and from this advantageous post they gave us a great deal of trouble. I soon lost sight of all that was done at the side of the wood; because that part of the morass where I was, with ten of my men, was that moment attacked by a squadron of 8 or 900 horse. At the approach of a troop so superior, we drew together about 150 horse, and drove them back as far as the valley; where meeting with four other squadrons, we were obliged to retreat, till being joined in our turn by the Count d'Auvergne *, who brought 150 horse more to our assistance, we a second time beat back the enemy's squadrons This management could not last long. Three hundred horse from the enemy's army joining the first, we were forced to yield, and we regained the chapel in disorder; where fortunately our foot-soldiers who were posted there, stopped this cavaly short, and engaged in a battle, in which Sagonne and some other officers were slain.

* Charles de Valois, natural son of Charles IX. He is mentioned hereafter. It is upon the relation of this Count, afterwards Duke of Angoulême, that Father Daniel, in his history of France, vol. 9. has given a description of this battle, to which nothing can be added, and differs but little from that in our Memoirs. See also Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 14. *et seqq.*; Cayet, vol. 1 b. 2. p. 263 *et seqq.*; the Memoirs of Nevoirs, vol. p. 597. and the physician Du Cheine's relation, &c. This battle was fought on Wednesday Sept. 20. It began at ten o'clock in the morning, and ended at Eleven. The Duke of Mienne, five days before, made several attempts upon Dieppe, which were called *escarmouches du Pollet*. "My companion, (said Henry IV. to Arreguer, colonel of the regiment of Soleur,) "I come "to die, or to gain honour with you." "He drove back the "treacherous Germans," &c. Le Grain, book 5. "My father," (said this prince to Col. Galati,) keeps a pike for me, for I will "fight at the head of your battalion." Matthieu, *ib.* p. 14. After the battle he wrote to Grillon in these terms. "Hang thyself, "brave, Grillon, for we have fought at Arques without thee. A-"dieu brave Grillon, I love thee whether I will or not."

The

The Duke of Maïenne commanding all the reſt of his German foot to attack the chapel, we quitted at lenth this poſt; and overpowered by numbers, abandoned the hollows in the road, and even the road itſelf. This was the beginng of a defeat: the conſequences had been fearful, if we had not met the battalion of the Swiſs, who ſuſtained the ſhock, gave us time to rally, and put us again into a condition of renewing the fight. Nothing could have happened more ſeaſonably with regard to myſelf. My horſe that moment falling dead of his wounds, I mounted a freſh one. To vanquiſh the brave reſiſtance of our Swiſs, the enemy thought proper to order 500 horſe to march along the ſide of the moraſs; they would have taken us in the rear, and have eaſily overpowered the Swiſs, and the reſt of the ſoldiers, when luckily the horſes approaching too near the moraſs, they remained intangled in the mire, and their riders with difficulty enough diſengaged them, by leaving their lances there.

The battle continued ſome time longer in this ſtate, that is to ſay, while we had any ſtrength left; but at length wearineſs began to overcome us. On our ſide they were the ſame men who were always in action; inſtead of which our enemies were renewed, and multiplied every moment. Great part of our brigade was diſarmed and diſmounted. In this extremity I was deputed by the troop to repreſent our ſituation to the King, and to demand from him a reinforcement. I met this prince coming to our quarter. "My friend," ſaid he to me, "I "have not a ſoul to ſend you; we muſt not, how-"ever, loſe courage for all that." In effect, he was in no better condition than we. He turned, however, towards M. le Grand, and bid him follow me with all the men he could get together from the upper part of the road. I went back to my party, and with apparent joy informed them of a ſupply,

upon which I but little depended. Every one was re-animated, and one may say, that at that moment acts of valour were done that were incredible. The thick fog, which concealed us from our enemies, hid from us likewise a great part of our danger: but when this fog was dissipated, the sun shewed us to them, and discovered their whole army to us, ready to overwhelm us. It was by this time so near, that we could not hope to gain the end of the causey, where our last intrenchment was, and we thought of nothing but selling our lives dearly.

Our safety came from what we had looked upon as our greatest misfortune. The cannon of the castle of Arques had been rendered useless by the thickness of the fog; but as soon as the enemy could be distinguished, it made a discharge so just, and of so terrible an effect, although there were but four pieces, that the enemy were disordered. Four other volleys succeeded with such rapidity, as went quite through their army; which, no longer able to endure the fire, retired in disorder to the side of the valley: behind which, some moments after, all this terrible multitude were lost; astonished, without doubt, at the great loss they had sustained, and depressed by a resistance which the Duke of Maïenne had not expected.

The King, after an action which covered him with glory, retired to Arques; from thence he went to Dieppe, always harrassed by the enemy, and engaged in frequent skirmishes; the detail of which I suppress, as having nothing sufficiently interesting after the battle of Arques. The King, however, in one of these rencounters, found himself exposed to a danger still greater: for, believing the enemy at a distance, he was exercising with us a kind of military game in a meadow, and sustained a discharge from 200 fusileers, who lay in ambush upon the ground between two hedges, but two hundred

hundred paces at moſt from the place where we were.

It is certain, that any other than Henry would have infallibly ſunk under theſe difficulties, before he had received the ſupplies which were preparing for him; but by his valour * and his ſkill in diſputing the ground, he gave time to 4000 Engliſh and Scotch, that Q. Eliſabeth ſent him, to paſs the ſea; and this reinforcement was ſoon after followed by one greater, which was brought him by the Count of Soiſſons, Henry of Orleans, Duke of Longueville, d'Aumont, and Biron. It was owing to the Count of Soiſſons that he was ſo often in danger at Dieppe, who amuſed himſelf with diſputing about the command of the forces, inſtead of flying to the King's aſſiſtance.

Maienne durſt not wait for the junction of all theſe troops; he diſappeared with his army, and left the King maſter of the field. Henry ſpoke no longer of keeping in Normandy; he ſet out again for Paris, which he had quitted with regret. He paſſed through Meulan and Poiſſy; and from this place detached me, with the Duke of Montpenſier †, to endeavour to perfect a correſpondence he had a long time before begun in Vernon, or to ſeize the city by means of that terror which his approach

* Sixtus V. preſaged, that the Bearnois would be the uppermoſt, ſince he was not longer in bed than the Duke of Maienne was at table. The Duke of Maienne was extremely ſlow in all his motions. "If he does not act in another manner," ſaid the King, "I ſhall "certainly beat him always in the field." Perefixe, ib. part 2. The ſame Pope, after the battle of Arques, applied theſe words to Henry IV. "Thou ſhalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion "and the dragon ſhalt thou trample under feet." Pſal. xci. 13. Meaning the Duke of Maienne, the Duke of Savoy, the King of Spain himſelf.

† Henry of Bourbon-Montpenſier, Prince of the blood, the only ſon of Francis and Renee of Anjou, at that time twenty-ſeven years old. Henry III. took the government of Bretagne from him, without any cauſe, to beſtow it on the Duke of Mercœur. He ſoon had reaſon to repent it.

would

would cause in it. We found no probability of succeeding in either the one or the other. The Duke of Montpensier returned to Normandy, and joined the King at Villepreux.

His design was to alarm Paris, and even to attack it; and as he saw his time, to attempt to make himself master of it. He had taken the precaution to send to demolish the bridge of St. Maixance, by which the Duke of Maienne might have been able to assist this great city; for that general, alarmed by the King's march, had also come near Paris by the opposite side, that he might not meet the King. This prince, therefore, gave the necessary orders for attacking all the suburbs at the same time: that of St. Germain fell to M. d'Aumont, de Chatillon, and me. As soon as the signal was given, we fell upon this suburb, and having indeed an immense, but a confused and frighted multitude to oppose, we hemmed two considerable troops of soldiers within the inclosure of the market of St. Germain; and there, in less than two hundred paces, we left 400 of them in a moment dead upon the place. I could hardly prevail upon myself to kill men whom fear rendered more dead than alive; but putting them out of a condition to resist us, we passed forward, and advanced as far as the gate of Nesle: fifteen or twenty of us entered the city, and went very near to Pont-Neuf; but seeing that our men did not follow us, we turned back. An order from the King to give over the attack was the cause of their abandoning us. The person whom he had sent to demolish the bridge of St. Maixance * had discharged

* De Thou observes, that the guard of this bridge was given to William de Montmorency, Lord of Thoré; but being sick at Senlis, he could not defend it. Book 97. It was attacked on All-saints day, upon advice sent by James Corbinelly, a Florentine gentleman, to Henry IV. in these three words, "Come, come, come," written in a bit of paper, which the bearer inclosed in a quill, and held in his mouth. They did not carry it for want of cannon to beat down the gates. Matthieu, vol. 2. b. 1. p. 17. Cayet, vol. 1. p. 270.

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ged this commiſſion ſo ill, that the Duke of Maïenne appeared within ſight of Paris with his whole army, almoſt at the ſame moment that we came within view of it ourſelves.

The King was now convinced that his enterpriſe was become impoſſible, and that although we ſhould make ourſelves maſters of the city, which on our ſide would infallibly have happened, an army thus diſperſed in a city ſo extenſive as Paris, would have been in danger of being overpowered, having an innumerable multitude of people to oppoſe within, and an army without to defend ourſelves againſt, which would either have entered after us, or have kept us beſieged there. It was thus that the ardor which this prince diſcovered in battle, did not ever tranſport him ſo far as to make him deaf to the counſel of prudence. He thought he had done enough, having created terror in the very heart of that city that dared to deſpiſe him, and given it a ſenſible intimation of what it had to fear from him. Part of the ſuburbs was pillaged; our ſoldiers left nothing in that of St. Germain *, that they could conveniently carry away. I had for my ſhare full 3000 crowns, and all my men made very conſiderable booty.

Two days after this expedition, the King went to ſeize Eſtampes; and reſuming his firſt deſign of ſhewing himſelf in the heart of the kingdom, at leaſt with a part of his troops, he went towards Tours, and in a ſhort time took a great many little towns in Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and Lower

* The Sieurs de Châtillon and La Noüe (ſays Le Grain, book 5.) aſſaulted the ſuburbs of St. Germain, Buſſy, and Neſle, which were richer and more magnificent than the others, and where they expected to find moſt reſiſtance, as well upon account of the fine houſes that were in the ſuburb of St. Germain, which makes its value equal to the ſecond city in France, as the abbey St. Germain, which was fortified. Châtillon made it appear, that he remembered St. Bar holomew's day, and was reſolved to expiate the murder, and appeaſe the manes of the Admiral his father.

Normandy.

Normandy *. He left ſome troops with the Marechal Biron, who took Evreux, without cannon. I drove the Catholics from before Anfreville. The King gave me all the countries about Mante and Roſny to preſerve, with a ſmall body of troops, with which I narrowly miſſed taking the Duke d'Aumale, as he paſſed by Roſny. After I joined the Marechal Biron, for the ſiege of Evreux. I cannot give a more circumſtantial account of actions ſo inconſiderable, and muſt even ſuppreſs the greateſt part of them, as it is neither poſſible, nor to the purpoſe, to expatiate upon facts ſo trivial.

I forewarn the public, therefore, to expect in theſe memoirs a detail only of events of ſome conſideration, and only ſuch as I have been a witneſs to, or as happened to the King himſelf. If I join to theſe any others, they ſhall only be ſuch whoſe certainty I can warrant, by the fidelity of memoirs which have fallen into my hands. As for all others, it will be ſufficient juſt to hint at them, that the reader may himſelf collate the affairs of Henry the Great, in the different periods of time. It was to aſſiſt my memory, that I at firſt committed ſuch traits as moſt ſtruck me to paper: particularly ſuch diſcourſes as the King held with myſelf, or as I have heard him hold with others, either upon war or upon politics, in which I apprehended there might be ſingular benefit to myſelf. This prince, who perceived it by my ſometimes repeating, word for word, what he had ſpoken, commanded me to put my work in ſome order, and to extend it. I found great difficulties in this; for my ſtyle was among the meaneſt: but upon the reiterated commands of

* Alençon, Le-Mans, Château-Briant, Sable, Château-Gontier, Maïenne, Laval, Argentan, Falaiſe, Liſieux, Baïeux, Ponteau-demer, Pont-l'Evêque, Honfleur, Havre-de-Grace, Donfront, &c. De Thou, book 97. D'Aubigné, vol. 3. b. 3. c. 4. &c. See alſo the Memoirs of the league, and particular relations of theſe expeditions printed at that time.

his

his Majesty, and his promising to correct it with his own hand, I resumed and continued this work more assiduously. This it was that gave birth to these memoirs. But I return to my subject.

The army of the league sitting down before Pontoise, took it, and afterwards laid siege to Meulan. As I judged this place to be of extreme importance to the King, I endeavoured, by all the methods I could think of, to make its powder hold out *, and to introduce some person into it on whom I could depend, to prevail upon the besieged to stand firm, till assistance, which was very near, arrived. And this I performed, by making a man swim over to it; and in the mean time sent notice to the King of what had passed, and demanded supplies. My redoubled instances determined this prince to come thither himself; but it was with great unwillingness that he left other places, where his presence was no less necessary. "By your importunity, I am upon "the road to Meulan." Thus he wrote to me. "If any thing unfortunate should happen, I shall "reproach you for ever." It would indeed have appeared very surprising to me, if no misfortune had happened: for this prince leaving all his infantry before Honfleur, brought with him so small a number, that it was impossible for him to sustain the attack of a whole army which pressed Meulan, and would not fail to fall upon him, as soon as it was known how ill he was accompanied.

This I took the liberty to represent to him; and, in effect, he had no sooner left Verneuil to proceed to Ivry, than going out to reconnoitre, I saw the whole army of the league, instructed doubtless of his march, bearing straight upon him. He was obliged to turn back to Verneuil. It was not ordinary for this prince to give ground before his ene-

* The Duke of Sully is mentioned with distinction in the relation of this siege, by De Thou, book 98. and Matthieu, vol. 2. p 22.

mies, nor did he now do it without a good deal of regret. In the firſt tranſports of his anger, he accuſed me of having expoſed him to this affront, and of being leſs ſolicitous for his reputation, by calling him hither, than careful to preſerve my lands from pillage. It was eaſy for me to juſtify myſelf; and this prince, who comprehended the importance of ſuch a place as Meulan, gave orders for all his army to join him.

This produced the effect which I had promiſed myſelf. The enemy ſeeing the army on its march, began to draw their cannon on this ſide the river, and, without wholly raiſing the ſiege, abandoned the care of it, to guard againſt being ſurpriſed.

I ſent the King advice of this proceeding, and he thought it proper to haſten its march, to prevent any accident which might occaſion the loſs of Meulan, and ſent me the ſcouts of his army, that while I waited for his arrival, I might perpetually annoy the beſiegers. He came ſoon after, and entered the fort, where being deſirous of obſerving the enemy's army, he climbed up, with ſome of us, into the Belfrey *. The beſiegers having, at this moment, pointed a battery againſt this belfrey, demoliſhed the ſtair-caſe, and obliged the King, and all of us that were with him, to come down with the help of a cord, and a ſtick paſſed between our legs. The King, to pay them in the ſame coin, ordered four pieces of cannon to be raiſed in this place: which was contrary to my opinion: becauſe I foreſaw that the enemy would quickly diſmount them; which actually happened before we could derive the leaſt advantage from them, and the beſiegers fired there ſo furiouſly all day, that we were not able to remove theſe four pieces till night. The enemy, who had put the river between them and the King,

* As Henry IV. was aſcending the belfrey of St. Nicaiſe, a cannon-ball paſſed through his legs. Matth. ib. 24.

made

breadth of his ruin. The moſt conſiderable of theſe little battles, was at the paſſage over the river of Aine. It was upon this occaſion, that the Baron de Biron engaged himſelf ſo far amidſt the enemy's battalions, that if the King had not run thither in perſon, with as many of us as were about him, and made a powerful effort to bring him off, he would have certainly loſt his life there, or at leaſt his liberty.

I was well enough to keep my rank with the reſt during this whole march, which was an excellent ſchool for a ſoldier to learn his trade in. It no leſs juſtified the conduct the King had till then obſerved, than it did him honour by the manner in which he executed it. Laying aſide only the terms of ſhame and ignominy, which the courtiers, eager to pleaſe this prince, joined (in my opinion unjuſtly enough) to the Prince of Parma's retreat, it is true, that the manner in which the King knew to render an army uſeleſs, that had promiſed itſelf the conqueſt of all France, his hardineſs in attacking a powerful enemy, who retreated not through weakneſs, and his addreſs in ſeizing all advantages, were a ſubject of admiration to perſons conſummate in the art, and equally ſtruck the eyes of the ignorant *. The King's conduct alſo upon this occaſion gave his partizans new courage. Many towns ſurrendered, and ſome Catholics came over to his party; among others, the Duke of Nevers, who brought his troops along with him, either becauſe he began to be afraid of him, or becauſe he was diſguſted with the league.

* Henry IV. (ſays Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 59.), when he was in purſuit of the Prince of Parma, ſtole away from Attichy, and went, for the firſt time, to ſee the beautiful Gabriella at Cœuvres. He contented himſelf with eating ſome bread and butter at the gate, that he might not raiſe any ſuſpicion in her father. Afterwards mounting his horſe, he ſaid, he was going towards the enemy, and that the fair one ſhould ſoon hear what he had done for the love of her.

It was not such allies as these that I wished the King. I found he dearly bought by his deferences the assistance of a man, who might indeed have been of some use to him; but who, to speak my own opinion, only increased the number of his secret enemies in the council †. It is thus I denominate all those interested Catholics, who carried every thing there with a high hand, and thought they had a right to prescribe laws to Henry.

During this prince's stay in the neighbourhood of Mante, I took Gisors, by means of a correspondence which a gentleman in my company, named Fourges, carried on with his father, who was in the place. I did not imagine the government of this city would have now been refused me; but it happened in this instance as it had done in all others. Messr. de Nevers, d'O, and other Catholics, put in practice all those low artifices, which procured them all the favours that ought only to have been the recompense of services, and prevailed upon the King to give this post to one of their religion.

I was too sincere to hide my thoughts of such injustice; I chose to explain myself to the King, at the very time when all these gentlemen might hear what I said, and concealed nothing that lay upon my heart. The King, a much abler politician than I, did not seem to be touched with my invectives against the Catholic party, although he secretly agreed that I did not injure it. He only answered me coldly, "I perceive you are heated at present; "we shall speak another time." "We must allow

† By all the letters that passed between the Duke of Nevers and Henry III. which are at the end of vol. 1. of the Memoirs that bear his name, it appears that the Duke of Nevers served this prince effectually against the league, but without any kindness to the King of Navarre. When he joined this prince, their reciprocal letters shew, that the services he did Henry IV. were considerable indeed, but that he exacted a very high price for them, and that it was with difficulty Henry bore with his caprice, his jealousy, and his bad temper.

"him

" him to talk," added he, after I retired : " he is " of an hafty humour, and has even ſome kind of " reaſon : however, he will never be guilty of any " thing baſe or wicked ; for he is a good man, and " loves honour." In the firſt moment of my diſcontent, I left my company to the care of my lieutenant, and went to take a tour in the valley of Aillant, and to Combrailles, upon my wife's eſtate, taking only along with me ſix gentlemen, and my domeſtics. I did not expect to be employed in any military functions in this journey. While I was at Bontin, the Count of Tonnerre engaged me, to ſecond an enterpriſe that he made upon Joigny. His deſign was to force with a petard a poſtern gate, which for a long time before had not been opened, and through that to enter the town. Tonnerre, for this exploit, had only 200 arquebuſiers, which he had got together in haſte. They followed him about three hundred paces into the city ; but here their leader being thrown down, by a ſhot from an arquebuſe, fear began to ſeize them, and they haſtily retreated towards the poſtern, carrying the wounded Count along with them. Their danger, or only their fear, redoubling, they had the baſeneſs to leave him upon the pavement, about thirty paces from the poſtern ; where he would have been cut to pieces by the citizens, if I had not flown to his aſſiſtance, with only twenty men : for notwithſtanding all my endeavours, I could not prevail upon thoſe cowardly ſoldiers to face about. However, I diſengaged Tonnerre, who took the road to Gien, of which he was governor ; after which I muſtered up his brave troop, and reſumed my way to Bontin.

The remembrance of the King's former goodneſs to me, and an invincible inclination, drew me towards him. I found him occupied in the ſiege of Chartres * ; the taking of which was principally owing

* The magiſtrate of this city made him a very long harangue ;

owing to the valour and addreſs of Chatillon†. I was prevented from being preſent at this ſiege, by an adventure which I muſt reckon among the moſt perilous I was ever engaged in, in my whole life; nor have the intentions of the authors of it, or even their names, ever come to my knowledge.

Returning from an aſſault which Chatillon made upon the body of the place, by means of a bridge of a new and a very ingenious ſtructure, the King, who obſerved that my former ardour for his ſervice was not diminiſhed, called me, and commanded me, to bring my company before Chartres. I was obliged to go myſelf, and fetch it, at the ſame time to take the funds neceſſary for its maintenance. About three leagues from Mante, near the town of Touvery, I ſaw a brigade of twenty horſe in the field, which I ordered Tilly to reconnitre. Upon his information that they bore white ſcarfs, I advanced without fear or precaution: as for them, continuing their route, as if they had not even remarked us, they entered into the wood: from which, according to the courſe of the road I had taken, I could not expect to ſee them come out. I rode on with Tilly, La-Poterie, and La-Rue, before the reſt of my troop, which conſiſted only of ſix other gentlemen, and four ſervants, who followed at ſome diſtance ſeparately. Theſe troopers or robbers, I know not what name to give them, know the foreſt perfectly, and had taken their mea-

and telling him, that he acknowledged the city was ſubject to the King by divine and human right; the King, out of patience at his prolixity, interrupted him, puſhing forward his horſe to enter, and ſaid: "Ay, and add alſo by the cannon law." F. Chalon's hiſtory of France, vol. 3. p. 277. This ſiege was long and bloody. See Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 63.; Cayet, vol. 2. p. 415.; and other hiſtorians.

† Francis de Coligny, ſon to the Admiral, and Admiral of Guyenne. He died this year, 1591, in his caſtle of Louve, thirty years old, leaving three ſons. The Calviniſt party had a great loſs in him; for it is believed, that if he had lived, he would even have excelled his father. De Thou, book 102. Three ſons of D'Andelot, the Admiral's brother, died at one time, in the year 1586. Book 85.

ſures

fures ſo well, that they met us at the paſſage out of the foreſt, juſt where our road croſſed theirs. The two firſt took off their hats, when to the *Qui vive?* we anſwered, *Vive le Roi*; but at the ſame time, taking advantage of our confidence, they fired almoſt cloſe to our breaſts. I ſaw three of the foremoſt take aim particularly at me. Naturally not one of us ought to have eſcaped; but doubtleſs precipitation, fear, or a bad conſcience, cauſed the hands of theſe villains to tremble, ſo that of three ſhots aimed at me, one only reached me, which entering my lip, came out at the nape of my neck: it appeared to me, that La-Poterie and Tilly received the two others in their cloaths. La-Rue was the only perſon who was brought down.

The reſt of my troop running up at the noiſe, ſurrounded me, crying, *Vive Roſny*. We all together charged our aggreſſors, who retired, firing, to a village covered with hedges, where we loſt them. They continued only to fire upon us from within the houſes, which covered my face with ſmall ſhot. By this circumſtance I concluded, that our adverſaries were in a country that they knew, and that all this village was full of ſoldiers, who only fought, perhaps, to draw us nearer. After ſeveral times calling to thoſe traitors, to turn and accept a defiance, ſeeing them averſe, I thought it was the wiſeſt way to leave them, and take ſome care of my wounds; eſpecially that in my neck, which was the moſt conſiderable, and by which I loſt a good deal of blood. I got to Touvery, where, in the houſe of M. d'Auteuil *, I put the firſt dreſſing upon

* It is to this year, and while Henry IV. ſtaid at St. Quentin, that we muſt bring back this prince's letter to M de Roſny, which is without date, and may be ſeen amongſt the MSS. of the King's library, the contents of which perfectly agree with the text of our Memoirs, and is as follows. "All the news I have from Mante are, "that you have been fatigued, and are much emaciated: if you have "any deſire to refreſh yourſelf and grow fat, it is my opinion, that "you

upon them, and from thence retired to Mante, where I was ſix whole weeks under the ſurgeons hands. During this ſpace, the King's army not only ſeized Chartres, but Corbie likewiſe. Parabere conducted this ſiege, in the abſence of the King, who was kept at St. Quentin, by his new paſſion for Mademoiſelle d'Eſtrées *.

The ſiege of Noyon followed that of Corbie. There is none which I could have more wiſhed to have given a circumſtantial detail of than this, if I had been a witneſs of it. A thouſand fine actions were performed by the beſieged. The Duke of Maïenne, who ſaw that this place was of great importance to the league, gave orders to the Duke d'Aumale, lieutenant-general, who was then at Ham with ſome of the forces of the party, to ſpare nothing to ſupport this place, till he approached himſelf. The Duke d'Aumale endeavoured twice to throw ſuccours into it; but La Chantelerie and Tremblecourt, who conducted them, were cut in pieces one after another. The Viſcount de Ta-

" you ought to come hither. Mean time your brother will ſend us " news from thence of our ſiege at Chartres," &c.

From ſeveral places in theſe Memoirs, where the ſhare Henry IV. gave to M. de Rony in all his reſolutions is mentioned, particularly that relating to his converſion, which we ſhall come to preſently, we may infer, that this prince had always an entire confidence in him. I have tranſcribed the foregoing letter, to ſhew, by another teſtimony, that this opinion is not ill founded, and that the Duke of Sully has not, thro' vanity, impoſed upon his readers. The hiſtorians have not begun to mention it is miniſter till he began himſelf to appear in a public character. It is more than probable, that, a long time before that, he had been the ſoul of all the actions and councils of Henry the Great. It is eaſy to trace this time back to his moſt early youth; though indeed all the actions of the Duke of Sully compoſe a life, wherein one ſees no youth. This advantage muſt be allowed to minds born grave and ſerious, over thoſe more lively and full of fire.

* She is often mentioned in the courſe of this work. Her name was Gabrielle: ſhe was daughter of John Antony d'Eſtrees, and Frances Babou de la Bourdaiſiere. She bore ſucceſſively the names of " the " fair Gabrielle, Madame de Liancourt, the Marchioneſs of Mon- " ceaux, and Ducheſs of Beaufort."

vannes,

vannes, major-general, thinking he might be more ſucceſsful, preſented himſelf with 400 arquebuſiers: they met with a party of fifty or ſixty horſe, belonging to us; who, after the *Qui vive?* charged them boldly, and put them to flight: the principal officers, who would have reſiſted, were all wounded, and taken priſoners with Tavannes their chief: D'Aumale flattered himſelf, that he ſhould, in his turn, beat two quarters of light horſe, which he had ordered Bellangliſe to reconnoitre; but he found them mounted, and going to meet the King; and having attacked them, theſe light horſe, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the enemy, defended themſelves ſo long, and ſo well, that the Baron de Biron, Meſſ. de la Largerie and de la Boiſſiere, had time to come to their aſſiſtance; after which, theſe two troops joining, they defeated d'Aumale's whole detachment, which conſiſted of 500 horſe, and as many arquebuſiers on horſeback. Very few reached Ham without wounds, and a great number of priſoners were taken.

The Duke of Maïenne arriving at Ham at the very moment that theſe ſhattered remains retreated thither, was a witneſs of his loſs, and proteſted publicly, that he would wipe off this ſhame, either by raiſing the ſiege of Noyon, or by a battle. He drew together all his forces, ordered the Baron de Roſne to bring him the Spaniſh troops, under the command of the Prince of Aſcoli in Champagne; and finding himſelf at the head of 900 foot and 200 horſe, he advanced towards Noyon. He forgot his oath, when he ſaw that he had to do with men who ſeemed not to have even perceived his arrival. The commander of Noyon had repreſented to him, by a gentleman whom the King permitted to paſs thro' his army, that he had engaged to ſurrender the place in ſix days, if no ſuccours were ſent him. The Duke of Maïenne, the Prince of Aſcoli, and the Duke of Aumale, ſuffered Noyon to be taken

before

before their eyes. This commander certainly deſerved to have been better ſeconded. His name was Rieux; and from a private ſoldier, he had become governor of Pierrefond, by his bravery and his genius. Upon the report of Noyon's being attacked, he had found means to throw himſelf into it, with fifty horſe, and as many arquebuſiers, to reaſſure this city, where all was in conſternation and diſmay, and to hold it out till the laſt extremity.

The Duke of Maïenne ſeeing that his army was uſeleſs, ſent it into quarters, and marched ſlowly towards Paris. He had long carried on a correſpondence in Mante, and he now thought it time to proceed to execution. He ſecretly drew out the garriſons of Paris, Dreux, and Pontoiſe, and ſuddenly preſented himſelf within muſket ſhot of this city, before day. My brother was governor, and I was then there myſelf; my wound not permitting me to keep the field. I was advertiſed of the enemy's arrival, and ran upon the ramparts, with my head bound up, time enough to make ſome diſcharges upon the aſſailants, which hindered them from continuing their deſign.

The Duke of Maïenne ſucceeded no better before Houdan, which he alarmed as he paſſed. My other brother, who was there with his regiment, and ſome companies, gave him ſuch a reception, that he retreated with ſhame.

What had happened at Mante, joined to the information my brother had received, left us no room to doubt but that the enemy had ſome correſpondence in the city. After conſulting together upon what was neceſſary to be done upon this occaſion, I fixed upon the following expedient. I had ſtill in my pay ſix of thoſe brave ſoldiers who ſerved as a forlorn hope in the battle of Ivry, and to whom, beſides their pay, I gave eight livres a-month. They were then in my brother's garriſon, to whom I could not refuſe them; and their fidelity I was abſolutely

solutely assured of. In concert with us two, they feigned to be discontented with the governor of Mante; and presenting themselves to the garrison of Pontoise, were received with open arms. They were no sooner there, than they proposed to d'Alincourt to make him master of Mante, by the connection which they said they still preserved in that place. To convince the governor of this, they demanded four soldiers, whom, by my connivance, they conveyed into Mante, and directed them to get acquainted with some citizens, who were well disposed to engage in all sorts of factions. In a little time every thing was agreed upon, and the day fixed for delivering up Mante to the league. These four soldiers found every where a facility in the prosecution of their design, which made him believe the success of it infallible, and he would have all the honour of it to himself. My soldiers informed me exactly of all that was contriving in Pontoise, and of the joy which so well concerted an enterprise occasioned there. The general council of the league, headed by the Cardinal of Bourbon *, resided in that city.

Meantime I took my measures very deep, that no affectation might appear in my conduct. I caused trains of gun-powder to be laid upon the ramparts which they intended to scale, without any one's perceiving it; and shut up all the houses that

* This is not the old Cardinal Charles of Bourbon, son of Charles of Bourbon, Duke of Vendome, and brother to Antony King of Navarre, whom the league had proclaimed King. He died of the stone the year before at Fontenai, in Poitou, whether Henry IV. had caused him to be removed from Chinon, aged 67 years, a Prince, who had reason to complain, that they obliged him to ascend a throne which had no allurements for him. He could not conceal his joy for the victory that Henry IV. gained at Coutras; and only accepted the crown, says Cayet, to preserve it for that Prince whom he loved, [illegible]. Noven. vol. 1. b. 2. p. 87. It is the Cardinal his nephew. He was son of Lewis I. Prince of Condé, who was slain at Jarnac, and brother to the Prince of Condé, who died at St. John d'Angely, to the Prince of Conti, and the Count of Soissons.

ſtood near that ſide; after which I introduced into the place, by ſmall diviſions, at different times, the beſt ſoldiers in the garriſons of Nogent, Vernon, and Meulan. This done, I thought myſelf obliged to ſend and inform the King, who was at Compiegne, of all that paſſed; and it was this that ruined our project. This prince could not reſiſt the deſire he had to receive the Duke of Maienne himſelf in Mante, and imagined he had taken ſufficient precaution not to hurt our ſcheme, by not entering Mante till the night that it was to be executed, and by carrying in with him only fifty horſe, and the ſame number of valets. As for me, when I ſaw him arrive, I was ſo well perſuaded that all our meaſures were broke, that I could not help reproaching him with ſome warmth, for coming thus to deſtroy our work, and expoſing, perhaps, the lives of the four ſoldiers who conducted it, by means of the evidences that might be brought againſt them. The King aſſured me, that nothing of what I feared would happen, and went to ſup at the governor's; and there, being fatigued with his long journey, threw himſelf upon a bed in his cloaths and jack-boots.

The night paſſed, and the day came, without any appearance of the enemy. I watched for them all night upon the ramparts, with one of my brothers; the other ſtaid with the King. Juſt as I had gone to repoſe, Bellengreville, whom I had ordered to obſerve the enemy's motion without, came to me, and informed me, that the Duke of Maienne having received advice that ſome troops, led by the King in perſon, had entered Mante in the night, ſuppoſed his deſign was diſcovered, and had retreated, after having advanced as far as Bourgenville. I carried him to the King, to whom he made the ſame report; and, as a proof of the truth of what he ſaid, produced two carts loaded with rope-ladders, and ſuch other inſtruments, which the leaguers, imagining

imagining they already ſaw the King at their heels, had left in the field, to retreat more expeditiouſly. The thing became public and irretrievable; for the ſoldiers who eſcaped on both ſides could not be ſilent.

The King ſucceeded better with regard to Louviers. This city kept a prieſt in its pay, who, from the top of the higheſt belfrey, which he never left, played the part of a ſpy with a good deal of exactneſs. As ſoon as he ſaw any one appear in the field, though it were only a ſingle perſon, he rung a certain bell, and at the ſame ſide hung out a great flag. We did not deſpair of ſhaking his fidelity; and 200 crowns of the ſun, with a promiſe of a benefice of 3000 livres of revenue, corrupted him. It remained only to gain ſome of the garriſon; the Sieur Du-Rollet took this upon himſelf, and ſucceeded equally well. He addreſſed himſelf to a corporal and two ſoldiers, who eaſily accuſtomed the reſt of the garriſon to truſt the guard of one of the gates to them alone. Every thing being thus concluded, the King preſented himſelf before Louviers, at eleven o'clock in the night *. No one rung the bell, nor was there the leaſt motion in the garriſon. Du-Rollet entered, and made the gate be opened, through which the King paſſed, without the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, into the centre of the city. Fontaine-Martel made ſome ineffectual efforts to draw the garriſon together; as for the citizens, they were wholly occupied in concealing their wives and their daughters. The city, whoſe principal riches conſiſted in its magazines of linen and leather, was entirely pillaged. I had a gentleman with me, called Beaugrard, a native of Louviers, who was of great uſe to us in diſcovering where theſe kinds of merchandiſe were concealed, and a prodigious quantity of them was amaſſed together. The produce of my

* June 5.

ſhare amounted to 3000 livres. The caſtle of Louviers was by the King conſigned to Du-Rollet.

The ſame good fortune attended the Duke of Montpenſier in all his enterpriſes in Normandy †. This ſucceſs was no more than neceſſary to conſole the King for the news he received, that the Duke of Guiſe *, whom he conſidered as his principal enemy, had eſcaped from the caſtle of Tours, where he had been kept priſoner ever ſince the aſſaſſination at Blois. The King now reſumed his former deſign of attempting every thing, to become maſter of Rouen. Aſſured of the aſſiſtance and affection of almoſt all the cities of Normandy, he quitted Mante, where for ſome time paſt he had fixed his abode, and made it a little capital for the reſidence of his court and his council; and cauſed his troops to file off towards this city. While preparations were making for this important ſiege, Henry made a ſecret journey to Compeigne, of which love was

† In the Lower Normandy, Falaize, Bayeux, Argentan, Lizieux, &c. were in the intereſt of the League: Caën, Alençon, Séez, Ecouché, &c. in the King's. The moſt conſiderable action happened in April 1589, in the field of Argentan, near Perrière, Villars, and Commeaux, where the Duke of Montpenſier cut off the leaguers of thoſe cantons, whom they called Gautiers, to the number of 5 or 6000. Three thouſand were left dead upon the ſpot, and a thouſand taken priſoners; the reſt eſcaped to Argentan. Commeaux, which is at preſent ſcarce a village, was taken with great difficulty. At length the Duke of Montpenſier extirpated this whole party and reduced ſeveral of the rebellious cities. He was aſſiſted by the Count of Torigny, Meſſ. d'Emery, de Loncauni, de Neuvron, de Viques, de Bacqueville, l'Archant, and others. See theſe expeditions in the 3d volume of the memoirs of the league.

* Charles of Lorraine, ſon of Henry Duke of Guiſe, who was ſlain at Blois, and of Catharine of Cleves. He was borne in 1571. "The flight of the Duke of Guiſe will ruin the league," ſaid Henry IV. as it is declared by Le Grain. The Duke's valet de chambre having found means to amuſe Rouvrai and his guards, either by play, or drinking, let him down from the higheſt window in the caſtle, in the midſt of the day, with a rope, which he afterwards made uſe of to deſcend himſelf. The Duke got into a ſmall boat, which carried him to the other ſide of the river, where two horſes waited for him, &c. Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 81. Cayet, vol. 2. book 3. p. 465. &c.

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the true motive, though he gave out that it was to send to Germany for a levy of cavalry. The Viscount Turenne undertook this affair, from gratitude for the King's having effected, and honoured with his presence, his marriage with Mademoiselle de Sedan †, daughter and only heiress of the deceased Duke of Bouillon, which was concluded this year. I was not sorry for my part, that this retreat gave me an opportunity of enjoying, some time longer, at Mante, the company of Madam Chateaupers, with whom chance had lately brought me acquainted, and to whom I felt myself attached more and more, by an inclination so strong, that it made me think of a second marriage.

The King had expressly forbidden all commerce, and transportation of merchandises, and of every kind of provision, into Paris and Rouen, as being cities in open rebellion: but in this, as in every thing else, he was very ill obeyed. The governors of passes, especially along the Seine, gained by the immense sums, which their facility produced, almost publicly granted the necessary passports for merchants, and masters of boats. De-Fourges, whom I have formerly had occasion to mention, came one day to inform me, that a large boat, whose lading was reputed worth 50,000 crowns, had gone up the river towards Paris, where, after

† Charlotte de la Mark, daughter of Robert de la Mark, sovereign prince of Sedan, and of Francis of Bourbon Montpensier, by the death of her brother, William Robert de la Mark, Duke of Bouillon, which happened at Geneva, in the year 1588, she became heiress of this principality. The Duke, in his last will, forbade his sister to marry a Roman Catholic. This was the disposition, but the King's friendship for the Viscount Turenne, his desire of taking the lady from the Dukes of Lorrain, Montpensier, and Nevers, each of whom demanded her for his son; policy, which advised him to give an ambitious neighbour to the Duke of Lorrain; and perhaps the belief that this marriage would induce the Viscount to lay aside his design of making himself head of the Calvinists in France; were the motives which determined Henry IV. to marry the heiress of Sedan to the Viscount Turenne.

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a few days ſtay, a leſs one would bring back the value in ſilver to Rouen: which he was well aſſured of, becauſe his own father was to conduct the boat. I cauſed it to be ſo well watched, that in its return it fell into my hands, and I ſaw with aſtoniſhment the paſſport ſigned by Berengueville, and my brother, the one governor of Meulan, and the other of Mante; but they did not care to mention this to me, nor did I take any notice of it to them, but cauſed the boat and its conductor to be brought to Mante. I opened two large packets, where I expected to find the 50,000 crowns in ſpecie. But ſeeing only ſome pieces of gold and ſilver thread, and Spaniſh ſilk, I threatened to put the maſter of the boat into a dungeon. The elder Fourges, alarmed at this threat, preſented me with letters of exchange for 36,000 crowns, which he would have perſuaded me was the whole produce of the ſale. As he defended himſelf with a good deal of action, the weight of the gold he had about him broke his pockets, and ſo great a quantity fell from them, that the floor was in an inſtant covered with crowns of the ſun *. He probably intended to apply this ſum to his own uſe, or thought it could be in no place ſo ſecure as about himſelf. One may imagine what was his confuſion. After diverting myſelf ſome time in obliging him to take ſeveral turns about the room, I ordered him to ſtrip, and found 7000 crowns in gold ſewed up in his cloaths. I was then in very great need waiting the ſale of my corn, wood, and hay, at Roſny: the King made me a preſent of this ſum, and was ſingularly pleaſed with the recital of poor Fourges's adventure. It was not ſo with Berengueville and my brother,

* A gold coin current in thoſe times. It was firſt ſtruck in the reign of Lewis XI. and ſo called, becauſe there was the figure of a ſun above the crown. The value of theſe crowns at this time is 64 ſols. Le Blanc, traité hiſt. des monnoies de France, p. 9. de l'introduction, et p. 372.

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they were extremely angry with me. I come to the siege of Rouen.

The King had not seen himself at the head of forces so considerable. Four thousand English arrived to him, conducted by Roger Williams; and, moreover, he expected soon a second reinforcement from this country, which disembarked during the siege, under the command of the Earl of Essex *, the minister and favourite of Queen Elisabeth. The United Provinces, besides the two regiments in the service of this prince, sent a fleet of fifty sail well equipped to the coast of Normandy, having on board 2000 soldiers, commanded by Count Philip of Nassau. The Duke of Bouillon (for so the Viscount of Turenne called himself since his marriage) succeeded so well in his negotiation in Germany, that he brought back 5 or 6000 horse, besides some companies of foot, with the Prince of Anhalt at their head. These foreign auxiliaries, joined to 6000 Swiss, which the King had in his pay, to different reinforcements that came from several places, particularly Normandy; and to those troops, either Protestants or Catholics, that were at his own disposal, composed an army of 40,000 men. Caën, and the other chief towns of the province, engaged to furnish provisions, and every thing necessary for a siege, which could not fail of being long, both because of the goodness of the place, and because of the strength of the garrison. The Marquis of Villars, known for his bravery and capacity, shut himself up there with the son of the Duke of Maienne, resolved to bury themselves under its ruins. In effect, from the day that we sat down before this city, till the Prince of Parma's arrival, which obliged us to raise the siege, there

* Robert D'Evreux, Earl of Essex, favourite to Q. Elisabeth. See the letter of thanks which Henry IV. wrote to Elisabeth, in Villeroy's Memoirs, vol. 4. p. 249.

passed

paſſed almoſt ſix months; and what is worſe, ſix winter months: for it was inveſted in the beginning of October, and abandoned the 20th of March following, after efforts on the part of the beſiegers, and a reſiſtance on that of the beſieged, ſome circumſtances of which I ſhall relate.

The troops of the beſiegers were placed in different quarters; the King's were at Darnetal, and that of my company at Freſne l'Eſplen, whither I rarely went, the King having honoured me with a lodging in his. Here I diſpoſed myſelf for a long ſtay, and hardly ever quitted him or the Marechal de Biron. At firſt there appeared ſuch an emulation amongſt the officers to be employed, that, to avoid all diſcuſſions, the King regulated the time and duration of each of their ſervices; and declared that one day of four he would himſelf work at the trenches, with the gentlemen that were about his perſon, who were to the number of two or three hundred.

I had ſolicited beforehand for a poſt in the artillery, for which my inclination was ſo ſtrong, that I ſubmitted to ſerve not only under the Marechal de Biron, but Meſſ. de la Guiche, de Born, and de Fayolle alſo. But Biron, who had no affection for me, gained over theſe general officers, and prevailed upon them to exclude me, with which I had afterwards reaſon to be well contented; for thoſe pieces of ordnance of which I was to have the charge, happened to fall into the power of the enemy.

The motive of this Marechal's hatred towards me was, that in the council, where it was debated on what ſide the place ſhould be attacked, Biron being of opinion, that we ſhould attack the caſtle, I was not afraid to maintain, that we ought firſt to apply to the city, which would bring along with it the reduction of Fort St. Catherine. This queſtion was a long time the ſubject of all converſations, as

well at the table as at the council; and Biron never forgot the expreſſion I generally uſed, "The city "taken, the caſtle muſt ſurrender."

I cannot indeed comprehend, how a man ſo experienced as the Marechal was, could determine for attacking the caſtle, which, not to mention the commander, or the garriſon, (and neither the man nor the garriſon were ordinary) nor its excellent fortifications, had this in particular from the nature of the place, that in attacking it without, not half the number of ſoldiers could be brought againſt it which the beſieged could oppoſe to defend it; which is quite contrary in cities of war.

However, the opinion of the Marechal de Biron carried it; for his authority, and the dependence to which he had accuſtomed the other general officers, captivated all the votes. Without doubt, this Marechal flattering himſelf that nothing could be able to reſiſt ſo ſtrong an army, embraced the part which he thought the moſt glorious, and the likelieſt to bring the ſiege ſoon to an end; and the King, who was reſolved not to ſpare himſelf *, by following this advice, ſeemed to be of the ſame opinion. For I look upon as a pure calumny, diſſeminated by the Marechal's enemies, that report which was whiſpered in the army, that he had aſked the King for the government of Rouen, which this prince had refuſed him, becauſe he had before promiſed it to Du-Hallot, upon the recommenda-

* Perhaps alſo they depended upon blowing up the fort of St. Catherine with the mine: but the deſign was diſcovered by the beſieged. Memoirs of the league, vol. 5. Thoſe writers that have defended the Marechal Biron's advice againſt that given by the Duke of Sully, with regard to the place at which they ſhould begin the attack, ſay, that it was very difficult, and, at the ſame time, very dangerous, for the army of Henry IV. to leave behind them the fort of St. Catherine, the hill eſpecially being ſo near the city. See, upon the operations of this ſiege, Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 96. et ſeqq.; Cayet, Chron. Noven. vol. 2. book 4. (who is for the Duke of Sully's opinion againſt the Marechal Biron); and other hiſtorians.

tion of M. de Montpenſier; and that he endeavoured underhand to fruſtrate this enterpriſe, and, through envy, gave a counſel which he knew would render all our efforts upon this place ineffectual. It is more certain, that theſe eternal conteſtations with the Duke of Bouillon had more than once been like to ruin all; for this nobleman, to be revenged on the King, raiſed a mutiny amongſt the horſe, and other German forces which he had brought.

The batteries were accordingly raiſed oppoſite to the fort, and we contented ourſelves, for guarding the lower part of the river, to place there ſome companies of German foot, which having been worſted in ſome ſallies that were made on that ſide, yielded the poſt to the Hollanders, who underſtood ſieges better than they. In effect, theſe laſt maintained themſelves there, and prevented ſallies by that place. It was not long before the King perceived that he had engaged in a work of extreme difficulty; but nothing, he imagined, was impoſſible to obſtinate labour. Villars was not contented with defending himſelf within; he came out of the caſtle, and cauſed a deep trench to be cut upon the declivity of the hill, over againſt the fort, with which the end of it communicated, and placed there in the night a guard of 6 or 700 men.

As this new work was extended far into the country, and as it not only incommoded the beſiegers in their attacks upon the caſtle, but alſo expoſed them to be fallen upon in the rear, while at the ſame time they had the garriſon from within in front, the King reſolved to ſeize it, and to render it uſeleſs. He made choice of the ſame night when it was his turn to watch the trench with his 300 gentlemen, whom he commanded to be completely armed, and to have, beſides their uſual arms, halberts in their hands, and piſtols at their girdles, and to his troop added 400 muſketeers or pikemen. It was at midnight, and amidſt the extreme

cold

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The King resolved upon this last advice: but as by following it he had no design to raise the siege, lest the Prince of Parma, who perhaps had that only in view, should afterwards avoid the battle, he told me, that he would go and meet him with 7 or 8000 horse, who were of no use at the siege; and that he would attack him with this cavalry, or, if he had not passed the Somme, dispute his passage. He quitted me, ordering me to prepare myself to go along with him with 15 or 20 troopers only, chosen from the rest of my company.

I returned at the end of two days from Fresne l'Esplen, and, on my arrival at Darnetal, I learned that Villars had made a sally at the head of 100 horse, with whom he had overpowered the guard: and would have been the cause of much greater disorder, if the King, armed only with a cuirass, had not run thither, followed by the Baron de Biron, an English officer whose name has escaped me, Grillon, and some others who were about him: these three gentlemen especially had covered themselves with glory. Grillon had his arm broke by a shot from an arquebuse. As for the King, having precipitated himself into a danger, somewhat like that which is related of Alexander the Great in the city of the Oxydracæ, he extricated himself out of it with the same presence of mind, and the same intrepidity. If this, which is only an example, has all the appearance of a fable, Henry's action had two whole armies for witnesses.

The Prince of Parma, with his whole army, possessed the border of the Somme, and, satisfied with recovering this river, made scarce any motion; for besides that the governor of Rouen had sent to inform him, that as he intended to strike some important blow, he might let it be a good while before he came to his assistance; he waited for the arrival of Sfondrate, who was to bring him

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the troops of his uncle Pope Gregory XIV. *, and those of the Duke of Maienne, who however came not so soon. He had been obliged to go with his best troops to Paris, to punish the insolence of the Sixteen, who, abusing the power he had suffered them to assume, had dared to hang the President Brisson †, and some other counsellors, as respectable for their virtue as for their age; and had doubtless gone farther, if the Duke, fearing perhaps some sudden caprice of those seditious counsellors ‡ against himself, had not doomed them to the like punishment: but as, in executing this act of justice, he had certain measures to keep, he did not join the Prince of Parma as soon as had been expected.

The King, when he was informed of this disposition, thought it necessary to hasten his march. He left to the Marechal Biron the care of carrying on the siege, whose forces he weakened but by 7 or 8000 horse; consisting from 3 to 4000 French troopers, as many German horse, and 1000 horse-

* Sixtus V. died in August 1590. Henry IV. when he was informed of his death, said, "Here is a trick of Spanish policy: I "have lost a pope who was my all."

† "A catastrophe very unworthy of so learned and excellent a "man, (says Mezeray, speaking of the President Brisson, "but u-"sual to those who think to keep well with two parties." For the parliament being transferred by the King to Tours, Brisson was the only one of the six presidents who remained at Paris. The league obliged him to perform the duties of First President, and it was he that helped to degrade K. Henry III. According to the Duke of Nevers's observation, his death was looked upon to be a just punishment of his ingratitude. Henry III. had freely bestowed upon him the post of President. However, he was one of the greatest men of the robe. The Duke of Maienne revenged his death, by causing Louchard, Ameline, Aimont, and Amoux, four of the sixteen, to be hanged in a parlour of the Louvre.

‡ One of the sixteen, named *Varmond*, said one day, in the Duke of Maienne's chamber, "Those who made him have a right to un-"make him." Hamilton, the curate of St. Côme, a furious leaguer, came himself, attended by priests instead of soldiers, to seize the Counsellor Tardif in his house.

arquebuſiers; at the head of which he departed from Darnetal, and took the road to the Somme. He paſſed the firſt day by Boiſſiere and Neuf Châtel; the ſecond by Blangy, Londiniere, Longueville, Senernon, and Gamache; and the third advanced to Folleville, with a ſimple detachment, leaving the body of his cavalry behind him, to be conducted by the Duke of Nevers.

We met a conſiderable party, led by Meſſ. de Roſne, de Balagny, de Vitry, the Baron de la Châtre, St. Pol, La Mothe *, and others, who had doubtleſs advanced with the ſame deſign as we, to reconnitre the ſituation and forces of the enemy. The King commanded the Baron de Biron, Meſſ. de Lavardin, de Givry, de St. Geran, de Marivaut, de Chanlivaut, La Curée †, d'Arambure, and ſome others, to go and attack them; who were repulſed and handled very roughly; and part fell, among which was Lavardin. Henry ran with 300 horſe to diſengage them; and, believing this encounter might be followed by an action more ſerious, at leaſt between the cavalry of the two armies, which was what he greatly wiſhed for, ſent orders to Nevers to quicken his pace. But the Prince of Parma, who had a quite contrary deſign, reſtrained his ſquadrons, who had retreated of themſelves when they perceived ours advance; and the King, ſeeing no appearance of affecting any thing in the midſt of ſo many battalions, and the night already

* La Mothe, governor of Valenciennes, was a Frenchman, of the country of Beauvaiſis; but he had all his life ſerved in the Spaniſh army, and was ſlain in 1595, at the ſiege of Dourlans, at the head of the Spaniſh artillery, very much regretted by the Spaniards. The King of Spain had juſt created him Count of Ekelbeke. See his death and panegyric in De Thou, book 112.

† La Curée was one of thoſe perſons in whom the King confided, and was called by him nothing but *Curée*. He performed wonders at the battle of Ivry, and on many other occaſions. The volume of MSS. in the royal library marked 8929, is filled with relations of his intrepidity. He was killed in an encounter at the ſiege of Montauban.

approaching, contented himself with observing this army closely, and checking its motions, as he went to his quarters at Breteuil; where his cavalry, for fear of a surprise, were obliged to keep themselves extremely close, and part of them even lay without all night, though the ground was covered with snow.

The ardour with which the King went to meet an enemy greatly superior, awakened our fears for the dangers to which he exposed his person, and obliged us strongly to represent to him the consequences. But this prince, who had no conception of that management we proposed to him, when glory was in question, changed not his conduct. He contented himself with naming thirty of us to continue near his person, and not to leave him upon any occasion whatever. An employment very honourable in truth; but the danger of it somewhat abated the passion for it. With this precaution, which was no more than sufficient, he only exposed himself still more.

Being informed that the Duke of Guise, who commanded the Prince of Parma's vanguard, had put himself at the head of his squadron, to facilitate the lodgement of this infantry in a large town called *Bures*, he resolved to cut off this squadron; which he executed with the utmost vigour, at the head of 1200 horse and 1000 horse arquebusiers. A great number of the enemy were left dead upon the place, and the rest betook themselves to flight. The Duke of Guise's green standard was taken, and all the baggage plundered. Henry, who was not willing that any of these cavaliers should escape him, especially their Colonel, sent immediately orders to the Duke of Nevers to advance with all speed to Bully, that he might possess himself of the road through which he conjectured the Duke of Guise and the fugitives would retreat to the rest of the army, and take them prisoners. I had others

to ſuſtain the Duke of Nevers with ſixty horſe; which I obeyed with reluctance, not doubting, but in ſuch hands the affair would have an iſſue little worthy of its beginning.

The Duke of Nevers, the floweſt of all men, began by ſending to make choice of the moſt favourable roads, and marched with a ſlow pace towards Bully, with his hands and his noſe in his muff, and his whole perſon well packed up in his coach. This once he had no occaſion to boaſt of his extreme caution. It was ſo long before he arrived, that he gave time to the Prince of Parma, who was greatly more alert than he, to throw a regiment of 15 or 1600 men into Bully, who made ſuch haſte, that they reached the town in the beginning of the night. As for the Duke of Nevers, the ſun riſing the next day found him at laſt upon the height of the mountain at the foot of which Bully is ſituated, preceded by his couriers, whom he had that day doubled, through an exceſs of precaution againſt a flying enemy: the firſt, to the number of fifty, marched two or three miles before him; and the ſecond, which amounted to 100 went ſome few paces before his coach. But unfortunately with all his foreſight, he had forgot to make ſure of this paſſage, and had not ſent a ſingle ſoldier to keep guard there. He began to deſcend the mountain with great tranquillity, and doubtleſs with more tranquillity than if he had known whom he was to find in Bully. His firſt couriers, entering the city, were ſufficiently ſurpriſed at the ſight of ſo much good company; but as the cold had obliged theſe ſoldiers to diſarm, and to lay down their pikes, to range themſelves round a large fire which they had kindled, theſe fifty couriers had time to ſave themſelves by flight. This they did not indeed upon that ſide where their maſter was, but by paſſing quite through the city, and getting out at the oppoſite end as faſt as their legs could carry them, without troubling themſelves a-

bout what might become of the Duke of Nevers; who, with his coach, was just then sticking in the deepest part of a descent, equally steep, rugged, and winding. It was in this place, that the Duke of Nevers, hearing the noise of some fusileers who were firing after his first couriers, and the second having come to make their report, full of consternation, was frozen with fright; and resolving now at last to lose no time, he threw away his muff and his furs, not without often exclaiming, "The devil," nor without quarrelling his valets for not coming readily enough to help him out. All their endeavours could not disengage the coach, which was forced to be dragged back to the top of the mountain; where the Duke again made use of it, to return a little more hastily to the place where he had lain the preceding night. It was thus that we seconded the King upon this occasion: A truly ridiculous exploit, where the danger did not equal the fear by a great deal, since not a single man was lost.

The Prince of Parma, by this important blow, knowing what sort of an enemy he had to deal with, durst not for the future suffer his vanguard to be separated from the army; and perceiving that the King almost never lost sight of him, redoubled his diffidence; which was, without doubt, the cause that he did not take all the advantage he might have done of the encounter at Aumale: An action singularly hardy on the King's side, and well deserving a particular relation.

Some days after that I have just mentioned, the King following the Prince of Parma at a great distance, had advanced, with 6000 horse towards Aumale. Givry, whom he had sent at the head of some troopers to get intelligence, returned and informed him, that the enemy's army was advancing directly towards him in the plain, in good order, apparently with a design to force him back, and to

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cut him off in his retreat. The King called a council; and finding, as he said, that he had too many and too few soldiers, he resolved to send all his cavalry back to Ophy, Blangy, and Neuf Châtel, and to keep with him only 400 troopers, and 500 horse-arquebusiers, and with this body of men to advance into the plain, to discover exactly the condition and the number of the enemy; and hovering about them, to take or cut off some squadrons.

He mounted the hill of Aumale, with his 900 horse, and marched two leagues without perceiving any thing, till the sky, which had been extremely dark, becoming very clear, he a second time saw Givry return, who came to give him full satisfaction in all that he wanted to know about this army. It was so near, that they heard distinctly the sound of the trumpets and drums. But Henry would needs see it himself. He made an exact review of it, and found that it consisted of 17 or 18,000 infantry, with 7 or 8000 cavalry, who marched very close; the cavalry in the midst of the battalions, and the whole flanked with chariots and baggage, that rendered approach impossible. From this situation of the enemy, he found he had still too many men; and retaining only 100 troopers, ordered the 800 others to repass the dyke and town of Aumale, and 300 horse of his squadron to stop upon the declivity of the hill, to be within reach to assist him, if there should be occasion. Five hundred arquebusiers he gave to the conduct of Lavardin, with orders to post them in the ditches and hedges that were at the entrance of the town, from whence they might incommode such of the enemy as approached too near. As for himself, he not only waited for the enemy with his 100 horse, but even marched to meet them.

At this moment we all gazed upon one another, perfectly astonished at the temerity of a design, which seemed to expose the person of the King to inevitable

table death. No one durſt venture to expoſtulate with him, yet knew not how to be ſilent. At length I was choſen and deputed by the reſt, to repreſent to the King, in the name of us all, the danger to which he expoſed himſelf, and to intreat him to alter his reſolution. This commiſſion I performed in the moſt cautious terms that I could deviſe. "'Tis "the language of fear," replied the King; "from "you, of all others, I would never have expected "it." I prayed him not to think ſo unjuſtly of any of us; and told him, that the only thing we required was, that he would give us what orders he pleaſed, provided he would himſelf retire. This prince confeſſed to me afterwards, that being ſenſibly affected with theſe words, he repented of what he had ſaid to me. He anſwered, that no expreſſions of our fidelity could reach the idea he conceived of it. "But," added he, coldly, and with an air that convinced me that it was uſeleſs to ſpeak to him more, "be you alſo aſſured, that I am not "ſo raſh as you imagine; that I am as much a-"fraid of my ſkin as another; and that I will re-"treat ſo ſeaſonably, that no inconvenience ſhall "happen."

The Prince of Parma could not but look upon an attempt ſo hardy, as a ſnare that was laid for him, to draw his cavalry into an open field where he ſhould meet with the King's, which he ſuppoſed to be concealed, and ſuperior to his. He even ſuſpected a long time, that the King's whole army could not be far off; and having no deſign to engage him, he did not quit his poſt, which was in the centre of his army, where he was ſeated in an uncovered chariot, without arms or boots, and employed in giving orders to reſtrain the ardour of the ſoldiery, who ſuffered with impatience 100 men to inſult 30,000. However, when he was aſſured, by the report of his light horſe and his carabineers, that at preſent he had but 100 horſe in front, and

that if there was any cavalry, it must be on the other side of the valley, he thought he should run no risk by attacking us; which he did with such fury, and at so many places, that we were broke through, and driven back as far as the valley. Here it was that our arquebusiers ought to have posted themselves; and on our arrival, the King cried to them to charge, after having first warned us not to charge, in order that the enemy might suspect an an ambuscade in this place, and stop. In effect, they did stop short; and finding that this cry was followed only with fifty or sixty shots which we fired upon them, they came on again with more obstinacy.

Our arquebusiers, seized with fear, or perhaps willing to chuse a more advantageous ground, had retired much lower than the place that had been marked for them, and they were the principal cause of the misfortune that happened. The enemy's squadrons, encouraged by the little resistance they found, pursued their point, and we could not hinder them from mixing among us. We saw ourselves reduced to the necessity of fighting with this vast multitude with our pistols and swords, in a danger that may be easily imagined; and, indeed, in my opinion, there could not be a greater; for from a hundred we were already reduced to forty. Henry, seeing that none came to assist him to extricate himself out of this bad step, resolved to make his retreat: which, on this occasion, was almost as perilous as his defence, because we had a bridge to pass, and that bridge at a great distance. This prince, with a composure truly admirable, placed himself in the rear of his troop, and made it file off towards the bridge of Aumale, which, by the order he caused to be observed, it passed over without confusion. He was the last that passed, and held firm against the enemy till every one of us was on the other side. That moment he was shot in the reins; and it was a signal happiness, that he received

ceived no more than this one wound, which did not hinder him from continuing to fight on the other side of the bridge, while he was endeavouring to gain the hill; where the 400 horse he had sent thither made so good an appearance, that the Prince of Parma, more than ever persuaded that he only sought to draw him to a battle, forbid his troops to advance, and made them all return to Aumale.

The King, on his side, reached Neuf Châtel, where his wound obliged him to go to bed. The surgeons removed our consternation, by assuring us that it was inconsiderable. He obliged us to come near his bed, and conversed with us familiarly upon the dangers of that day: upon which I observed, as something singular, that among us all, who were in the chamber, there were not two persons who could agree in the recital of the most particular circumstances of the action *. In general, it passed as I have related: what appeared doubtful to me, I have suppressed; but as it is here, one may be certain, that there are few kings whose lives present as much†.

The Prince of Parma's over-prudence hurt him upon this occasion: it hindered him from cutting off our whole squadron, that is to say, from finishing the war that day, by the death or taking of the

* There is scarce any skirmish or battle of which as much may not be said. Although there are a great number of writers, and even contemporaries, who have treated of the military exploits contained in these Memoirs, I cannot meet with two who agree exactly in their descriptions. D'Aubigné, in that of the encounter at Aumale, does not even mention the King's wound, which was the only one he ever received in his life. Matthieu, ibid. p. 100, and our best historians, differ but little from our Memoirs.

† Henry having sent to the Prince of Parma to ask his opinion of the retreat, he replied, that "indeed it was a very fine one; but "that, for his part, he never engaged in any place from whence he "was obliged to retire." Peref. ibid. part 2. It was on this occasion that Du-Plessis-Mornay wrote this pretty letter to the King. "Sire, "in war you have been an Alexander: it is time you should now be "Augustus: it is our glory and duty to die for you; and yours, I dare "tell you, Sire, to live for France," &c. Notes upon the Henriade.

King; for the one or other was inevitable. But he was determined to undertake nothing till he was joined by the Duke of Maienne, not being willing to bear alone all the inconveniencies of a war, of which he was not himself to reap all the fruits.

He was not able to comprehend the cause of this delay in the chief of the league: the suspicions he entertained of it made him suddenly change the march of his army, and take the road back to the Somme. An action excusable in a stranger, who saw himself in the midst of a country, where he was not warring in his own behalf. Henry, who, without considering what was glorious for himself in the last battle, called it only *the error of Aumale*; and being solicitous to repair this heroic error, could not resolve to suffer the Spanish general quietly to retreat. He put off the cure of his wound to another time, and remounting his horse, continued to gall him, very much troubled that he could not do more. But he had a politic general to deal with, who, notwithstanding all his endeavours, presented him always with an infantry in front, which he could not open; and conducted himself with so much wisdom, that it was impossible, even at the passage of the river, to have an encounter with him. The King at length, quitting him at Pontdormy, returned to Neuf-Châtel, to have his wound cured, at the house of M. de Claire; where I was received as a friend and relation. I kept only a valet de chambre, a page, and a footman with me, and sent all the rest of my equipage to my quarters before Rouen.

The success of the siege became more doubtful every day: at last the King was informed, by a courier, that Villars, at the head of 200 musketeers, and 3 or 400 soldiers, had in the night made a furious sally on the side of Darnetal; that he had penetrated even into the King's quarters, where he had cut all the German foot to pieces, and carried off

ſix pieces of cannon, and all the powder; that afterwards, purſuing his point, he had fallen upon the trench, which he attacked behind; had killed there three or 400 men. and put the reſt to flight; in a word, that he did not retire till he had cleared and demoliſhed almoſt all the works of the beſiegers.

This melancholly news recalled the King immediately to Rouen: he was there convinced, that this misfortune was wholly occaſioned by the Marechal de Biron's fault, but although he looked upon it as irreparable, and hated this commander *, he was much upon his guard, not to let any thing appear. The natural hatred of the Catholics of his party againſt the Proteſtants, took this occaſion to inſult the Marechal de Biron, who next to the King, was looked upon as the principal ſupport of the Huguenots. The Catholics ſaid openly, that Heaven would never favour Henry's party, while he continued a heretic, (a ſpeech very ſenſible after all the ſucceſſes he had met with till this very moment!); and that they expoſed themſelves to the divine malediction, by aſſociating with this reprobate body. From thence, animated by their zeal, they formed a deſign of taking up all the Huguenots, who had been interred indiſcriminately with the Catholics, and leaving their carcaſes a prey to the crows. Two things hindered the execution of a deſign as contra-

* There cannot be a ſtronger proof of the reſpect and deference which Henry IV. thought himſelf obliged to ſhew the Marechal Biron, than what this prince ſaid one day to young Chatillon, on a certain occaſion, when he offered him very reaſonable advice, but contrary to the mind of the Marechal: "The goſlings," ſaid he, "would lead the geeſe to the paſture. When your beard is white, "perhaps you may have acquired ſome knowledge. I do not approve "of your ſpeaking ſo freely; that belongs only to my father there," pointing to Biron, who had threatened to retire. "We muſt," purſued he, embracing him, "go all to his ſchool." Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 16.

IV.

ry to religion as to nature itſelf: the difficulty of diſtinguiſhing the bodies, and fear leſt the Proteſtants, who compoſed two thirds of the army, ſhould think their honour engaged to revenge upon the living Catholics an outrage, which, through a zeal for religion, exceeded all others.

The King, who perceived theſe diſpoſitions on both ſides, inſtead of blaming any particular perſon, or ſuffering a diſcontent to appear, which might increaſe the public broils, affected to ſay openly, that the misfortune was not ſo great as they figured to themſelves. In reality, great as it was, it did not appear ſo conſiderable to this prince as a diviſion, which, without the greateſt addreſs upon his part, might either deprive him of all the Catholics in his party, or, on the firſt opportunity, ſet one half againſt the other. It was very hard for this prince, in the midſt of ſo many and ſuch ſenſible diſquietudes, to be obliged to keep all within his own heart, and ſubſtitute unworthy compliances in the place of abſolute commands: but he was not ignorant that the tone of authority, which has the power of ſubjecting all men, when it proceeds from a man known for his ſuperior abilities, has no effect upon minds inflamed and diſunited by religion.

He was alſo perfectly ſenſible, that after the misfortune occaſioned by ſuch bad conduct, nothing now remained to be done but to raiſe the ſiege of Rouen: and he only ſought for a plauſible pretence for doing ſo, without awakening at the ſame time the public diſſenſions. He learned therefore with great joy, that the Prince of Parma, reinforced by the troops of the Duke of Maienne and Sfondrate, was returning haſtily to give him battle. He thought this a favourable opportunity to leſſen the ſhame of raiſing the ſiege, and to turn againſt the common enemy the fury of two parties which were rending his army in pieces.

That he might gain time to abandon his lines without confusion, and regulate the order of his march, he sent Givry to throw himself into Neuf-Châtel, which the enemy would be obliged to take before they could come to Rouen. This, although a place of sufficient strength, did not hold out near so long as he had expected: the cause of which is difficult to be assigned; but the whole blame was cast upon Palcheux, who was much weaker, and worse sustained, than Givry*, although an old officer, and distinguished by his actions and his wounds, he sustained all the violence of the storm; and was put under arrest at Dieppe, in my opinion, very unjustly. The relations and friends whom the garrison of Neuf-Châtel had in the party of the league, seemed to me to be the true cause that the place made so slight a resistance. It surrendered in the middle of March. The King, by his care and diligence, repaired this misfortune, and drew off his troops from Rouen without receiving the least check †; and putting himself at their head, advanced without loss of time to that side on which he knew the Prince of Parma was approaching the city.

On his arrival at a plain, where the enemy's army must pass, he waited for it; and as soon as it appeared, sent and offered the Prince of Parma battle. The Prince accepted it with apparent joy, although inwardly he was very averse. He was afraid of engaging with a general such as he knew Henry to be, and of exposing to the event of a

* Neuf-Châtel might have been taken in an hour's time, says Matthieu; who nevertheless, as well as the Duke of Sully, blamed Givry for surrendering without making greater resistance. Vol. 2. p. 102.

† This siege cost the King a great many soldiers. In those times it was reported that he lost 3000 men, and the besieged only 500. The Earl of Essex challenged Adm. de Villars to single combat, who replied, that his quality of Governor forbade him. See the Chron. Noven. and Mezerai.

battle

battle the reputation of the moſt able warrior in Europe, which a long ſeries of great actions had acquired him among his partiſans. Finding himſelf now in ſuch a ſituation as that he might be forced to fight, he had recourſe to one of the moſt artful ſtratagems imaginable to avoid it: he cauſed the beſt troops amongſt all his battalions to advance, and compoſed of them a front of battle; behind which he drew up, as without deſign, all his cavalry. Under favour of this front of infantry, ordered as uſual for an action, and ſeeming to wait only for the ſignal, all his cavalry, the remainder of his foot, and the whole baggage, entered into the defiles, which ſerved for an outlet to the enemy's camp; and, covered by hills and buſhes, which the Prince of Parma knew marvellouſly well how to take advantage of, they ſaw themſelves very ſoon out of reach of the King's army, who were ignorant of all that paſſed behind the camp. This front of infantry, which had no depth, taking the ſame route after the others, in four and twenty hours all diſappeared; nor was it poſſible, on account of the ground being full of narrow ſtreights and necks of mountains, to diſorder the enemy's retreat, or to engage with his rearguard.

The Prince of Parma was extremely rejoiced, that, without the leaſt loſs, he had reached the very gates of Rouen. He knew no perſon would be hardy enough to attempt to ſtorm him under the walls of this city; his deſign, therefore, was to ſtay there about ſix weeks, which was a ſufficient time to refreſh his army, and afterwards to march back to the Somme by Neuf-Châtel, Aumale, St. Valery, and Pontdormy; confining all the expeditions of this campaign to the advantage of putting this capital, and the reſt of the cities that kept firm to the league, out of a condition to apprehend any thing from the King's army. Henry penetrated into

to this general's designs; and forbearing obstinately to make head against an army so advantageously posted, suffered the Prince of Parma to enjoy his triumph, and laid another snare for him. He disbanded his whole army, as if it had now become useless to him, or as if he had been constrained to it by necessity. Part of it was dispersed in Arques, Dieppe, Gournai, Andely, Gisors, Magny, and other distant places; and part had Mante, Meulan, and the adjoining places for its quarters: the rest he spread about Pont de l' Arche, Evreux, Passy, Vernon, Conches, and Breteuil, and fixed himself at Louviers. This conduct was sufficiently justified by appearances: it would not have been long possible to have subsisted a numerous army, had he kept them together; but by the disposition of his quarters, particularly the last, where he had distributed all his best troops, and by the promise he had exacted from his officers to repair to Pont de l'Arche at the first order, it was easy for him to reunite his army in a short time. This separation, he reckoned, would make the Spanish general perfectly secure, and furnish him with some means of surprising him, at least in his retreat.

In effect, the Prince of Parma, fearing that Rouen, surrounded by so large an army, would be speedily famished, and to whom it was represented that there would be no danger in spreading himself over the country, made part of his troops advance to Ponteau-demer: D'Hacqueville delivered up this city to him cowardly enough; and the King not only seemed to be indifferent about it, but feigned moreover an ignorance of the enemy's design upon Caudebec, which greatly annoyed the city of Rouen; and neglecting to send supplies to La Garde, who was governor of it, suffered this place to be taken. He observed, with extreme pleasure, that the enemy, after these two conquests, attracted by the conveniency of lodgings and provisions, extend-

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ed themſelves along the Seine, below Rouen, as far as they could. The Spaniſh General, however, was not without ſuſpicion of ſome ſecret deſign in this inactivity, ſo unuſual with Henry; and doubtleſs, had he been the ſole commander of this army, he would not have hazarded ſo much. But he repoſed himſelf upon the aſſurances of his colleague, the Duke of Maïenne, who was then detained in Rouen, by an indiſpoſition, that no misfortune could befal him; and he believed it, upon a ſuppoſition that he was better acquainted with the ſtate and diſpoſition of the countries.

The King, finding the enemy contributed of themſelves to ſerve his deſigns, reſolved to haſten their execution. In leſs than eight days he aſſembled 20,000 foot and 8000 horſe, with whom he ſpeedily advanced to Varicarville and Fontaine-le-bourg. All the paſſages between Rouen and Caudebec he ſhut up, and began with revenging himſelf completely for the taking this place and Pont-eaudemer, by cutting off from the troops which were there, all communication with the body of the army, which put them wholly into his diſcretion. He afterwards came in perſon with 10,000 foot and 3000 troopers, to attack, without delay, the enemy's vanguard, commanded by the Duke of Guiſe. The ſurpriſe into which his ſudden arrival threw this troop, rendered the conqueſt of them eaſy. The Duke's ſquadrons were broke through at the firſt onſet, and he was obliged to fly, with precipitation towards the body of the battalions, leaving with a great number of the ſlain, all the baggage, which was conſiderable, in the power of the vanquiſher.

The Prince of Parma, ſtruck as with a thunderbolt at this news, applied himſelf wholly to ſecuring his other quarters, by placing the Duke of Guiſe at Yvetot, and in fortifying the camp, in which he lodged his diſperſed troops, on all ſides.

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He was desirous of quartering all the army there; but as this camp was too small to contain it, he commanded the rest not to remove far from it, to guard their posts with great care, and to keep themselves very close. After this precaution, which he did not think sufficient, to support all the lodgements spread around his camp, he posted 3000 men in a wood which bounded them, fortified this wood all round with intrenchments, and joined it by a line of communication with the camp. The last step the King had taken made him extremely formidable to the Prince of Parma; but this prince thought to escape him by his great foresight, and diligence in going where-ever his presence was necessary: he was again mistaken. The next day the King ordered the Baron of Biron to attack the wood with a body of 8000 infantry, composed of an equal number of English, Dutch, and Germans, to animate them by emulation to excel each other, and caused them to be supported by 600 troopers, completely armed. The attack lasted three hours; at the end of which the wood was carried. Those who defended it, seeing themselves broke through, fled in disorder to the fortified camp, after having lost above 800 of their men. Their flight exposed the greatest part of the lodgments, particularly that of Yvetot, where the Prince of Parma thought he had inclosed, as in a place of asylum, the Duke of Guise, with the same vanguard that had been so badly handled already. Henry, as if he had a personal hatred to the Duke of Guise, hastened to reconnoitre the quarter of Yvetot; and judging by the alarm, and the confused cries he heard there, that their consternation was not yet over, he fell upon this quarter with 400 musketeers and 1000 foot, armed with pistols and halberts, and attacked it in several places at once. The Prince of Parma, who had not expected such rapid execution, saw his whole vanguard upon the point of being put to the sword;

and taking counsel only of necessity, ran thither himself, and vigorously sustained our efforts, till the troops of this whole quarter had gained the fortified camp. He lost there 7 or 800 men, almost all private soldiers. The greatest misfortune was, that in this action, wherein he behaved like a man who knew as well how to fight as to command, he received a very dangerous wound in the arm *.

Night approached before this battle was ended. The King, instead of taking any rest after a day so well improved, employed the night wholly in preparing himself for greater advantages. Judging therefore, that the enemy's army, numerous indeed, and covered with intrenchments, yet dis-

* The little reliance one can have on the exactness of these military details which the historians give us, is shewn particularly in this, in which I have observed a great many contradictions amongst them, with regard to the incampments, and the number and date of the encounters. The author of these Memoirs relates all these expeditions in such a manner, that he seems to allow but three or four days for actions which could not, and were not, performed in less than three weeks. He can no otherwise be justified, than by supposing that he intended to give a slight notion only of this campaign. D'Aubigné, either because he was ignorant of the facts, or had no design to relate them minutely, gives room for the same mistake, as our Memoirs, vol. 3. book 3. c. 15. It is in De Thou, Davila, Matthieu, Cayet, and the Memoirs of the league for 1592, that we must look for them; although, as I have just said, their relations differ in many circumstances. According to the Memoirs of the league, which, in my opinion, merit most to be credited, the King defeated the Duke of Guise on the 28th of April, and another body of troops on the 1st of May; on the 5th attacked the fortifications before the camp; and on the 10th, at five o'clock in the morning, began the great attack, in which the Prince of Parma received this dangerous wound, vol. 5. De Thou will have it, that it was at the taking of Caude. bec that the Prince of Parma was wounded, and that he did not pass the Seine till the 22d of May. Book 103. Cayet is of the same opinion; vol. 2. b. 4. p. 82. et seqq. Matthieu blames Henry IV. for not taking the Duke of Maienne prisoner at the skirmish of Yvetot, and with as little reason, for avoiding a decisive battle. p. 109. The King is by some others accused of still greater faults, in being ignorant of the Prince of Parma's preparations to pass the river, and with not knowing how to prevent him.

mayed, and half vanquiſhed, would keep cloſe within their camp, where their number would hurt them more than it could ſerve them, he heſitated not a moment in undertaking to force it. That readineſs which governed all the actions of this prince, was in him not only the effect of nature, but the fruit of reading, in particular the lives of Cæſar and Scipio, whom he ſtudied preferably to all the conquerors of antiquity. He drew out in the night ſix pieces of cannon, which he pointed againſt the fortification of the camp, that he might make uſe of them at the dawn of day. He viſited his whole army; and kept it in ſuch a diſpoſition, that it might be drawn out at this hour at the ſame place, in order of battle. His commands were executed with the greateſt exactneſs: his former ſucceſſes gave an authority to all his words, that made the moſt mutinous docile.

Here I cannot refuſe all my praiſes to the Prince of Parma for an action, which, in my opinion, can never be ſufficiently admired. His camp was between Rouen and Caudebec, at ſome diſtance from the Seine, over which, in all that interval, there was not any bridge; yet the next morning there was nothing to be found any longer in this camp. All the troops who lay there, if I may ſpeak ſo, heaped one upon another, thoſe that were in Caudebec, and, in general, all that were ſpread about the neighbourhood of it, had tranſported themſelves to the other ſide of the river. Can it appear otherwiſe than a fable, or an illuſion? Scarce could the King and his army believe their own eyes?

The Prince of Parma had foreſeen the King's reſolution to attack him in his camp the next day; and he did not doubt, after what had paſſed, but it would be forced, and his whole army delivered up to the mercy of the victors. A forſight uſeleſs, and only productive of deſpair to any other, whoſe

whose prudence had not beforehand provided a resource. But, notwithstanding all the Duke of Maienne's representations, he had not delivered himself up so entirely to that security he would have inspired him with, as to neglect any means that might extricate him from a bad step, if it should happen that he should be one day inveigled in a country where there were few resources, as on the borders of the Seine below Rouen.

These measures had been to provide himself secretly with all the boats he could find, which he caused to be brought near Caudebec. It was to this precaution, which few generals had been capable of, that the Prince of Parma owed the safety of his troops, and the preservation of his glory, of his reputation, and perhaps of his life. He caused these boats to be laid over the river in the night; and notwithstanding the disorder of his camp, and the inconvenience arising from his wound, he gave such good orders, that a bridge was built that very night, over which his whole army and baggage passed securely. This we received particular information of the next day at Caudebec, which surrendered as soon as we approached. He only deserves the reputation of a consummate warrior, who, before a battle, is as cautious as if he was persuaded he should be conquered, and in it behaves as if he was sure of conquering.

On the King's side, the first moment only was lost in surprise; all the others were employed in taking speedy measures to deprive the Spanish general of part of the fruits of his dexterity. Henry, after having well considered his attempt, and removed all doubts of success from his own mind, held a council of war, and there proposed to pass his army over Pont de l'Arche, or at Vernon, and pursue the enemy without loss of time. Some of us, though indeed a very small number, supported this sentiment as it deserved. If it had been followed,

lowed, this campaign had perhaps been the laſt of the war. But one may ſay, that the Prince of Parma, having done more than could have been expected from humanity, obliged fortune now to come over to his ſide; for, upon the propoſal of marching the army to Pont de l'Arche, a cry was raiſed in the council, and a kind of general mutiny, as if the King had made the moſt unreaſonable propoſition in the world. The Catholics, the Proteſtants, and foreigners, ſeemed to outvie each other in ſearching for difficulties to oppoſe it: they cried, that the Prince of Parma's army, being in a level country, might reach the gates of Paris * in four or five days; whereas it would be as long before we could even gain Pont de l'Arche. They repreſented to the King, that the way through which they muſt paſs being full of foreſts, mountains, and defiles, the army could reach the rendezvous but in ſmall diviſions; and that, although it ſhould have time to come up with that of the league, the fatigue of ſo troubleſome a march would make it impoſſible for them to attack it. In a word, they all treated this propoſal, in itſelf ſo ſenſible, as a deſign equally ridiculous and chimerical.

The King, more enraged at the ſecret intentions of thoſe who talked to him in this manner, than the purport of their diſcourſe could not hinder himſelf from replying, with ſome bitterneſs, that all theſe difficulties were only unſurmountable to thoſe to whom fear, and a diſlike of fatigue, made them appear ſo. He made it evidently appear, that they might reach Pont de l'Arche in two days, and Vernon in four, from whence they might continually ſend detachments of 4 or 500 horſe, to retard the Prince of Parma's march; to which alſo the

* It is acknowledged by De Thou, that the King might have ſtopt this army, by ſending his cavalry to ſhut up the paſſage to Pont de-l'Arche. It is very unjuſtly, as we find here, that he charges Henry IV. with this error.

many

many obſtacles he would meet with would contribute, ſuch as the paſſage over the river of Eure; Louviers, Paſſy, Maintenon, Nogent le Roi, and Chartres, all being ſufficient to oblige him to go greatly out of his way: that the enemy had no bridge open to them but thoſe of Aquigny, Cocherel, Serify, and two or three others which lay out of their road, and that it would not be impoſſible to break or burn part of theſe bridges, before the enemy arrived.

Theſe reaſons rendered the thing not only plauſible, but palpable; and it may be ſaid, that the general officers, by refuſing to yield to them, reſiſted reaſon with full conviction. And this naturally ſuggeſts two reflections: Firſt, how it happened, that a prince, who in all his expeditions made uſe of mercenaries, picked up here and there, of different countries, manners, religions and intereſts, often a very ſmall number, and always ready to mutiny, ſhould be able to perform what is related of him in his hiſtory. The ſecond is, what this prince would have done, if, inſtead of ſuch troops, he had had a conſiderable number of ſoldiers under his command, docile, united, diſciplined, obedient to his will, conſtantly attached to his perſon, and willing to ſacrifice their lives for him; in a word, ſuch troops as thoſe conquerors had, who have been ſo highly exalted? If theſe reflections are not made every time they offer, it is becauſe there is ground for them in every page: and, beſides, no one can be ignorant, that we ſhould judge very ill of merit and abilities by the ſucceſs, if we did not at the ſame time judge of the ſucceſs by the obſtacles.

It is ſcarce poſſible to conceive a reaſon for that invincible obſtinacy which the general officers in the King's army diſcovered upon this occaſion, in oppoſing ſo wiſe an advice, unleſs it was owing to that ſame diſpoſition of minds which I have juſt now mentioned. If a ſmall number of French Proteſt-

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nants be excepted, whose fidelity was unquestionable, and most of the English troops, who seemed to act sincerely, all the rest of the King's army Protestants, Catholics, and foreigners, served him without affection, often with regret, and perhaps wished more than they feared that he might suffer some considerable loss. Notwithstanding this disaffection to their leader, there were occasions when all these persons were as it were forced to second him, and to do their duty. Such had been the attack of the Duke of Guise, the encounter at the wood, and the battle that followed it. Such would have been the attack of the Prince of Parma's camp, if he had waited for us; for at that time all the King's operations, which he knew well how to connect with each other, were executed with such rapidity, that he did not suffer their courage, when once heated, to have time to cool, nor their minds time to return to their first fashion of thinking. Moreover, the conduct of a small number of brave men is alone sufficient to raise emulation in a whole army, and force it to follow their example, when they are once engaged: but this fierceness, and this ardor, once abated, their former ideas awakened, more strongly, and they were so much the more capable of imbittering their minds, as they then became sensible that they had done the very contrary of what they intended to do.

Unhappily the chiefs of the royal army were occupied in this wicked train of reflection, when the King made a motion to pursue the Prince of Parma. The Catholics, who had a little time before publicly declared, that they were resolved to withdraw their assistance, if the King did not abjure Calvinism, within a certain term which they prescribed to him, and to reunite themselves with the rest of France, there to appoint a King of their own religion: these Catholics, I say, could not relish a project, which, by making the King master of his enemies,

mies, would put him into a condition of giving them law, inſtead of receiving it from them.

The Huguenots, who feared this change of religion as much as the Catholics endeavoured to enhance the neceſſity of it, took umbrage at every thing, and always thought they were upon the point of being ſacrificed, ſo long as the King did not ſacrifice to them that intereſt that made him court the Catholics. Through an apprehenſion that, by exterminating the league, they ſhould only labour for the Catholics againſt themſelves, they the more eaſily accommodated themſelves to a ſtate which would at leaſt leave the balance even, and render them neceſſary: and, in caſe the King ſhould one day forſake their religion, they were reſolved to take ſuch meaſures beforehand, as might make them be feared both by the Catholics, and by him whom they gave them for a maſter.

Theſe precautions were, to procure ſo great a number of towns to be yielded to them, to obtain ſuch favourable edicts, and ſo many other aſſurances, that the King, although a Catholic, ſhould find it his policy and his intereſt to be well with them. It was towards this end that the Duke of Bouillon, who was the principal mover of the party, directed all his views, and to which he made the 5 or 600 German horſe under his command ſubſervient. On the ſlighteſt occaſion of diſcontent, or rather on the firſt caprice, they broke into murmurs, and threatened, as they did then, that they would return immediately to Germany. The King, being obliged to behave in ſuch a manner as to ſatisfy equally ſuch oppoſite parties, was greatly perplexed by his endeavours to choak theſe ſeeds of diviſion: he was deſirous of avoiding an open rupture, or at leaſt of protracting it, till he ſhould be out of danger. It was this perplexity that reduced him to compliances and proceedings, very prejudicial to the ſtate of his affairs.

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There is no labyrinth like this complication of intereſts which divided the different parties that compoſed the King's army. I have yet but touched upon the ſmalleſt part. The Catholics, beſides their common object, had each of them a particular intereſt, which was, to make Henry purchaſe their perſonal ſervices very dear; and he was convinced, that, without this ſatisfaction, they would not bring affairs to a general concluſion. The intereſts of the French Calviniſts were not entirely the ſame with thoſe of the foreign Proteſtants. There were certain times when the Engliſh, who alone were united, agreed among themſelves, that, in all the dangers they were expoſed to, they were actuated by a principle of generoſity, which, whatever turn affairs might take, would bring them no advantage; and, while this reflection employed their minds, they would look upon themſelves as madmen, who ſacrificed their lives purely to gratify the paſſions of foreigners, and demand leave to retire, as they did upon this occaſion, when they abſolutely refuſed to engage beyond the Seine, ſeeing neither any ſecurity nor reſource for them in a country ſo diſtant from the ſea. To exaſperate them more, and to ſtrengthen their ſuſpicions, the Catholics ſeized thoſe moments to perſuade them, that the King's abjuration was become a point abſolutely neceſſary.

With regard to the other foreigners, who acted only as they were paid, d'O, and theſe ſame Catholics, had a ſecret equally ſhort and infallible, and they made uſe of it frequently: this was to keep the King in want of money. Therefore, when the Swiſs and German horſe were aſked if they would purſue the Prince of Parma, they replied only by demanding their pay; proteſting, that if it was not inſtantly given them, they would not paſs the river, but to return home, or to engage in the ſervice of the league.

Even the Spaniards, the King's declared enemies, had

had alſo their intrigues, and took part in this prince's affairs. At this very time they made a propoſal to him, not only to withdraw their troops, but even to lend them to him, to ſerve him againſt the league, in a word, to put the crown upon his head, provided he would yield Burgundy and Britany to them for ever. In order to aſſiſt the King to vanquiſh theſe ſcruples which the making ſuch liberality might raiſe in his mind, they recalled to his remembrance the example of Francis I. who, they ſaid, in a ſituation leſs preſſing, had abandoned to them the * ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois; and that of Henry II. who had given Spain more towns † than were contained in theſe two provinces. The King had ſufficient reaſon to believe, that a negotiation ſo unſeaſonable was a piece of Spaniſh artifice, in the taſte of Hagemau, which tended only to create more confuſion, and render him ſuſpected both by the Proteſtants and Catholics; but, altho' this propoſition had been really ſincere, he had a motive for rejecting it infinitely ſtronger, which was the implacable hatred he bore to Spain, and the houſe of Auſtria.

At laſt, even the league, for ſome view or other, entered into the reſolutions that were in the King's council. Villeroi, Jeannin, Zamet, and others, offered Henry, in the name of the league, to give him the crown upon certain conditions. It is very difficult to gueſs the true motive of this ſtep: whe-

* By the treaty which was paſſed during the impriſonment of this prince at Madrid, Feb. 25, 1526, Francis I. reſigned his claim there likewiſe to the duchies of Burgundy and Milan, to the kingdom of Naples, &c.; but this treaty was declared null by the States of the kingdom aſſembled at Cognac.

† By the treaty of Château Cambreſis, in January 1559, after the battle of St. Quentin, for three cities only of Ham, Calais, and St. Quentin, France yielded to Spain and her allies more than 150 fortified places. The Conſtable Montmorency's jealouſy of the Duke of Guiſe, and his eagerneſs to be freed from his confinement, made him patch up this treaty, at which the whole kingdom murmured.

ther diſguſt at the haughtineſs and inſolence of the Spaniards, an artifice to procure new ſupplies, or a deſign to alienate the Proteſtants from the King. The only evidence of the ſincerity of this propoſition, was the very hard conditions that were annexed to it: I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to expatiate upon this ſubject.

The leaſt conſequence of this chaos of views and intereſts was the ſpreading over every affair an impenetrable obſcurity, and creating in every mind jealouſy and diſtruſt. It is indeed ſurpriſing, that, after this, the Proteſtants and Catholics could live together in the ſame camp, without expoſing the King to the grief of ſeeing them mutiny, or of cutting one another's throats. Thoſe who in a prince ſought what is termed policy, might here find ample room to praiſe the prudence of a King who kept ſo many jarring intereſts united, and to admire his diſcernment in diſtinguiſhing thoſe who acted with fidelity towards him: nor ought it to paſs unobſerved, as a finiſhing ſtroke, that ſo many ſecret movements preſented to view an outſide tranquil and uniform. Falſehood aſſumed all the ſemblance of truth, and enmity concealed itſelf under the maſk of friendſhip. Thoſe who pretended the greateſt affection to the King, either betrayed him, or laboured only to advance their own intereſt.

It would be uſeleſs to diſſemble, that the Marechal de Biron often played this game, either through malice at being refuſed the government of Rouen, or deſire of protracting the war*, or a diſpoſition that took pleaſure in creating over all diſcord and confuſion. He was never known to agree with the general opinion, or to yield to the King's inclinations. He inceſſantly contradicted, either

* "What then, raſcal! would ſt thou ſend us to plant cabbages for "Biron?" ſaid this marechal to his ſon, who propoſed to him an expedient to finiſh the war at one blow. Perefixe, part 2. ibid.

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for the pleasure of contradicting, or for that of obliging every one to embrace his opinion. In the council, when the question that has occasioned this digression was debated, he was neither for pursuing the enemy, nor for staying in Normandy: he thought it was necessary to go before and wait for the Prince of Parma on the frontiers of Picardy, through which he would be obliged to pass in his return to Flanders. A project singularly chimerical, which was immediately applauded by the Protestants, who were subjected to all the inclinations of this marechal.

The King saw plainly, that all efforts to retain such discontented troops in his service would be in vain. The campaign was drawing towards an end, and a siege so long and fatiguing as that of Rouen made the soldiers extremely desirous of repose. The King was resolved to grant it them: he followed that maxim, That a prince should always have the appearance of doing voluntarily even what he is constrained to do. He spoke to the foreigners, who wanted to return home, and gave them permission. He distributed all the money he had amongst them, leaving himself without any to supply his most essential expences: and though they were not wholly satisfied in this respect, yet they had reason to be pleased with the noble manner in which he praised and thanked them for their services. As he had left Normandy in peace, and (except Rouen, and a few other cities) entirely reduced under his obedience; and as there was no reason to apprehend, that the army of the league would come thither soon, he permitted all the officers of his army, as well Catholics as Protestants, to retire to their habitations; and to lay the Marechal de Biron under a necessity of not abandoning him with his Protestants, which, after this permission, he foresaw he would do, he declared, that he would abide by his advice, and in a few days would set forwards to

Picardy; not that he really entered into this marechal's views, but as he had not yet ſhewn himſelf in that province, nor in Champagne, he thought it neceſſary to make himſelf known there, and to endeavour to conciliate the affections of the people towards him. A more ſecret motive * contributed to favour and confirm this reſolution; and Biron, who knew and flattered the King's weakneſſes, drew from thence his beſt reaſon.

BOOK V.

WHile the King, with a few Proteſtants, purſued the road to Picardy, the Prince of Parma loſt not a moment in regaining Paris, from whence, without any difficulty, he returned to Flanders, but little ſatisfied with his campaign, diſcontented to the laſt degree with the league and its chiefs, and much troubled at a wound which he perceived was incurable.

It is in general and particular hiſtories that a detail of all that was performed this year, and the preceding, in different places of the kingdom, muſt be ſought for. The attack of St. Dennis †, where the Chevalier d'Aumale loſt his life; the taking Stenay and Dun, in Lorrain; the defeat of the Sieur

* His paſſion for Mademoiſelle d'Eſtrées. He ſometimes ſtole from his army to go and ſee her. He once diſguiſed himſelf like a country man, paſſed through the midſt of the enemy's guards, and came to her houſe, not without running the riſk of being taken. Notes upon the Henriade.

† Claude de Lorrain, knight of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, having ſurpriſed this city at the head of a body of troops in the ſervice of the league, De Vic ran and beat him back. The Chevalier d'Aumale was killed in this encounter.

d'Aumbliſe,

d'Ambliſe, with the Duke of Bouillon's † other martial exploits, either before or after his marriage; the loſs of the battle of Craon*; the defeat of the Sieur de la Guerche, and the blockade of Poitiers, are the principal actions, to which an infinite number of others in Provence, Dauphiné, and Poitou, may be added. From the departure of the Prince of Parma, to the negotiations which preceded the King's coronation, many things happened worthy of remark, and may likewiſe be found there. I have, in another place, juſtified my ſilence in all theſe reſpects, and the liberty I allow myſelf of ſpecifying only the moſt important facts; among which are thoſe that regard the Count of Soiſſons, and the Duke of Epernon; and even upon theſe the narration I have juſt made has not permitted me to expatiate.

The Count of Soiſſons, after having abandoned the King's party, and been at open variance with him at Bearn, ſtill retained hopes of marrying the Princeſs, his ſiſter, of whoſe affections he always remained maſter. By the death of Henry III. to whom he had laſt attached himſelf, he was left in the King's army, whom he ſerved without affection,

† The Duke of Bouillon took Stenay the ſame day that his nuptials were celebrated. Africanus d'Anglure d'Ambliſe, general of the troops of Lorrain, coming to attack Beaumont in Argonne, a city three leagues from Sedan, which the Duke of Bouillon had taken from the Duke of Lorrain, Bouillon defeated his troops under the walls of the place, and D'Ambliſe was ſlain.

* This battle was fought before the city of Craon in Anjou, which was then beſieged by the royaliſt troops; they were compoſed of French, Engliſh, and Germans, to the number of 7 or 8000 men, commanded by the Duke of Montpenſier, the Prince of Conty, the Duke of Damville, &c. who were defeated by the Duke of Mercœur, at the head of the Spaniſh troops, and thoſe of the league. About the ſame time, George de la Villeguier, Viſcount de la Guerche, attempting to paſs the Vienne, a river in Poitou, was defeated at the head of a ſmall body of troops of the league, and himſelf drowned in the river. See a relation of the blocade of Poitiers, and the ſeveral ſkirmiſhes before this city, in d'Aubigné, vol. 3. book 3. c. 11. For all theſe expeditions conſult likewiſe the hiſtorians above cited.

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and only till he had resolved upon some new project, or till some occasion favourable to his love presented itself. He thought he found one in the siege of Rouen, an enterprise, in his opinion, of too much importance to afford the King leisure to occupy himself in other affairs. He feigned a journey to Nogent, and, stealing away from the camp, went secretly, and with the utmost expedition, to Bearn, in order to accomplish his marriage there unknown to Henry. But he was one of those persons whose most inconsiderable actions were strictly observed by the King. This prince penetrating into the Count's designs, sent such orders there, that the Count, upon his arrival at Bearn, found the Princess Catharine indeed in the most favourable dispositions towards him, and some say that she had herself solicited him to take this journey: but it was quite otherwise with the council, which the King had established, in his absence, to conduct this province. The Sieur de Pangeas, who was at the head of this council, made head against him, shewed him the orders he had received from the King, raised the country upon him, and obliged him at last to return to France, with the disgrace of having failed in his attempt; for which the Count could take no other vengeance on Pangeas, than by throwing him down a stair-case one day, when he met him in the King's apartments at Pontoise.

By all these strokes the Count of Soissons's character may be easily understood; to finish the picture, let it be added, that there never was a more blind or more boundless ambition. To him all new events appeared as so many steps whereby to arrive at his ends, and engaged him in new measures, which threw him at so much the greater distance from them, as he imagined he approached nearer. He himself knew not well the object his wishes aimed at; restless, uneasy, and jealous, his ambition was fed by every thing, and drew advantage from nothing.

nothing. Nature had given him qualities quite contrary to those of the King; he resembled him neither in humour nor manners. The King was open and frank; the Count of Soissons, to a mind naturally dry and improvident, added an effectual phlegm, and all that is despicable in dissimulation. He endeavoured to impose upon the world an assumed seriousness for an air of grandeur; laboured to appear impenetrable, and mistook the frozen countenance which false gravity wears for respect. Pomp and apparel was perfectly his taste: in a word, ambition had taken possession of his heart, and his whole exterior conduct was made up of ceremonials and formality. The near affinity this character bore to that of the Spaniards in general, was perhaps the source of that antipathy the King conceived for him, and which he could never surmount.

As for the Duke of Epernon *, ambition was not his

* John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, Duke of Epernon, Colonel-General of France, Governor of Guienne, Metz, and the county of Meslin. He died in 1642, aged 88 years; and, as the author of his life observes, he was the oldest duke and peer of France, the oldest officer of the crown, general of an army, governor of a province, knight of any order, and counsellor of state, and almost the oldest man of rank in his time. He was called the "King's wardrobe, because of the great number of posts which he possessed in this prince's household. There is recorded a very fine answer of his to Henry IV. who one day, in anger, reproached him with not loving him. The Duke of Epernon, says his historian, without being surprised at the King's rage, answered coolly, but with great gravity, "Sire, your "Majesty has not a more faithful servant than myself in the king-"dom; I would rather die, than fail in the least part of my duty to "you; but, Sire, as for friendship, your Majesty well knows that is "only to be acquired by friendship." The King, who equally knew how to admire great actions, and speeches of this kind, converted all his indignation into esteem, &c. Life of the Duke of Epernon, p. 225. The character which is here given of him by the Duke of Sully, is rather too disadvantageous; however, it would not be easy to refute what he says. All the historians agree with him, in charging the Duke of Epernon with a boundless ambition: and his correspondence with Spain is proved by several letters of the Cardinal d'Ossat. As for his extraction, "Patrem," says Bosbequius, "habuit bello egregium, avum tabellionem sive notarium." Epist. 17.

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his only and predominant paſſions; he was likewiſe actuated by an unconquerable pride; an inſolence, or rather a natural ferocity, which ſhewed itſelf at the firſt inſtant. Ambition, 'tis ſaid, make uſe of various methods to accompliſh its deſigns. Epernon, upon this footing, could not be an ambitious man; for he knew only one way, which was that haughtineſs by which he expected to carry all before him. In a word, ambition was, in him, but a natural love of independence, inſpired by hardneſs of heart, miſanthropy, and a preſumption that made him conſider himſelf above condeſcenſion and recompenſe. He hated the King, becauſe he hated the whole world; and, without doubt, there were many moments when he was not too well ſatisfied with himſelf. A conſtant diſobedience to his ſuperiors, an ungainly intercourſe with his equals, and a cruel and unſupportable conduct towards his inferiors, make up the reſt of this character.

Epernon, finding that his enterpriſes had not the ſucceſs his pride had promiſed him, was obliged to alter his behaviour, and ſometimes, though but ſeldom, behaved courteouſly to thoſe whom he might have occaſion for; but even his very careſſes (if that phraſe may be allowed when ſpeaking of him) had a ſort of ſpleen and contempt in them: ſo that if he hated the world, he was equally hated by it: no one ſerved him from any other motive than fear, which was the cauſe that, with great diſpoſitions for war, and in a ſituation which might have made them uſeful, he ruined his affairs. Provence and Dauphiné held for him, and for La-Valette his brother. Theſe provinces, whoſe governor, be-

On the contrary, according to Father Valſſette, he deſcended from William de Nogaret, famous for his quarrels with the Pope in the reign of Philip le Bel. Conſult likewiſe our genealogiſts.

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fore him, had been the grand prior *, the natural brother of their three laſt Kings, deſpiſed him firſt for his extraction, and hated him after for his cruelty. They were rejoiced when Epernon (who, when Henry III. was living, would not remove far from the court) ſent them La-Valette in his ſtead, who made himſelf agreeable to Provence, and ſerved the King with fidelity. Henry III. becoming acquainted with the true character of his favourite, began to be apprehenſive of him himſelf; he diſgraced Epernon, and had thoughts even of putting him under an arreſt at Angouleme. La-Valette, on this occaſion loſt his government; but all was reſtored to him after the murder of the Duke of Guiſe, which laid Henry III. under the neceſſity of ſtrengthening himſelf with every one whom he could engage in his party, at any price whatever. After the death of this prince, Epernon, whoſe vanity would not ſuffer him to obey the King of Navarre, quitted him at Pontoiſe, notwithſtanding all the inſtances he made him by M. de Bellegarde and Roquelaure to return, and all the prayers he himſelf employed. To oppoſe a King was a circumſtance too flattering to his pride, and in his government of Provence he forgot nothing that might contribute to it. He was the firſt amongſt the nobility to ſign the King of Navarre's excluſion from the crown. It will not be raſh to judge, by Epernon, of the ſincerity of this motive of religion, with which it was then ordinary to cloak themſelves, in withdrawing from lawful authority.

The remainder of the Duke of Epernon's hiſtory will give a ſuperficial knowledge of the affairs of the provinces in the ſouth of France. He there experienced great reverſes: the two brothers aſſiſting each other mutually, were often worſted, and could not prevent three or four conſiderable parties from

* Henry, Count of Angouleme, ſon of Henry II. and of —— Livingſton, a Scotch lady.

being formed in Dauphiné and Provence, which oppoſed them there, without reckoning one in each of the great towns, which endeavoured to make themſelves independent. The Duke of Savoy, and the Duke of Nemours his brother, carried on intrigues there; and their party became very powerful, after the King of Spain had permitted the Duke of Savoy, who was his ſon-in-law, and whom he vigorouſly ſupported, to be acknowledged Count of Provence, and hold this fief of his crown. In the midſt of their ſucceſſes, theſe two princes met with a formidable adverſary, that ſtopped them in their career, and reduced their party to ineffectual menaces. This was Leſdiguieres, remarkable for his valour and good fortune againſt the Duke of Savoy. He always continued faithful to the King, and could never be reproached with having appropriated to himſelf the fruits of his actions, nor of having coveted the ſovereignty of Dauphiné. Perhaps he only wiſhed that the King might long have occaſion for his aſſiſtance, and never come into this province. Meſſ. de Montmorency and d'Ornano gave much ſtrength to this party. The others were formed by the Duke of Joyeuſe, the Counteſs of Sault, and the Count of Carces, with the Sieur de Vins. Lewis d'Aix and Cajoux, Ligny, Martinengue, and many others, raiſed tumults there, and filled theſe countries with diviſion and carnage; but their faction did not yet extend itſelf beyond the bounds of one city. La-Valette was hardly able to ſupport himſelf longer in Dauphiné, when he was ſlain at the ſiege of a little inconſiderable town. The Duke of Epernon immediately invaded this government: for form's ſake, he demanded letters-patent for it from the King, who durſt not refuſe them to him; but upon this, inſtead of quelling all theſe different parties, he went thither only to make a new one, upon which the King had as little reaſon to depend as upon any of the others. One may judge of this,

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by what paſſed at the ſiege of Villemur, the only action which I ſhall particulariſe from memoirs, the authenticity of which I can warrant.

The Duke of Joyeuſe, a zealous partizan of the league in Languedoc, having drawn together 5 or 6000 foot and 8 or 900 horſe, in the neighbourhood of Toulouſe, advanced with them on the 15th of June, in the year 1592, towards Mountauban, pillaged the little villages, and the flat countries, and, after exerciſing all the cruelties which paſſed as common in thoſe miſerable times, came and laid ſiege to Villemur.

The Sieur d'Ariat, from whom I give this detail, and the citizens of Villemur, had recourſe to Themines, who commanded for the King in that province, and intreated him to come immediately, with powerful ſupplies, to their aſſiſtance. Themines, knowing he was not ſtrong enough, addreſſed himſelf to the Duke of Epernon; and while he waited for the reinforcement the Duke promiſed to give him, ſent a detachment of ſmall bodies of cavalry and foot, which got into Villemur with great difficulty, the troopers on foot, becauſe their horſes could be of no uſe to them, the city was ſo cloſely invironed. Joyeuſe was ſeverely puniſhed for the error he was guilty of there, as we ſhall ſee preſently. This error was the attacking the town itſelf, inſtead of beginning with the caſtle, which, although much ſtronger in appearance, was in reality the weakeſt. Doubtleſs he was not ſufficiently acquainted with the place, or had a deſign to make uſe of the magazines of corn, and other ammunitions, of which he knew the city was full.

Epernon ſent indeed a conſiderable body of troops; but as he had given them orders to act but faintly, and, above all, not to run the riſk of fighting theſe troops, altho' upon their arrival they made a very great noiſe, minded nothing but recreation, abandoned their poſts, and, by their bad example, did

more harm than good to the other royaliſt ſoldiers. Joyeuſe, who did not want courage, eſpecially when he was to act in perſon, finding the occaſion favourable, and perhaps doubtful of the Duke of Epernon's deſigns, fell upon his ſoldiers, ſurpriſed them, and would have made a great ſlaughter, if Themines had not run thither time enough to ſave the remainder; he could not, however, prevent 7 or 800 from being ſlain. There needed no more to make Epernon recall them abſolutely *. Themines afterwards ſtrongly ſolicited both him and the Marechal de Matignon for aſſiſtance, but in vain; and all he could do was, to throw himſelf into Villemur, with d'Ariat, 250 arquebuſiers, and about 100 or 120 troopers, to ſupport the beſieged, whom Joyeuſe preſſed more vigorouſly than before. He obliged Reiner, who was Lord of it, but who was grown too infirm to perform the duties of a governor upon this occaſion, to go out, and reſolved to defend himſelf there till the laſt extremity, being aſſured, that the King, to whom he imparted his ſituation, would not ſuffer him to periſh.

In effect, this prince wrote inſtantly to the Dukes de Montmorency and Epernon, to ſend him ſupplies. This laſt, accuſtomed to diſobey, gave no attention to this order; but Montmorency ſent him Lecques and Chambaut, with ſome brave Proteſtant troops. Theſe were ſtill too few in number to oppoſe the army of Joyeuſe, lately reinforced by the inhabitants of Toulouſe. Lecques and Chambaut, therefore, had recourſe to Meſſilac, lieutenant for the King in Auvergne, and to the Viſcount de Gour-

* All this is ſo poſitive, that it may balance the authority of De Thou, who mentions this fact very favourably for the Duke of Epernon, and that of the author of this Duke's life, who maintains, that his ſoldiers drove thoſe belonging to the league from Villemur, and put this place into a ſtate of defence, p. 134. The Chron. Noven. agrees here with our Memoirs, b. 4. p. 63, as likewiſe the Memoirs of the league, vol. 5.

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don, as remarkable for his courage and fidelity, as for his deformity. These two officers marched immediately to the assistance of Villemur, with 800 arquebusiers and 280 horse. Joyeuse sent to offer them battle, which they refused, warned by the misfortune which had happened to Epernon's troops, and occupied only about their object. After this refusal, the besiegers cavalry, who found themselves too much straitened in their lines, demanded permission of Joyeuse to remove into the neighbouring villages; which this general granted with difficulty, and contrary to the opinions of the Sieurs d'Onous and Montberaut. He obliged the officers to give their words, that, upon the first signal which should be made them, they should return to the camp without loss of time.

Messilac, Lecques, and Chambaut, perceiving that this removal of the cavalry had extremely weakened the army of the besiegers, divided their whole foot into four bands, to each of which they added fifty troopers, whom they caused to dismount. A regiment of 800 men was drawn up in battalia, within view of the intrenchments, with orders to charge on a certain signal. Four hundred men attacked the first intrenchment, and were supported by the four troops. The guard there usually consisted of no more than 200 foot; but Joyeuse, who had spies amongst us, being advertised of the attack a few moments beforehand, sent thither 400 men more, and at the same time made the canon fire three times, which was the signal agreed upon with his cavalry. It happened, that either through slackness in obeying on their side, or eagerness on that of the Protestants, this cavalry did not come up till after the action was begun. Our men advanced before sunrise, and falling upon the first intrenchment, laid 100 of those who defended it dead upon the ground; the rest fled towards the second intrenchment, and carrying thither their only fears,

this,

this, though much better than the firſt, was forced in the ſame manner, and with a conſiderable loſs.

Themines beholding all within the walls, ſeconded the aſſailants, and made ſo ſeaſonable a ſally, that he completed the rout of the beſiegers. Their cavalry ſhewed themſelves that moment at the head of the camp; but, inſtead of putting a ſtop to the diſorder, they no ſooner perceived the 800 men, which compoſed the body of reſerve, with 300 horſe puſhing againſt them, than they followed the motion of the reſt of the army, and ſought for their ſafety in flight. Fear increaſing every moment, it ſoon became a general rout, which it was not poſſible for Joyeuſe to prevent. Dragged along himſelf with the fugitives, he gained a bridge of planks and ropes which he had ordered to be thrown over the Tarn. The number of thoſe who haſtened thither, on this ſide, overcharging this bridge, it ſunk under Joyeuſe, and he and all that were with him were ſwallowed up in the river. Fear had ſo blinded the reſt of the troops, that, ſtill imagining they ſaw a bridge where none now was, they plunged into the waves where it had ſtood. More than 3000 foot and 400 horſe periſhed on this occaſion, either by the ſword or the water. An enormous loſs for an army ſo inconſiderable; whereas the royaliſts did not loſe thirty men. The citizens of Villemur beheld this aſtoniſhing ſpectacle from the top of their walls, with a joy mingled with ſurpriſe and horror; which made them compare an effect of fear, which had the appearance of a prodigy, with that which the ſacred hiſtory relates of the Egyptians at the paſſage of the Red-ſea. But it is time to return to the King.

This Prince went into Picardy, and, in order to give occupation to his troops, ſent the Marechal de Biron to beſiege Epernai. The ſiege was long and obſtinate;

obſtinate? Biron was ſlain there by a cannon-ball *. And if the King, who during this time ſtaid at Compeigne, had not determined to ſhew himſelf before this city, they would have found a difficulty in taking it. He defeated a powerful ſupply which endeavoured to throw itſelf into the place, and obliged it at laſt to ſurrender.

His funds failing him abſolutely, he was obliged, after this expedition, to diſband all the remainder of foreign troops. He continued ſome time longer in his quarters, upon the report that was ſpread, that the Prince of Parma was to return, for the third time, into France, to execute the great projects he had formed againſt the King. The death of this brave general † happened very fortunately to remove the diſquietude of Henry, who ſaw himſelf not in a condition to reſiſt ſuch an enemy. The Spaniſh army, having loſt its chief, diſperſed. The time that was taken up in appointing his ſucceſſor, gave the King leiſure to breathe again; he drew near to Paris, and thought of nothing but availing himſelf of the Spaniards removal.

* Which took off his head. He was almoſt as famous for his learning as his abilites in war. De Thou greatly regrets the loſs we have had of his Commentaries. He commanded in chief in ſeven battles, and every wound he received in theſe battles made a ſcar. He was godfather to Cardinal de Richelieu, who was named after him. The city of Gontaut, in Agenois, gave its name to this family. See the panegyric of this Marechal in Brantome, vol. 3.

† At Arras in the abbey of St. Vaaſt. The Spaniards were accuſed of having poiſoned him through jealouſy, but the wound he received in Normandy the year before, joined to the bad make of his body, was the only cauſe of his death, as was acknowledged when he was opened. Cayet, *ib.* 90. See in De Thou, book 104. a panegyric on his great qualities. His body was carried through Lorrain to Italy, attended by 160 horſe, capariſoned in black. He was no more than 48 years of age. He complained of being twice poiſoned by the Spaniards, if we may believe D'Aubigné, who aſſures us that the Italians were ſo ſtrongly perſuaded of it, that from that time they could never endure the Spaniard, vol. 3. b. 3. c. 28. And this alſo is the opinion of Bongars, book 49.

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I did not attend the King in his journey to Picardy. I went to Mante, where finding Madam de Châteaupers in a diſpoſition favourable to my love, I married this lady, and our nuptials were celebrated the ſame day that the Prince of Parma *, with his army, paſſed through Houdan.

To confeſs the truth, the King's politics were not to my taſte. I ſaw with uneaſineſs, that the exigency of his affairs laid him under the neceſſity of complying with every deſire of the Catholics of his party, and that all the Proteſtants remained without recompenſe, and were altogether neglected, eſpecially ſince the departure of the foreign troops, which gave their rivals all advantages over them. I had, in particular, often experienced the effects of their hatred or jealouſy, from whence I concluded, that all the roads to fortune were ſhut againſt me for ever. I was likewiſe diſguſted with the King's behaviour towards me; his coldneſs, tho' I knew it to be feigned, had ſuch an appearance of a total eſtrangement, that I determined to quit war, and retire to my eſtate, there to live far from buſineſs, and the tumult of life.

The event juſtified the King's prudence, and I was the firſt to come over to his opinion, and to give him advice very oppoſite to my firſt ſentiments; but then I ſaw all things with other eyes. The reflection on all that the Proteſtants and myſelf had to ſuffer; the little conſideration I appeared to be then of, and ſomewhat of that general diſ-

* This could not be but the 23d or 24th of May, as the Prince of Parma did not paſs the Seine till the night of the 21ſt or 22d of that month. There muſt therefore be a miſtake either in the New journal of Henry III. printed in 1720, (where, in p. 271, the Duke of Sully's marriage is obſerved to be celebrated on the 18th), or in the Memoirs of Sully, The Baroneſs Rolny's ſecond wife was called Rachel de Cochefilet, daughter of James Lord of Vaucelas, and of Mary d'Arbaleſte. She was firſt married to Francis Huraut, Lord of Châteaupers, and Marais, who died in 1590. She died after the Duke of Sully, in 1659, aged 93 years.

poſition of mind which always dictates the intereſt of religion, formed all my reſolutions, and were the foundation of a ſyſtem which I built for the King, and which at that time ſeemed to me to be the only one reaſonable. I would have had this prince doing juſtice to thoſe who had ſerved him with zeal and affection, to have refuſed all other aſſiſtance, and caſt himſelf entirely in their arms. I was perſuaded, that after ſuch an open declaration of his dependence upon the Proteſtants, England, Holland, and all the Proteſtant powers in Europe, would exert themſelves ſo effectually in his favour, that they would ſoon, without any obligation to the Catholics, ſeat him upon the throne.

In this, as in every thing elſe, the King's underſtanding was greatly ſuperior to mine. He knew, from the firſt inſtant, that a kingdom, like France, was not to be gained by foreign hands; and although it had appeared even poſſible, yet it was the hearts of the French, rather than their crown, that this good prince ſought to conquer. And he would have thought the rewards which, on that occaſion, he ſhould be obliged to beſtow upon the authors of his elevation, to their prejudice, to have been of incroachment upon their lawful right.

My laſt motive for retiring was, that a little after I arrived at Mante, the wounds in my mouth and neck, which I had received in that unfortunate rencounter at Chartres, opened again, and obliged me to go to Roſny to be radically cured, to prevent the fatal conſequences which generally attend wounds of that nature. I continued there ſome time: after a life ſo tumultuous as that which till this moment I had led, I taſted the pure pleaſure that a retired life offers to thoſe who are devoid of ambition. I amuſed myſelf alſo in writing the events, varied by good and bad fortune, to which I had been expoſed for twenty years.

Buhy, the King's lieutenant in the Vexin, came one day to visit me, and informed me, that the King had written to all the governors to draw together all the troops they were able, and to come speedily to his assistance: for it was about this time that they were in the fullest expectation of the Prince of Parma's return into France; and Buhy, therefore, asked me, if I would not, upon this occasion, do as others. This question recalled the remembrance of the many governments which I had requested, and had been denied to me; and lastly, the post of one of the King's lieutenants, which the Duke of Nevers and the Catholics had hindered me from obtaining, in a haughty and insulting manner. I answered this officer, with some emotion, that if the King had had any occasion for my service, he would have done me the honour to write me. Buhy found something of anger in my reply, and, like a good courtier, exaggerated it, when he repeated it to the King, and gave him to understand, that he ought no longer to have any dependence on me, for I had resolved to spend the rest of my days in the country. This circumstance was altogether of his own invention; for I did not esteem Buhy so much as to make him the confident of my secrets. "His humour then is greatly altered," replied the King immediately, "for he never failed to be present on such occasions as are now approaching. "Although he excuses himself on account of his "wounds, I know well what detains him; he is "offended with me, and with some reason. He "would play the philosopher for the future; but "when I see him, I shall be able to make all up "again; for I know him."

This conversation passed in the presence of the President Seguier, who dined with me some time after, and related it to me. Having freely poured my heart into the bosom of this great magistrate, whom I knew to be equally a good friend, an honest

neſt man, and an excellent politician, he anſwered me in theſe words, which I ſhall never forget, becauſe they firſt began to open my eyes, and to cure me of my firſt way of thinking. "Sir, you appear to me to be a little in anger. We live in a "time when tranquillity is very difficult to acquire. "The wiſeſt amongſt us are ſilent, and patient, in "hopes of a better age; and the King is ſo good, "and ſo wiſe, that God has deſtined him to be "our reſtorer."

From that moment, finding no other inconveniency from my wound, than a little difficulty in pronunciation, I began again to ride, and followed by ſome fifty horſe, I made excurſions over the great road of Verneuil and Dreux to Paris, in order to reſume my former occupation, which I perceived was again likely wholly to ingroſs me. In the ſecond of theſe journeys, one day when I was riding towards Dreux, between the villages of Marolles and Gouſſainville, I met ten or twelve men on foot, who, the moment they ſaw us, ſtruck into the woods with which that country abounds. I followed them immediately, and made two of them be ſeized, who had not quitted the great road. Theſe were peaſants who were returning from Paris, whither they had been to ſell their poultry. I aſked them ſome queſtions, and they anſwered me very ingenuouſly; they told, that it was their cuſtom to travel in the night, to avoid the inconveniencies they were expoſed to in thoſe roads in the day; but that they had taken courage this once, having nine or ten perſons in their company, among whom they ſaid two or three were domeſtics belonging to Meſſ. de Mercœur, de Medavy, and de Vieux-Pont.

There needed no more to make me purſue theſe three men, whoſe myſterious journey excited my curioſity. It was impoſſible to overtake them; my people could only ſeize two others of thoſe that were of Verneuil, from whom finding I could draw

nothing by threatenings, I made use of another method. I gave them four crowns, and promised them more, if they would tell me all they knew concerning these three domestics. They desired me to follow them, and led me directly to a large hollow oak, surrounded with thickets, where they told me these servants had stopped, and put some papers which they had about them into the trunk of this tree: in effect, I found there two tin boxes, and a ticking sack, which seemed to me to be full. I was consoled for the messenger's escape: and after satisfying the two men, I returned to Rosny, very impatient to open my packets.

They appeared to be such as I wished. In the first I found commissions from the Duke of Maïenne to levy soldiers, several letters written in cyphers, in this general's own hand, to the Duke of Mœrceur: but pieces more important soon engaged all my attention; they related to the third party, which was then beginning to be talked of, and among these I found two memorials that seemed to be of the utmost consequence. The first was a memorial of the demands which the President Jeannin made upon Spain, in the name of the Duke of Maïenne, and the second contained the answer given to these conditions by the Archduke Ernest for the King of Spain. All the reflections imaginable could not throw such light upon the Duke of Maïenne's designs, the spirit of the league, and the politics of Spain, as the contents of these two pieces: of which it will not be disagreeable to present the reader an extract.

The Duke of Maïenne submitted the league to the Pope, and put it under the King of Spain's protection, upon the following conditions, which regarded the party in general, as well as himself in particular. First, That the King of Spain should furnish and maintain, in the service of the league, an army of 16,000 foot and 3000 horse; in which army

my there should be 2000 foot and 500 troopers all French, of whom he, the Duke of Maienne, was to have the absolute disposal, besides 4000 foot more, and 500 horse, French likewise, who were to continue near his person only, and to be maintained by Spain: That the number of these troops should be augmented as occasion required, but this without stipulation, and only in the way of favour: That the Duke of Maienne should have the chief command of these troops, and those of all the party, with the title of Lieutenant-General of the crown, till a King of France was elected: That this election should be made in a general conference; by which expression they certainly meant the states of the kingdom: That till this election was made and accepted, the pension which Spain already paid to the general should be augmented to as much more, that is, from 30,000 livres a-month to 60,000, besides 100,000 crowns which he should receive immediately, and 100,000 livres after the ratification of the treaty; in expectation of which, they should begin, by putting him in actual possession of Burgundy: That after the nomination of the future King, the Duke of Maienne should be continued in the government of the state, with the title of Lieutenant-General; and that then, and not before, he should yield up the city of Soissons to the Spaniards, because it was at present the only place of security he had for himself in France: That if he found unsurmountable obstacles, either in the election of a future King, probably from the King of Navarre, or in the invasion and keeping of Burgundy for the Duke of Maienne, the King of Spain should make the Duke amends for this loss, by an annual pension of 300,000 livres, for the possessions he might lose in France; which pension should never be lessened or taken away, whatever agreement might be made between the King of Spain and the acknowledged King of France, but should pass to his

his heirs for ever. It was moreover ſtipulated, that Spain ſhould cancel all the Duke of Maïenne's debts, or thoſe of the King elected with the conſent of this crown, if he was a native of France: That they ſhould give ſuitable ſatisfaction to the other principal officers of the league. They were not expreſſed, either becauſe the Duke of Maïenne was leſs ſolicitous about the intereſts of others than about his own, or that he thought this article would be eaſily ſettled, becauſe, if money was wanting, the lords mght be ſatisfied with penſions, dignities, or governments.

Such were the demands of the chief of the league, in which, as we have ſeen, he was not forgotten. For all this, he offered the King of Spain, (beſides the crown, which, although he was not mentioned, could only be deſigned for a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, ſince the Duke of Maïenne ſeemed to exclude himſelf), he offered, I ſay, a certain number of towns, for whoſe names, as well as that of the future King, blanks were left; thoſe that Spain might take being to be reſtored to the French Catholics, under the protection of the King of Spain and the Duke of Maïenne. All was calculated for the ſecurity and caution of Spain, till the election of a King, without any further explanation; which proves alſo, that they thought this election would ſufficiently indemnify this crown; at leaſt that they wanted, by this favourable inſinuation, to flatter it with hopes, in order to procure an immediate and effectual aſſiſtance. What gave riſe to this ſuſpicion was, their care in inſiſting upon, and often reſuming the following clauſe: That till all theſe articles were agreed to at Madrid, for which they allowed the ſpace of a month, Spain ſhould firſt begin by ſending a powerful ſupply into Burgundy, which they ſaid was in very great danger. The more to haſten the reſolutions of this court, the Duke of Maïenne, who throughout the whole trea-

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ty ſhewed himſelf to be a faithful ſervant (although a little intereſted) of the houſe of Auſtria, aſſured them coldly, that if theſe conditions were not thought advantageous enough for Spain, ſhe might turn to another ſide than his, and that weary of bearing this burden, he requeſted nothing better than to be diſcharged.

But this was only a feint; he had to do with a council who would not ſo eaſily change, and who underſtood their intereſt ſtill better. To this memorial the Archduke Ernеſt anſwered, in the name of the King of Spain, That his Majeſty was well pleaſed with the title of *Defender of the league*, and wiſhed to be regarded as the chief of the party: That they ſhould find him always ready to grant them whatever ſupplies they demanded againſt the King of Navarre, and even more than they demanded; for he conſented to ſend into Picardy alone the 19,000 men formerly mentioned, (it is eaſy to ſee with what deſign, for this province bounded the Low Countries), beſides thoſe which he offered to ſend into different parts of the kingdom. He did not ſeem to be ſo much alarmed on account of Burgundy as the Duke of Maienne, probably becauſe the council of Spain diſcovered that this general, who had demanded the poſſeſſion of the province, would be glad that the troops ſhould be all employed there. Upon this article, he only granted wherewithal to raiſe 1000 German foot, and to maintain 300 horſe. He added, however, that if the whole force of the war was turned againſt this province, his Catholic Majeſty would not refuſe to ſend conſiderable troops thither; and, doubtleſs, in this he meant to keep his word.

As to what regarded Maienne in particular, his Catholic Majeſty appeared much leſs liberal. Of all the articles this was the moſt reduced. He would make no addition to the penſion of 30,000 livres a-month; and would grant him only for himſelf 2000

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foot and 500 troopers, and that no longer than he was in the army in perſon. Upon the other articles he was perfectly ſilent. With regard to thoſe places which might be ſeized, Spain conſented that the Duke of Maienne ſhould keep what might be taken, provided ſhe was allowed to do the ſame. She would not deſiſt from her demand of Soiſſons, and was abſolutely reſolved to have this city for a ſecurity for thoſe advances ſhe made in this war; ſhe promiſed only to reſign it after the election of the King: this nomination appeared ſtill doubtful to Spain, who gave them to underſtand, that if ſhe was ſatisfied with it, every thing might be expected from her gratitude, but beforehand ſhe would riſk nothing. For this purpoſe, all the other articles were left unanſwered, and a new one was added; which was, that the Duke of Maienne ſhould remove certain perſons from about him, who, doubtleſs, did not ſupport the intereſts of Spain with the French general; their names were not written; but it was ſaid, that they had been ſignified by word of mouth to the agent of the treaty. Such were his Catholic Majeſty's diſpoſitions, who, by attending only to his own intereſts, and reſolving to ſell his aſſiſtance very dear, followed exactly the Duke of Maienne's example, and thought greatly more of it than of him.

Upon reading theſe papers, all my reſentment was extinguiſhed; and thinking them of great importance to the King, I haſtened inſtantly to Compeigne. I found time and abſence had not altered the ſentiments of Henry with regard to me. I had half an hour's private converſation with this prince, to whom I related in general the occaſion of my journey. The reading of theſe papers was put off till the evening of that day, when, all the courtiers being retired, I was introduced into the King's apartment, and remained there ſhut up with his Majeſty, who ſent for Beringhen and Choiſin, to de-

cypher

cypher the greateſt part of the papers. We learned of whom the third party was compoſed, which as yet had been only mentioned in whiſpers. It was formed in the midſt of the court, under the auſpices and upon the plan of the Abbé de Bellozane, the two Durets, and I believe the Abbé du Perron; all of them creatures of the Count of Soiſſons and of the Cardinal of Bourbon, and particularly attached to the laſt. In all appearance, theſe perſons were the authors, and at firſt the only promoters of this faction; but it was afterwards joined by Meſſ. de Nevers, de Longueville, de Villeroi, d'O, and the reſt of thoſe Catholics who were in the court, who valued themſelves upon being too good Frenchmen to ſuffer the Spaniſh dominion, and too zealous for the Roman religion to conſent to have a Proteſtant king. The Count of Soiſſons ſome time after joined theſe gentlemen; and it was reported, that, inconſtant to his former miſtreſs, he was ſeveral times upon the point of marrying Mademoiſelle de Longueville. They had aſſumed the name of politicians, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the royaliſts and leaguers, and to ſhew that they regarded the good of the ſtate, and the preſervation of the rights of the crown beyond every other conſideration. Their principal view was alike to exclude every foreign prince, the Duke of Maienne, and the King of Navarre, from the throne. The bulk of the party knew no more: but the chiefs, who were maſters of the ſecret, thought of nothing but getting rid of the two laſt by the ſword or by poiſon *; after which they might, without any difficulty, make the Cardinal of Bourbon King, and, not to diſcontent Spain altogether, obtain a diſpenſation for him to marry the Infanta.

* This accuſation is to be met with in no other writer, and is of the number of thoſe which the author ought not to have aſſerted without giving likewiſe a proof.

When this project is compared with that of Jeannin, it is matter of surprise, that papers which contained such contrary schemes should be found in the same packet. Without seeking for the reason of it in the secrets of providence, which by presenting the King, at one and the same time, with all the plots that were formed against his person, seemed to point out to him the measures necessary to prevent them; it is my opinion, that it may be found in the different interests of all those persons, who corresponding together, and some from a great distance, such as the Duke of Mercœur, without any other common motive than the hatred they bore to the King, hatched a thousand chimerical designs, and delivered themselves up to those hints which darted into their minds, without any other fixed and determined object than that of excluding the King of Navarre. In this confusion of sentiments, it is not astonishing, that he should, by the same means, meet with such opposite machinations.

I continued three days at Compeigne, often in conference with the King, who appeared to be sensibly affected with the designed attempts against his person, because he had flattered himself, that his conduct ought to have suppressed such thoughts. He sent me to Mante, perceiving that my endeavours to speak in those conversations might open my wounds. I received from this good prince all the marks of a tender and undoubted confidence. At parting, he desired me to observe carefully every motion of his enemies, and to prepare myself to give him good advice upon his arrival at Mante; for he intended, he said, to regulate his behaviour in so difficult a conjuncture wholly by my directions. He staid no longer in Picardy than was necessary to make some proper dispositions there, and set out for Mante. This city he preferred to any other, because, by its situation, it seemed to him the most proper residence to discover and overthrow the different

ferent cabals of his adverſaries, at a time when the intrigues of the cabinet were likely to ſucceed to the operations of war. His council was already there, and he had cauſed the Princeſs, his ſiſter, to be conducted thither. After the diſcovery this prince had juſt made of the plots that were laid againſt his life, it had been extreme imprudence to have neglected any precautions neceſſary for his ſecurity. He doubled his guards; he placed in Limay, which is the ſuburb of Mante, a body of Engliſh troops, whoſe affection to him was unqueſtionable, and reſolved to hold all the world ſuſpected, ſince he was convinced, that thoſe perſons whom he had admitted to his councils, to his table, and to his pleaſures, were capable of forming the moſt violent reſolutions againſt him.

If of all the favours that a prince, as eſtimable for the qualities of his mind as for his great actions, could grant, the ſentiments of his heart are thoſe which moſt affect a man of honour: I owe a great deal to this prince, who honoured me in particular with his confidence, at a time when infidelity, darkneſs, treachery, and all that intereſt could ſuggeſt to ſubjects who had exalted this idol into the place of love to their King, had left him no other part to take than that of reſerve and general diſtruſt. I have ſomething yet further to ſay, (for why ſhould I omit that part of all my life which ſeems moſt likely to procure me the eſteem of perſons truly virtuous?) It is, that in a conjuncture ſo delicate, this prince was reſolved to abandon himſelf wholly to my direction, and to confide to me his deſtiny and his crown *: for without me he undertook not the

ſmalleſt

* If we may believe De Thou, Gaſpard Shomberg, Count of Nanteuil, Lewis de Revol, Secretary of State, and himſelf, had a great hand in determining Henry IV. to change his religion. There is no reaſon who ſpecifies any particular man, as having ſtruck the firſt ſtroke; they do not even ſeem to have dreamed of M. affair, which however does not invalidate the truth of

ſmalleſt affair; perſuaded, doubtleſs, that the advice of a man actuated by a ſincere attachment, and (if I may uſe the expreſſion) a true friendſhip, ought to be preferred to penetration and ability, when they are joined with a doubtful fidelity. Nothing ever gave me ſo pure and noble a delight as the honour of ſuch a diſtinction: but after having wholly reſigned myſelf to it for ſome moments, I perceived the weight of that burden I was loaded with, and trembled amidſt my joy, leaſt my weakneſs and incapacity ſhould engage me in ſome falſe ſtep that might prejudice, not me, (for on thoſe occaſions ſelf, I believe, is leaſt in one's thoughts), but the prince who repoſed himſelf upon me.

From this moments all thoſe precautions the King made uſe of for his perſon, I alſo obſerved in the

ed in this part of his Memoirs, that it is chiefly, and even in ſome manner wholly to him, the honour of it is due. Tacitus tells us, that Auguſtus, after having deprived one of his chief miniſters entirely of his favour, permitted him ſtill to have the appearance of enjoying it. With regard to the Duke of Sully, it was quite the contrary; for he already was in abſolute poſſeſſion of his maſter's favour, while no one ſuſpected it. And that which is moſt remarkable in their hiſtory is, that a long time after this miniſter's favour with the King was known, by his being in poſſeſſion of the firſt employments in the kingdom, even until his maſter's death, in public the King behaved to him with the utmoſt circumſpection; while in private, never were familiarity and confidence carried further between a King and his ſubject. Hence it was, that in ſome hiſtories of Henry the Great, the authors of which, without penetrating into the ſecrets of the cabinet, contented themſelves with repreſenting only the public face of affairs, the name of Roſny is never mentioned, and that of Sully ſo well known to writers better informed, very ſeldom, conſidering the part Sully played during the ten or twelve years of this Prince's life. Incomprehenſible as this reſerved and myſterious conduct appears, thoſe who reflect upon the ſituation of affairs in thoſe times, together with the religion of the Duke of Sully, will comprehend without any difficulty, the neceſſity the King and his miniſter were under, to obſerve this conduct, and never to depart from it. Nor is this one of the leaſt inſtances of the prudence and abilities of theſe two great men. I thought it neceſſary to make this obſervation once for [illegible] "Roſny," ſays Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 278. "had a long time [illegible] in the King's moſt important affairs; and from the time of [illegible] was one of his moſt intimate confidents," &c.

advice

advice I was going to give him. I prepared myself for it by the deepeſt reflections on the ſtate of the neighbouring kingdoms in general, and on that of France, of the parties into which it was divided, and of the King in particular. I conſidered, that if, in ſuch employments as mine, one cannot commit faults, even innocently, without deſerving ſome reproaches, we draw thoſe reproaches upon ourſelves, when we act according to the dictates of paſſion. This reflection led me to ſtudy thoroughly my own diſpoſition and inclinations, and convinced me of the neceſſity of beginning with obliging my own heart to ſubdue and forget itſelf. A ſerious review of my paſt conduct ſhewed me the injuſtice of thoſe complaints which I ſuffered frequently to eſcape me againſt the King's behaviour to me and the reſt of the proteſtants. I ſearched into the ground of it, and I ſoon found it in that common prejudice, that to be worthy of the religion one profeſſes, cruelty, perjury, and deceit ought to paſs for nothing, provided one can ſecure its ſucceſs. I ſuppreſſed theſe ſentiments, equally injurious to the author of religion, and prejudicial to the religion that is promoted by ſuch unworthy means; and when I declare, that there was nothing I more diſtruſted than thoſe ſnares which the zeal of religion might lay for me, I ſhall be eaſily believed, if the advice I gave the King be conſidered.

When I was thus certain of myſelf, I the leſs feared to carry my views into that impenetrable chaos of different intereſts, and to ſound a futurity, which offered, on every ſide, nothing but frightful precipices. Muſt the miſeries of France be pepetuated, by giving arms, perhaps for more than an age, to two parties in religion, then nearly equal? Muſt a prince, who ſo well deſerved to be happy, conſume his whole life amidſt the horrors of a war, which till then had not given him a moment to breathe; and (if I determined upon this) prepared

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for him labours infinitely greater than all he had yet endured? On the other hand, ought I to expose the whole body of Proteſtants in France, who fought only juſtice and peace, to be victims of human policy, and at the mercy of their moſt cruel enemies? While uncertain of the event of the war, and of the moment when the King might be ſuddenly taken off, ought I to bring things to ſuch an extremity, that France might, perhaps, become a prey to Spain, and to all her neighbours, or, diſmembered by a thouſand tyrants, loſe in one moment the glory of her name, the ſplendor of her monarchy, and the ſucceſſion of her kings? What perils in war? What ſnares in peace? What ſubjects of fear on all ſides? How form a reſolution, alarmed by ſo many dangers almoſt inevitable?

But the greateſt of all was the not fixing upon any. At laſt, when all was thoroughly examined, it ſeemed neceſſary to prefer that which would put an end to the civil war, reſtore tranquillity to France, ſubmit it to a good King, and put it in a condition to take vengeance on its foreign enemies: I mean that reſolution which might the moſt effectually remove the preſent inconveniencies, and procure time to bring a remedy for thoſe which were to be apprehended. In one word, I reſolved to prevail upon the King to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, and to perſuade him to it by degrees. I was ſenſible, that by this means I ſhould give diſguſt to two ſorts of perſons, the Proteſtant neighbours of France, and the French Calviniſts. But as to the firſt, France, when united with itſelf, had no occaſion for any foreign aſſiſtance; and it was eaſy to give the ſecond ſuch advantages, as would make them behold this change without murmuring. With regard to both, I depended upon that gratitude which a prince like Henry could not fail of having for perſons to whom he had the moſt eſſential obligations.

Theſe

These reflections wholly employed my mind from the moment I left Compeigne, and I was still absorbed in them when the King arrived at Mante. The first thing he did, was to send for me to come to him, with the usual precautions. Jaquinot conducted me into his chamber before day, and we immediately entered upon our subject. Henry, who on his side had made a thousand reflections on the perplexing situation he was in, began by drawing a very natural representation of it; irreconcileable interest in the princes and nobility of the kindom; hatred amongst themselves, and against him; mutiny and disobedience in all minds; inactivity in the foreign allies; intrigues and animosity on the part of the enemies; treachery within; violence without; rocks and precipices on all sides. The end of this pathetic discourse was to demand what remedy I knew to all this.

I replied, that, without taking upon me to give his Majesty advice, I saw simply three ways to take, and he might determine upon which he pleased. The first was, to satisfy all at his own expence, or rather at the expence of the state; the second was, to satisfy none, but to endeavour to carry all with a high hand; the third, which held a medium between these two, was, to remove all obstacles that opposed his accession to the crown, by turning Roman Catholic. The King then told me, that what I had said to him was nothing but an advice, and commanded me to tell him plainly, what I would do if I were in his place. I endeavoured to make him understand that, by resuming one after another the three different methods I had laid before him. I made him see, that, by following the first, he reduced himself to nothing, and that if there was a necessity to gratify wholly the avidity of Spain and the French leaguers, he would scarce, out of so great a kingdom, keep a few provinces for himself. As to the second, I represented to him, that as soon

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as he ſhould give occaſion to believe, that he depended only upon the claim his birth gave him to the crown, the deſertion of all the Catholics, and the unbridled fury of a whole nation of enemies, both within and without the kingdom, would draw upon him a terrible ſtorm. The inconſtancy of fortune, and the uſual reverſes of war, although this prince had not yet experienced them, found their place in this reflection. I did not enlarge upon the third, but only told the King, that being a Proteſtant myſelf, I could ſay nothing to him upon this ſubject.

As I was ſpeaking, I perceived the perplexity into which the preſent conjuncture had thrown the King, to increaſe every moment. I did not doubt, but the review of all theſe difficulties would bring him to the point I deſired. I was ſure that he would not even think of the firſt of my propoſals. I knew him too well to believe him capable of agreeing to an accomodation which would leave him only the ſemblance of King, a ſubject or dependent upon Spain, or reduced at laſt to a ſmall part of France. It was the two others only that imbarraſſed him. On one ſide, he ſaid, by continuing in his religion, he ſaw united againſt him all the princes of his blood, the nobility of the kingdom, and thoſe who were at the head of all affairs and the finances, ſuch as Meſſ. d'Epernon, de Nevers, de Longueville, de Biron, d'O, de Rieux, de Villeroy, de Manou, de Chateauvieux, de Vitry, d'Entragues, and de Sourdis. It would be too tedious to mention them all. He ſaw them ready to reſolve upon forming againſt him a party independent of the league, or, what was moſt probable and likewiſe moſt dangerous, ready to unite themſelves with the league, and to concert together meaſures for obſtructing all the avenues to the throne. On the other, he objected the complaints of the Dukes of Bouillon and la Tremouille, and the outcries of

so many Protestants whom he was going to abandon; those who were so dear to him, and from whom he had so long drawn his only assistance. He represented them as passing from discontent to a resolution which despair at being sacrificed by an ungrateful prince would inspire, which was to elect a chief, canton themselves out in France, and oblige him to turn his arms against them. He ended with these words: "I can never use them ill, nor declare "war against them; I will always love them." This sentiment, which discovered a sensibility and gratitude so seldom to be found in the hearts of sovereigns, moved me extremely. I thanked him, in the name of all the Protestants, by bending upon one knee, and kissing his hand. The reasons with which this prince opposed his change of religion, and the manner in which he delivered them, were what alone dissipated my apprehensions, and confirmed me in the opinion, that no other remedy could be found to the present evils. I told him, that Messr. de Buillon and de la Trémouille, and all of merit and distinction in the Calvinist party, would not be so unreasonable as to take arms against him, for a resolution which mere necessity had forced him to embrace, when he continued to treat them with all the regards due to their persons and services. After explaining all my thoughts on this subject to the King, I added, that the foundation of all religions which believe in Jesus Christ being essentially the same; that is, faith in the same mysteries, and the same belief of the Divinity, it seemed to me, that one who from a Catholic became a Protestant, or from a Protestant became a Catholic, did not change his religion, but followed, for the interest of religion itself *, that practice in which

* Add to these words of the Duke of Sully what he says some pages before, and what has been observed a little higher, where he speaks of the duty and authority of Kings in religious matters; it

290 - 291 PAGES MISSING IN BOOK

I also being present. He told them, (with an intention to sound their inclinations) that he had brought them together to know their sentiments upon what he had to communicate to them. He said he had received certain advices, that Bellozanne and the two Durets, agents for the third party, had an interview with Villeroy and Jeannin †, and that it was agreed upon to unite all the forces of the league and the other Catholics against him; that the time which the Catholics had so often threatened him with was now come, for they were going to abandon him unanimously; their common design being now to place the Cardinal of Bourbon upon the throne, to marry him to the Infanta of Spain, and to endeavour, by all possible methods, to rid themselves of his person. That the Cardinal, indeed, had expressed great reluctance to this last proposition, but, by all appearances, they would soon gain his consent, when they convinced him, that the crown could by no other means be secured to him. He conjured them to tell him, sincerely, what they thought he had to do upon this occasion, particularly upon the desertion of the Catholics, which would reduce his party to the last extremity.

By the noise and confusion this declaration created in the assembly, it well appeared that all those who composed it, without any forecast or management, without any settled point, and even without any sincere attachment to the King, had till then thought only of living from day to day; of gaining time, and profiting by their master's abilities for war. They could never agree, nor form any connected resolution. They did not know whether to wish for peace, or continue the war. One said,

merit, said, "I have lost one of the wisest men in my kingdom." Chron. Novien. book 7. p. 545.

† See Matth. vol. 2. p. 66. &c. Chron. Novien. l. 2. De Thou. Mem. de Nevers, Mem. de Villeroy, &c.

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that there was nothing for it but to resume their arms, and risk all at one cast. Another imagined, that by arresting eight or ten of the principal Catholics, who were not yet upon their guard, particularly the authors of the plot, it might be rendered abortive. Others, more moderate, or perhaps more irresolute, contented themselves with saying, that it would be necessary to accommodate matters by negotiations, without being able to tell how. I seized this overture, and by digesting it to somewhat reasonable, I carried all the votes for a negotiation. It was known that I had some influence over the Count of Soissons, and that I had free access to the Cardinal of Bourbon. This cardinal often said in public, that although I was a Huguenot, there was no person for whom he felt so strong an inclination as for me. I offered to use my mediation with these two princes, to prevail upon them not to listen to the persuasions of the King's enemies; and the better to insure success, I promised I would endeavour to gain their creatures and their counsellors, especially the Abbot be Bellozanne, the Durets, confidents to the Count of Soissons, and a lady called *Madam des Rossiers*, an intimate friend of the Cardinal's.

No person contradicted this opinion, doubtless because the Protestants, who had heard the declaration, sensible that they were too weak actually to renew hostilities, thought that at present there was nothing better to be done. The King, on his side, was not sorry at its being unanimously voted by the Protestants, that he should address himself to the princes of the blood, and hold a commerce with the Catholics of the league. According to my plan, I began with the Abbé de Bellozanne. I knew jealousy had made him the secret enemy of the Durets, and believed that by taking him on this side, confirming him in his hatred, and flattering him with having shortly the chief hand in all affairs, I

should

should reach my end. I introduced myself with telling him, that I was come to thank him, in the name of the King, for having in his favour so generally opposed the enterprises of the Durets; which could only proceed from the rectitude of his heart, and his good-will towards the King, which his Majesty, although he had but a small acquaintance with him, esteemed as he ought, till he should be in a state to give him more sensible proofs of his affection, which he would certainly do, by procuring him a cardinal's hat, or at least one of the richest benefices in the kingdom, when those favours were in his power, by the change of his religion, which was likely to happen very shortly.

This introduction, which flattered the vanity of the man extremely, gave me occasion to enter, as if undesignedly, into the secret proceedings of the Durets, which I pretended to be very positively informed of, in order to learn them from him, and to engage him to oppose them yet more resolutely. In effect, I had scarce dropped a few words on this subject, when my man, giving way to his inclinations, fell upon the Durets, and spoke so much to their disadvantage, that I fell into the other extreme, and believed that he was induced by his hatred of them to accuse them falsely. The hint of the cardinal's hat and the bishopric producing its effect, Bellozanne pretended to feel that zeal for the King's service, which I attributed to him from pure fiction. It was not his fault, that I was not persuaded, that he had opposed all the violent resolutions of the Catholics, whose intrigues and views he informed me of. I flattered myself for some time, that I had brought over this man to the King; but rogues soon resume their natural character. Immediately after he had made this protestation to me, he made one quite contrary to the Cardinal of Bourbon, and afterwards to Villeroy and Jeannin, to whom he repeated from one end to the other all the

the converſation he had juſt held with me. If he drew advantage from his treachery, by the new degree of favour it procured him, I, on my ſide, perhaps, made better uſe of it for the King, than if he had kept the ſecret. Moreover, I had hereby found means to inform thoſe gentlemen of the King's coming diſpoſition to embrace their religion, which drew them internally towards this prince, but eſpecially the Cardinal, who was more enamoured of religion than of a crown. Bellozanne's imprudence likewiſe produced another effect, which was the inſpiring them with a deſire of ſupplanting each other, in their endeavours to acquire the good graces of the King. I heartily therefore pardoned Bellozanne's double dealing, and even drew a third good conſequence from it, with regard to the Durets.

Theſe gentlemen perceiving the honour Bellozanne had gained by the new ſecrets he had diſcloſed to his patrons, and the increaſe of favour they had procured him, were the more ready to hear the propoſitions I went afterwards to make them. I told them, the King, offended at the knavery of Bellozanne, (which in reality he was, becauſe he had carried it ſo far as to give umbrage to the Proteſtants), would have no commerce for the future with a man ſo faithleſs, and was diſpoſed to make uſe of them in his future meaſures. I confided ſome papers to their care, the reading of which I was certain would have a marvellous effect. It was the project of accommodation between the league and Spain, and the anſwer in conſequence of it, which they had no knowledge of, and which I ſhewed to them that moment. This ſtroke piqued them: they thought themſelves deſpiſed, and the project ſo reaſonable as to fear it might be executed, and affairs brought to a concluſion without their contributing any thing to it; which to theſe ſort of men is the moſt mortifying conſideration. They heſitated not a moment in offering me with ardor their

ſervices

ſervices for the King. The change of religion, which I had alſo inſinuated to them, ſeemed to remove all the oppoſition that could be made to this prince. They were raviſhed with being intermeddlers in a project, the invention of which appeared to them more happy than that which the Duke of Maienne had propoſed to Spain; or rather, there remained no other part for them to take, after the victory Bellozanne had juſt gained over them. In effect, they kept the ſecret better, and laboured in it uſefully enough.

I applied myſelf afterwards to the Abbé du Perron, who, by his character, his reputation, and his eloquence, had more power with the Cardinal of Bourbon, when he aimed at making him either take or quit a reſolution, than all the artifices of Bellozanne and the Durets. We had been acquainted a long time, and he had ſome obligation to me. I concerted my diſcourſe, as having to do with a man for whom eloquence, grand ſentiments, and deep reaſoning, had powerful charms *; and I introduced into it as much or more of politics and worldly views, as of religion. My brother, the governor of Mante, was preſent at this converſation, when after having thrown out my ordinary inſinuations about the King's future abjuration, I undertook to prove to Du Perron, that, except Spain, and ſome turbulent perſons in France, it was the intereſt and advantage, not only of France, but of all Europe, that the King of Navarre ſhould aſcend the throne, and poſſeſs the kingdom in the ſame extent, and with the ſame power, which had been enjoyed by the Kings his predeceſſors.

I began with the Pope. I told Du Perron, that he who had ſo perfect a knowledge of the court of

* The Duke of Sully's judgement of the Cardinal du Perron ſeems more conformable to truth, than that given him by Joſeph Scaliger, who treats him only as a babler, *loculeius*, or *Lucru lewis*.

Rome, knew better than any perſon, that Clement VIII. now in poſſeſſion of the holy ſee, was neither ſo violent as Sixtus V. nor ſo changeable as Gregory XIV. That this Pope conſidered the preſent affairs of Europe and Chriſtianity in a clear and impartial view. That it was not his intention, by breaking the neceſſary balance between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, to ſubject France to Spain; becauſe he was not ignorant of any of the views of this laſt power for univerſal monarchy. That the Pope would in this find not only his intereſt, as common father of the Catholics, but alſo his temporal intereſts in particular; becauſe Italy and the patrimony of St. Peter would ſoon follow the deſtiny of France, and the other kingdoms; and the Pope would be in danger of ſeeing himſelf one day reduced to the quality of ſimple chaplain to the Kings of Spain. That beſides, his Holineſs had too much judgement not to open his arms to a King, as ſoon as he ſhould expreſs his deſire to be received there, without troubling himſelf about that mighty phraſe a relapſe, with which fools only were affected.

I had ſtill leſs difficulty to ſupport my propoſition, with regard to the other crowned heads of Europe; I therefore did not dwell long upon them, that I might turn all the converſation upon Spain. I aſked the Abbé du Perron, if he did not agree with me in the opinion, that thoſe deep politicians who gave riſe to all the diſorders in France, began to deſpair of the ſucceſs of the great project they had formed to conquer all France, and this upon the knowledge they had, as well of the King and the Proteſtants in his intereſt, as of the French Catholics? Could the King of Spain ever ſeriouſly intend to make a Spaniſh province of France, and flatter himſelf that his domination would be endured by a people who had always emulated and hated Spain? Of all this there was already more than mere ſuſpicion.

By the King of Spain's conduct it was visible, that he imagined the Dukes of Maienne, Guise, and Mercœur, sought only to make him their dupe; nor had he a more favourable opinion of the Dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, whom he saw make use of his troops and money without shewing any greater respect for him. One convincing proof that these were the real sentiments of Philip, was, the propositions he had made, and often renewed, to the King of Navarre by D. Bernardin de Mandoce, Moreau, and the Count de Taxis. For, in reality, this Prince seeing that all he could pretend to from the troubles in France was, at the most, the possession of two or three of its provinces, it was of little consequence to him, whether he obtained them from the King or from the league. It is true, that if he divided France amongst the chiefs of the league, he gained hopes of one day getting it all to himself, by separately attacking those petty kings; but that, in effect, he purchased these hopes at a very high price, by that scarcity of troops and money into which the avidity of the league had thrown him. And although the King should be able to maintain the war but a short time, Philip perceived that he might be obliged to recall the supplies he lent to France, having but sufficient for himself in Flanders, where the war was kindling more and more every day.

Observing that Du Perron listened to me attentively, and seemed to be inwardly convinced of the reasonableness of all I said, I did not so soon quit the subject of Spain. I told him it was not probable that so many brave men, fond of their liberty, their laws, and customs, would ever be easy under a foreign slavery, and resolve to bear away no other reward for their gallant actions, than the honour of being dependents upon the grandees of Spain, or at best pensionaries of a King, who, although he had greater obligations to the Prince of

Parma

Parma than to any other perſon, ſuffered him to wait for the recompenſe of his ſervices till his death: That the whole view of the French lords, by ſeeming to join the King of Spain, was only to procure the grant of greater rewards from Henry, while he continued in the profeſſion of the Proteſtant religion; after which they would abandon, without difficulty, that hackneyed reproach of a relapſe, as well as the deſign of chuſing a King from amongſt themſelves, the marriage of the Infanta, and all the reſt of their vague projects. For a proof of the truth of what I ſaid, I produced the treaty which the league had propoſed to Henry by Villeroy and Jeannin, ſoon after the raiſing of the ſiege of Rouen, which I could not give a full account of in its place, but ſhall lay before the reader in a moment. After this, turning with vivacity to Du-Perron, I aſked him if he was not of the intereſt of all good Frenchmen, and of himſelf firſt of all to prevent ſuch deſigns from being accompliſhed, whether the good of the ſtate required, that by deſtroying in a moment an edifice which had coſt the Kings of France ſuch labour to raiſe, and which ſome of them had cemented with their blood, France ſhould be again filled with thoſe little tyrants, ambitious and cruel, who claimed a right of giving law to their prince, and who were always ready to fly before the firſt enemies that attacked them? And laſtly, if he did not confeſs that a monarchical government, by which all the members are united, and under the direction of one only chief, was the moſt glorious and moſt advantageous of any, and for the French nation in particular?

I cut ſhort my diſcourſe upon this third party of politicians, by obſerving to Du-Perron, that one of theſe two things muſt neceſſarily happen, either that they would unite themſelves to the league, and ſo deprive it of all aſſiſtance from Spain; or take meaſures ſeparately from it, which would produce

the neceſſity of deſtroying it, or of being deſtroyed by it. In any of theſe caſes, nothing could happen that would not be for the King's advantage. To conclude with what related to the perſon of the King himſelf, I found no difficulty in making the Abbé confeſs, that this prince was abſolutely fitted to reign over the French. I repreſented to him, that his reputation was ſo well eſtabliſhed every where, that the league had great reaſon to fear, and the third party (ſo far from being creditable) ſtill more, that in the provinces, where no one delivered himſelf up ſo blindly to the caprices of the league as in Paris, they would put themſelves entirely under the protection of this prince, when their intoxication was over, and had given place to that love of repoſe ſo natural to thoſe who have ſuffered. That the provinces began already to teſtify openly their diſcontent. But without all this could not the King, brave and experienced as he was, and aſſiſted only by the Proteſtants and foreigners, maintain the war a long time, and guard againſt domeſtic attempts upon his perſon? They had ſeen him when he had not ten cities in his party, and with only a handful of men, make a ſtand againſt all the forces of the kingdom. I concluded with ſaying, that inſtead of giving the enemies of France the pleaſure of ſeeing her waſte and deſtroy herſelf, it was the general intereſt, to favour and ſupport a prince, who appeared capable of reſtoring her to her former tranquillity, and of raiſing her to a new degree of ſplendor.

The Abbé Du-Perron had no reply to make to all theſe reaſons, he was convinced of their force; and, as I had expected, knew well how to bring over the Cardinal of Bourbon to his opinion, by adding to them all thoſe which his own penetration ſuggeſted to him, and which he did not fail to adorn with all the brilliant apparel of eloquence. The remainder of this year, and the beginning of the

next

next were employed on his part and on mine in going backwards and forwards, and in conferences of this kind. As soon as a negotiation was begun, we had more negotiators than we wished.

It was true, that Villeroy and Jeannin had a long time before presented the King with a project of a treaty, in the name of the league, by which they offered, upon certain conditions, to acknowledge him for King. This piece is curious enough to deserve an abstract to be given of it. The true spirit which animated the league, clearly manifests itself in it. The King's abjuration was at the head, as the first and principal condition. They required that in the space of three months he should make a public profession of the Catholic religion; that he should restore it in all those places from whence the superiority of the Reformed had banished it; that he should break off all alliance with them; that they should have no share in the dignities, embassies, and employments of state of any kind whatever; in a word, that their continuance in France should be tolerated only, and for a certain time, which might be prolonged as exigency required.

Many other articles seemed to be inserted there, only to persuade the people that the chiefs of the league, by treating with Henry, had nothing but the service of religion and the state in view. Such was the clause of naming to benefices, conformable to the canons; and that of holding the states from six to six years; and many others.

These were all specious conditions; but they added, (which was the most essential point for the authors of the project), That the King should acknowledge, authorise, and support the league with all his power: That he should leave a certain number of towns in their hands, into which he could not even put garrisons; that is to say, that he should reign under them: That he should distribute all the governments of France amongst such of his principal officers

officers as they ſhould name to him: That he ſhould keep a ſufficient number of troops in each of theſe governments, to maintain the Roman-Catholic religion there: That he ſhould not diſpoſe of the taxes, impoſts, and other revenues of the crown; but they ſhould be all applied to this uſe, according to a diviſion proportioned to the quality and occaſions of thoſe governments: That all the garriſons which ſhould be put in the fortreſſes of the kingdom, ſhould be paid in the ſame manner. The deſtination of theſe governments was as follows: Provence was to be given to the Duke of Nemours, Languedoc to the Duke of Joyeuſe, Bourbonnois and Marche to the Duke of Elbeuf, Bretagne to the Duke of Mercœur, the two Vexins, with the title of governor, to d'Alincourt, part of Normandy to Villars, the Iſle of France to the Baron of Roſne, Orleannois and Berry to La-Châtre, Picardy to the Duke of Aumale, Champagne to the Duke of Guiſe, with the poſt of high ſteward, and all the dignities and benefices which his family had enjoyed.

The Duke of Maienne had, with reaſon, the largeſt ſhare. To the government of Burgundy, which was allotted for him, they added thoſe of Lyonnois, Foret, and Beaujolois; and in all theſe provinces gave him a power that had annihilated that of the King; the right of diſpoſing, as he pleaſed, of governments, lord-lieutenancies, and other employments, not only in the army, but alſo in the finances, and courts of judicature; and what was ſtill more, the nomination to eccleſiaſtical dignities and benefices: and to crown all theſe extraordinary advantages, they added the poſt of conſtable, or lieutenant-general of the crown. It was this only that ſeemed worthy of the Duke of Maienne's acceptance. They likewiſe kept in reſerve four

four marechals batons *, and the league, at their own leiſure, were to name the perſons on whom they were to be beſtowed; beſides very conſiderable penſions to the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt them, they carried their exceſs ſo far, as to preſcribe to the King the clearing the debts of ſome conſiderable perſons of their party whom they ſhould name, to the number of twenty. And, to conclude, with abſolutely tying up his hands, they added, that he ſhould allow the league to chuſe the foreign princes that were to accede to the treaty, and to be guarrantees for its execution. The Pope's name only was expreſſed; doubtleſs, the blanks were to be filled up with the King of Spain among others. By this they too plainly acknowledged the views of the Spaniards. Charles V. required nothing elſe than ſuch a ſcheme, when he ſaid that he had been falſely accuſed of hating a King of France, ſince inſtead of one he wiſhed there had been twenty.

No perſon believed that the league, by treating with the King on conditions ſo injurious to this prince, could perſuade themſelves that he would ſubmit to them. It is probable, therefore, that they did it in order to make his refuſal give diſguſt to the dregs of the populace. The King likewiſe, far from treating theſe propoſals as a ſerious matter, or anſwering them privately, as he would have done had he thought it poſſible to have come to any accommodation, ſacrificed them immediatly to the Proteſtants, who gave to the piece all the qualifications that it merited; it even turned the Catholics againſt the author; for theſe Catholics finding that all there was badly arranged; that it was

* Theſe four marechals baton were given the following year to Roſne, La-Châtre, Bois-Dauphin, and Saint Pol, each of whom will be mentioned hereafter. On this occaſion there is a *bon-mot* related of Chanvallon. "Sir," ſaid he one day to the Duke of Mayenne, "you have made ſome baſtards, which will be legitimated at "your expence."

full

full of articles which, being only ſnares, would prove an inexhauſtible ſource of difficulties; and that there were ſome which it was abſolutely impoſſible to execute, they took no notice of what made the ſtrongeſt impreſſions upon them, which was, that, by the diſtribution of favours and rewards, nothing remained for them.

The King made no other uſe of theſe propoſals than to bind thoſe who ſerved him more cloſely to his intereſts, gave a very ſhort and a very dry anſwer to the Preſident Jeannin. It was at the camp before Caudebec. There is no neceſſity to repeat the contents.

Civil wars, eſpecially thoſe wherein religion has a ſhare, give an air of licence and effrontery which on all other occaſions would be ſurpriſing. Jeannin, offended at the ridicule with which his project had been treated, anſwered in writing, which he addreſſed to the King himſelf. That he was greatly aſtoniſhed at the tone that he had taken with him: That if his project was well examined, he would find that he had not yet treated well enough for the league: That the only fear he had when he drew it up was, that it would be diſavowed, eſpecially by the Duke of Nemours, who inſtead of a government, had already formed a principality for himſelf in Lionnois, with the approbation of the King of Spain; and ſtill more by the Duke of Mayenne, whoſe intereſts had been alſo too much neglected in it; (certainly this moderation of Jeannin's was truly admirable): That, in his opinion, he had ſhewn the King his readineſs to ſerve him, by not mentioning his giving the league any towns as a ſecurity for the performance of his word, (as if thoſe which were to be beſtowed upon the governors did not anſwer the ſame purpoſe): That, to pleaſe the King, he had eluded the queſtion, of making theſe governments hereditary. This indeed was true; but after all the other rights with which he had inveſted

veſted them, would it be difficult for them to accompliſh this for themſelves?

Jeannin afterwards obſerved to the King, with a liberty that might well be called immoderate impudence, that the catholics having with juſtice taken arms againſt him, he ought not to make uſe of the words *crime* and *abolition* with them; for they were intitled to treat with him upon the foot of an equal, becauſe they did not look upon themſelves as enemies ſubdued, nor him as King, while the Cardinal of Bourbon, the only acknowledged King in France, was alive; nor even after his death, on account of his religion: therefore it was the body of the monarchy which treated with a foreign prince: that, for the ſame reaſon, the King's acceptation could not be called an edict of pacification, granted by a King to his ſubjects, but an amicable convention with a people, who freely choſe a King after the reaſons for refuſing him were removed. Many other impertinences with which this letter was filled, do not deſerve to be repeated. Jeannin concluded, by abſolutely rejecting all aſſiſtance from Meſſ. de Bouillon, Du-Pleſſis, and the other Proteſtants whom the King had mentioned in his letter, and declared he would have no communication with them.

While the King deliberated upon what reſolutions he ſhould take, the ſtates were held at Paris*. The thought of aſſembling them came from the Prince of Parma; and it muſt be confeſſed, that by the manner he was to have taken there, in order to accompliſh his deſigns, a reſolution more deſtructive of the King's cauſe could not have been

* The ſtates were ordered to meet the 25th of January, but they were not opened till next day, in the Louvre, which was prepared for that purpoſe. All the ſpeeches, acts, and ceremonies of this aſſembly may be found in many of the hiſtorians. See particularly De Thou, book 105. Davila, b. 13. Memoirs of the league, vol. 5. Villeroy's Mem. of ſtate, vol. 4. Mem. of Nevers, vol. 2. Matthieu, vol. 2. Chron. Noven. for 1593, &c. Satyre Menipée, &c.

formed. This general intended to have ſummoned them at Rheims, and to have renewed all his endeavours to make himſelf maſter of the deliberations within; while, with a ſuperior army without, he retained the people in his party, and the nobility in their duty, he aſſured himſelf that he ſhould obtain an election entirely to the taſte of Spain, and cauſe the elected monarch to be crowned immediately. This whole plan was the effect of deep politics *, quick diſpatch, great liberality, a well-choſen opportunity, and, above all, an army capable of inſpiring awe; theſe were indeed the true means of bringing affairs to an iſſue, and of excluding the King for ever from the throne. But the Prince of Parma dying juſt as he was upon the point of executing theſe Projects, they all expired with him, or were afterwards conducted neither with order, diligence, nor the other neceſſary meaſures. It is true, that the Count of Manſfield, who ſucceeded him, came at laſt with an army as far as Noyon; but at that time, the ſame ſubmiſſion was not made to Spain, as had been before they had conceived hopes of ſeeing the King abjure Calviniſm; and the Count of Manſfield returned without having done any thing; beſides, there was now an alteration in a circumſtance, which to the Prince of Parma had always appeared eſſential: this was, that inſtead of getting the ſtates aſſembled at Rheims, the Duke of Maienne had prevailed upon the Pope and the Spaniſh plenipotentiaries who were Don Diego d'Ibarra, the Duke of Feria, Inigo de Mandoce, and Count John Baptiſt de Taxis, to conſent that they ſhould be aſſembled at Paris. Each of theſe perſons hoped, that in a city which was entirely in their intereſts by their alliances, their intrigues, and their preſents, they might move

* See the Duke of Parma's letter written upon this ſubject to the King of Spain. Chron. Noven. b. 4. p. 5.

a thouſand ſprings to engage all the ſuffrages. But when this great diſorderly body was aſſembled, they found themſelves croſſed by ſo many and ſuch different intereſts, that the Spaniards having only their own voices, like others, and deſtitute beſides of the means of making them be heard by force, found that they ſhould meet with more obſtacles than they had foreſeen; and from that time they feared, that they ſhould reap no other fruit of all their intrigues and ſecret practices, than the embroiling affairs ſome time longer, till this complication of ſo many views, and the impoſſibility of ever uniting them, would at length oblige them to liſten to the dictates of reaſon.

How indeed was it poſſible to reconcile the Pope, or rather his legates, who had their particular deſign, the King of Spain, the Dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, the Dukes of Maïenne, Nemours, Mercœur, and Guiſe, in fine, the Princes of the blood, who had alſo their different deſigns*, of which they were no leſs tenacious? All thoſe parties, as ſoon as the ſtates were opened, reflecting that this was the laſt effort of the party, had recourſe each of them to a thouſand ſtratagems which mutually deſtroyed one another, and according to the notion of what is called fine policy, involved and concealed themſelves under falſe meaſures to bring others to their ends. They joined to the multiplicity of machinations already ſo perplexing, a flux and reflux of opinions, which brought them into a labyrinth where no perſon longer knew where he was. No one declared his ſentiments honeſtly, but ſeemed to ſpeak only to diſguiſe their deſire, and to ſet people about divining its object.

The Spaniards at this juncture regulated their conduct by their ordinary maxim, and their parti-

* The league was of this advantage to France, ſays Le Grain, that every one was willing to command in it, and none to obey.

cular character; or perhaps their design was to found the inclinations of the French, to discover if they would bear willingly a foreign prince to reign over them. When they perceived that by this delay they were in danger of losing what they had been so long aiming at, they at last made their most reasonable proposition, which was the marriage of the Infanta * with the Cardinal of Bourbon. All the French nobles, with the Guises at their head, waited only for this step of the Spaniards, and concurred in one common design, which was to make use of this proposal to kindle between the King and Cardinal all the hatred that could animate two declared rivals, and consequently between the King and the leaders of the contrary party, the Count of Soissons, the Duke of Nevers, Longueville, and others. They suffered this proposition to be carried so far, as to have the articles drawn up, and sent by Bellozanne to the Cardinal: but all the nobles afterwards uniting, knew well how to make it fall. With what design? That may be easily penetrated into, in order that what these lords took

* Clara Eugenia of Austria, second daughter of Philip II. of Spain. Catharine, the eldest, was married to the Duke of Savoy, but not till after the Cardinal of Placentia, Legate, and Cardinal de Pellevé, had endeavoured in vain, to bring France under subjection to Spain, by the marriage of this infanta with Prince Ernest of Austria, the eldest of the Emperor's brothers. Villeroy's Memoirs of state imputes to the court of Madrid, as an error, by which Spain lost the crown of France, their not suffering this infanta, the future Queen, to come to France, unless the Prince whom they destined for her husband was declared and acknowledged: but I doubt whether the arrival of this princess at Paris would have removed all obstacles. According to De Thou, the Duke of Guise's party was so powerful, by the union of Spain and the clergy of France, that had not his own uncle, the Duke of Mayenne, secretly opposed him, and the King of Navarre declared very favourably his resolution to embrace the Catholic religion, in all probability this prince would have been declared King. The Duke of Guise, says Father de Chalons, after Matthieu, History of France, vol. I. p. 237. was pushed by the moderation he discovered on this occasion. He gave no indications of his having flattered himself with such agreeable hopes, nor shewed any solicitude for so great a fortune.

away

away from the Cardinal and the Princes of the blood might fall upon themſelves. As the princes of the blood, by ſeeming to reſign their hopes in favour of the Cardinal, they had an oblique view towards themſelves; which ſhewed them, that after him the crown would more eaſily revert to them, than if it paſſed to the head of a foreigner. The Spaniards comprehended the meaning of all the intrigues of the Princes of Lorrain, and, one may eaſily imagine, never forgave them.

This common intereſt of the nobles, which united them againſt Spain and the Princes of the blood, divided them afterwards into as many branches as they had heads. Every one believed his own fitteſt for the diadem. Jealouſy and malice were ſoon of the party, and each diſputed for the crown, for the ſole pleaſure of hindering one another from obtaining it. It was the conſolation of thoſe who found themſelves excluded. Some of theſe parties objected to one perſon only, and comforted himſelf for not being able to ſucceed for himſelf, if he could fruſtrate his machinations. Of this claſs was the clergy, which, without naming any perſon for the throne, uſed only their utmoſt endeavours to hinder the King of Navarre from being elected. Another undertook to ſupplant two, three, or more of the competitors: but there was not one from any of theſe motives who was capable of forming a party ſo much ſuperior to the others, as to bear down all its oppoſers. The people, although generally the ſlaves of their prejudice in favour of a ſubject, were here, by the number of ſubjects, hindered from determining. And upon this occaſion it happened, as has been often experienced, that adopting the ſtyle of that ſort of indifferent and neutral perſons who were always to be found in public aſſemblies, an affair of this importance was turned into a mere ſhew, and cauſed only

laughter

laughter at the unhappy candidates who were rejected.

But these intrigues, this play of falsehoods, could not last long. In such sort of debates, the first deliberations, and the first motions, are suggested by the passions. If by a concurrence of causes they are prevented from succeeding, reason, though it slowly appears in tumultuous assemblies, yet forces itself at last to be seen and acknowledged, and after long opposition is followed through necessity. The first thing that was done on this occasion was by mean of the parliament, which weighing more maturely the different proposals that were brought upon the carpet, either for a Spanish King, or one of Lorrain, found that it would be an everlasting reproach to them, to suffer a law so fundamental as the hereditary right of succession to be infringed, and began, without knowing well what would be the consequence, by granting an edict * which forbad the carrying the crown out of the royal family. This was far from being a new thought; there was not one who had it not, and who did not feel the injustice of acting contrary to it. But in order to give it due efficacy, it seems it was necessary it

* The edict was passed the 28th of June. "This action," says Villeroy, vol. 2. p. 58. "was the more applauded by all good men, "as the danger that attended it was so great: it was certainly of great "use, and I must say, that the kingdom owed its safety to the "court." John Le Maitre, although made President of the parliament of the league by the Duke of Maienne, the President Edward Molé, the Counsellor William Du Vair, afterwards keeper of the seals, Stephen Fleury, Peter d'Amours, Lazarus Coquely, &c. were the chief promoters of this edict. In consequence of it, the President Le Maitre, with the Counsellors De Fleury and d'Amours, were deputed that same day, to make remonstrances to the Duke of Maienne, as lieutenant-general of the crown. The Duke complained bitterly of this affront from the parliament; and the Archbishop of Lyons, who was with him, having repeated the word *affront* in a passion, and treated the deputies with bad language, the President Le Maitre silenced him with great authority and dignity. See Memoirs of the league, vol. 9. Memoirs of Nevers, vol. 2. p. 635.

should

ſhould be propoſed with weight and gravity. The edict did the buſineſs.

The rights of the royal family began to appear ſacred to a thouſand perſons, who a moment before had not reflected upon them. Spain, whoſe attempt was fruſtrated by this edict, might have ſtill warded off the blow, had ſhe united with the Lorrains, whom it equally ſtruck at; but the more ſhe thought ſhe was intitled to reckon upon their ſuffrages the more irreconcileable was her enmity toward them, when ſhe found they had betrayed her. They could never make up to her, and their conſtant miſunderſtanding inſenſibly paved the way for the victory of their common adverſary.

To accompliſh this, there remained but one ſtep to be taken, which was prevented by the ſtrong oppoſition of the clergy*. A ſtop therefore was put to the affair for ſome time: they reſumed, as if for amuſement, ſome of their former worn-out projects. Different hopes were again raiſed to be ſoon and effectually extinguiſhed; for there was not one perſon who did not tacitly confeſs, that if the King † abjured, all conteſtation would be at an end. Every one voted for the engaging him to comply with this demand, and they applied themſelves to it, not ſlightly as before, but from a more clear and diſtinct view of the true intereſt of the ſtate:

* All the memoirs of theſe times confirm the violent proceedings and outrageous behaviour of the Cardinal de Pleſance, Legate, and of almoſt all the biſhops of France, and curates of Paris and the Sorbonne. "Débourbonnez nous, Seigniur," was the explication a preacher gave of that paſſage of ſcripture, "Deliver me, O Lord, out "of the miry clay." There is an infinite number of ſuch circumſtances, the malignity of which cannot ſurely be excuſed by zeal for the true religion. De Thou obſerves, that the clergy was the only one of three eſtates that perſiſted in voting for a war.

† It was demonſtrated at his time, that Henry IV. was not only the la ful heir to the crown, that was never diſputed, but alſo that in his perſon the three races of our Kings were united. See a proof in a new work intitled, "Genealogical hiſtories of all the ſovereign "families," in the 22d genealogical table.

a view which from this moment became that of the parliament and the whole people, and which met with no more oppoſition, but what ſome nobles, for their perſonal intereſt, were pleaſed to create.

The Dukes of Maïenne, Nemours, and Mercœur, teſtified the greateſt obſtinacy, as was moſt natural, conſidering that they, of all others, had been moſt flattered: but bad as their intentions were, they could not hinder a conference with the King from being propoſed in the ſtates, and carried by a plurality of voices. It was, however, in their power to deſtroy or ſuſpend the effect; and they did not fail to do ſo: for this purpoſe they uſed their utmoſt endeavours; they ſet their emiſſaries to work, took advantage of the King's bad ſucceſs at Selles *, cauſed Mansfield to advance, who took Noyon, gave all the force they were able to the P[illegible] refuſing to allow the Cardinal de Gondy, and the Marquis de Piſany, whom the King had ſent to him, to enter Rome, or even to ſet foot in his Holineſs's territories. Could they flatter themſelves, that the irregularity of theſe proceedings would not be remarked, after having ſo often proteſted, that in all their actions they had only the intereſt of religion in view, and that they were ready to ſubmit to Henry as ſoon as he ſhould quit his errors? No perſon was deceived; but although they prevented all the conſequences which the conference held at Surene, in the month of April †, might have produced, it was thought the laſt effort

* The journey which Henry IV. took towards Tours, and the neceſſity to which he reduced himſelf of raiſing the ſiege of the city of Selles in Berry, were then thought conſiderable faults.

† In the latter end of April, and during part of the month of May. See in the records, vol. 8389. of MSS. in the royal library; Villeroy's memoirs of ſtate, vol. 4; Matthieu and Cayet, ibid. &c. The Archbiſhop of Bourges, who pleaded the King's cauſe, maintained, that obedience is due to Pagan princes, and ſupported this aſſertion by the authority of St. Paul, the privileges of the Gallic church, and

effort of an expiring power. It appeared plainly, that if the King, after having consented that no Protestant deputy should appear at that conference, had not yet entirely complied, it was because the leaguers raised more difficulties about temporal, than the King about spiritual matters. The people, especially, were disposed to do him all justice, and the sweets of a truce, which was the only benefit resulting from this conference, drew them entirely into his interests. But I now return more particularly to this prince.

He made Mante the place of his constant residence, where all his prudence was scarce sufficient to keep a party, composed of persons so opposite in their sentiments, entire. He had been alarmed at first, with the convention of the states, and with so much the more reason, as the first thought which suggested itself to his mind on that occasion, was, that an assembly, in appearance so august and respectable, would soon find a remedy for the disorders of the state. Under this apprehension, the King began to flatter the Catholics more than was his custom; and, as we have just seen, made some efforts to gain the Pope, to the end that he might not extinguish in both parties the only hops that could hinder them from coming to an open rupture with him. It may be easily imagined, that this could not be done without awakening the discontent of the Huguenots. But the King, by his wisdom, was beforehand with them; and it appeared, that nothing was done but in consequence of that general council of the Protestants, of which we have already seen that the result was to turn the thing into art and negotiation. When their complaints grew too loud, and the King found reason to fear that

and by many other unanswerable proofs. Insupportable as the arguments alledged by the Archbishop of Lyons to the contrary were, they prevailed in this conference.

they would carry things to extremity againſt him, he knew how to appeaſe them by ſome new military expedition, which he likewiſe engaged in, to convince the people ſtill more, that this ſame prince, who appeared ſo eaſy and gracious, was no leſs worthy to command them for his valour and abilities in war.

As ſoon as he was informed of the diſunion that raged in the ſtates, the trouble and conteſtations that every word gave riſe to, he looked upon this aſſembly to be the happy means by which his deſigns would be accompliſhed; and all this perplexity now was, the regulating his conduct with the great number of mediators who meddled in his affairs, as ſoon as it was propoſed in the ſtates to treat with him. This prince would at that time have found no obſtacle to the crown, if he had appeared of a humour to ſatisfy the exceſſive demands which the nobles and other members of the league began to make him; but he was reſolved that poſterity ſhould never reproach him with his having owed the regal dignity to his meanneſs, in ſubmitting to the avidity and the caprice of his ſubjects. That he was thus able to reſiſt his natural inclination and ardor to aſcend the throne, was a convincing proof of his being well worthy of it.

I ought here to do juſtice to ſome of them, (the number indeed is not very great); but I am well aſſured, that Meſſ. de Belliévre, de Belin, and Zamet, for inſtance, had no view to their own intereſts in thoſe applications which they made to the King. Some others there might be, who behaved in the ſame manner; but of them I cannot ſpeak with any certainty. As to the reſt, I ſhall content myſelf with naming the principal agents deputed to the King, as well by the league and the ſtates, as by the clergy and French nobility. I ſhall not repeat names already mentioned, but add to them only the Cardinal de Condy, the Marechals d'Aumont

mont and de Bouillon, the Admiral de Biron, Meſſ. D'O, de Vitry, de Lux, du Pleſſis, la Verriere, de Fleury, and the Abbé de Cheſy. A great many others remained undiſtinguiſhed in this croud, although there was not one amongſt them, who was not perſuaded in his own mind, that he ſhould be one day mentioned in hiſtory, as the perſon who had given the deciſive blow. I once counted over to the King, by their names, above a hundred of thoſe perſons. Thoſe that remained would make a fine decoration here, if one could for a moment only open and diſplay the hearts of thoſe ardent counſellors. Vanity, the deſire of favour, ſelf-intereſt, vile artifice, jealouſy, knavery, and treachery, would be all one could diſcover in them.

There were ſome who, till the laſt moment, did not quit their diſguiſe, by which they abuſed the privilege of conferring with this prince, in order to betray more ſecurely, and to ſpread ſnares for him, which any other could not have eſcaped. It is with regret that I name Villeroy * and Jeannin

* In the 1ſt volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate, which contains only a juſtification of this ſecretary's conduct, he candidly confeſſes, that he would never have been prevailed upon to engage in the party of Henry IV. if he had not beforehand taken all the neceſſary meaſures for the ſecurity of the Catholic religion. He confeſſes alſo, with the ſame ſincerity, his connections with the league and Spain, and the political principal which he had eſpouſed, that, in making peace, it was moſt advantageous for the King, to ſeparate him from the intereſt of England, and unite him with Spain. With regard to other accuſations, he defends himſelf with great force. He proteſted that he never received any money from Spain; and whatever arguments he offered, either in the ſtates or any other councils, were ſincerely meant for the King's advantage, and to forward the peace. See the note upon this ſubject ſome pages above, and what is ſaid in the preface to this work. As to the oath taken by the league, which the Duke of Sully here mentions, and which is the moſt ſerious article againſt Villeroy, he is clearly juſtified by Matthieu, vol. 2. p. 153. et ſeq. by Cayet, Caron. Noven. book 5. p. 229. and ſome other hiſtorians; ſo that it muſt be confeſſed, that this is an error in our Memoirs. According to theſe hiſtorians, Villeroy had not only no part in this oath, but was alſo abſolutely ignorant of it, till Henry IV. ſhowed him this writing at Fountainbleau, and charged him to remonſtrate the baſeneſs of ſuch a proceeding to the Duke of Mayenne,

here; but the fact is too well known, and the confusion they were afterwards in, when the king publicly reproached them with it at Fountainbleau, is a conviction of it, as well as the interested conduct Villeroy afterwards observed. Two days only before the king's abjuration, those gentlemen employed themselves so usefully, that they procured a secret assembly to be held, composed of the Pope's and the king of Spain's ministers, and the chief partisans of the league, either in person, or by proxy, for the Dukes of Nemours and Mercœr, then absent. In this assembly, the legate made them all swear, upon the cross, the evangelists, and even the host, to maintain the league, till they saw, upon the throne of France, (I speak it with pain), a king agreeable to Spain; and, above all, never to acknowledge the king of Navarre for such, though he should join to the claim of his birth that of a sincere abjuration. This very pious and charitable oath, signed by the whole assembly, was inclosed in a packet, and sent to Rome. It was from a letter wrote by the Cardinal of Placentia to some members of parliament, the bearer of which was taken up at Lyons by the King's soldiers, that we came to the knowledge of this piece. In this manner did they sport with fidelity, virtue, and religion. This circumstance, though anticipated, seems to me not improperly mentioned here.

Amongst that croud of negotiators and counsellors, there were many who imagined to deceive the King, and who only deceived themselves. The King let them remain in this opinion, not to per-

whom Villeroy was at that time, by the King's command, honestly endeavouring to separate from the league. But it is still more certain, that when Villeroy reproached the Duke of Maienne with this criminal step, Maienne answered him in these words: "I would "neither tell you nor the President Jeannin of this oath, because I "had promised otherwise to the Spaniards and the legates, and was "not ignorant that you would never be brought to approve of such a "remedy." *Matthieu. p.* 155.

made

ſuade theſe ſchemers, but the people, of the facility of bringing him to the point they wiſhed. I ſpeak this becauſe I was told it by the King himſelf. I remember one night, which was, I believe, on the 15th of February, when all the courtiers had quitted his apartment, he ſent Ferret, his ſecretary, to bring me to him, who introduced me into his chamber, where I found him in bed. He owned to me, that he was under a neceſſity of uſing this precaution whenever he had an inclination to converſe with me, that he might not give diſguſt to the Catholics, and the Proteſtants likewiſe, who hated me ſtill more, perhaps, through jealouſy, than the former did through a natural averſion. After complaining of this reſtraint, in terms very obliging to me, he talked to me of thoſe affairs which were at preſent upon the carpet, and of the intrigues of the courtiers to give themſelves the honour of the deciſion. I had ſaid before, and it had been repeated to the King, that I was afraid his eaſy diſpoſition would make him give up more than he ought to do. But the manner in which this prince repreſented to me the ſtate of affairs, and painted the different characters of all the pretenders to his favour, convinced me I had been deceived. I was ſurpriſed at that juſtneſs of penetration with which he, at a glance, diſcerned truth through all the veils that obſcured it. Nor was I leſs charmed, when, ſubmitting his knowledge to mine, he inſiſted upon my preſcribing to him the manner in which he ſhould finiſh an affair, which, to confeſs the truth, was not without danger till the laſt moment. I endeavoured to excuſe myſelf from accepting this honour; but all I could obtain was a delay of three days to take my reſolution: it was during this converſation that the King firſt ſpoke to me about his deſign of intruſting his finances to my care.

After three days mature reflection, I waited upon the King with the ſame ſecrecy. I reliſhed none of the ſchemes that had been recommended to him,

and

and which differed only in the proportion of thoſe rewards which were to be granted to the principal members of the league, and to other intereſted perſons. My opinion was, that matters were not yet ripe for a concluſion; which I ſupported with the following arguments: That the King was freed from that only fear which could induce him to precipitate the iſſue; by which I meant the fear that all theſe pretenders to royalty ſhould unite reſolutely in favour of a ſubject: becauſe the miſunderſtanding which had already riſen among the princes, the nobles, and the miniſters of Spain, gaining ſtrength every day, we could not but expect to ſee them ſoon ſtudious to deſtroy each other's pretenſions. This being ſuppoſed, which was the eſſential point, it muſt neceſſarily happen, that thoſe who were indifferent, and had right intentions, would bind themſelves more cloſely to the King's party: That this effect was already indubitable, with regard to thoſe cities of France which were at too great a diſtance from the league and the cabal, to be influenced by their impreſſions and warmth: That the chiefs of the league themſelves, through hatred, jealouſy, or even a conſideration of their own intereſt, would, one after the other, throw themſelves into the King's party: That the bare hopes only which this prince would ſuffer them to entertain, would give him beforehand moſt of thoſe advantages he could gain from the accompliſhment of them, and would not expoſe him to dangers: That the dangers of a too precipitate execution were, firſt, an open ſeparation of the Proteſtants, who were not yet ſufficiently prepared for this change, which might produce the moſt fatal conſequences; ſince the King, not being yet ſecure of all the Catholics to oppoſe them, would remain at the mercy of both parties; and, ſecondly, the neceſſity he laid himſelf under, by throwing himſelf into the arms of the Catholics, of granting all their demands, however exorbitant they were; which, both

both for the preſent and the future, was of dangerous conſequence: That it was neceſſary to allow theſe ſchemers, and all the chiefs of the league, time to give a preciſe form to their demands, by which they would perceive, that they were incroaching upon each other; which would oblige them to reduce of themſelves their exceſſive pretenſions, to agree, that by ſetting too high a value upon ſlight ſervices, they would put it out of the King's power to ſatisfy them, and at length to ſeek their own intereſt in the general intereſt of the ſtate. I told the King, that he would find the firſt who took this ſtep would be thoſe, who having, only at the inſtigation of foreign powers, demanded ſatisfactions which they were perhaps deſirous of ſharing with them, would begin to be ſenſible of the injuſtice of their proceedings, in proportion as their hatred of thoſe foreigners increaſed: and that thoſe very foreigners, finding the King ſo ready to comply with the demands that were made upon him, would make others demand what they themſelves did not believe they could obtain.

I ſhewed the King, that whatever change ſhould happen in his affairs, it could not be ſo ſudden but he would have it in his power to prevent it, ſince a few words would ſuffice for that; whereas, by gaining time, he would diſcover all their deſigns, and could ſecretly break thoſe connections that might be among them, till all that remained to put an entire concluſion to the treaty, would be to beſtow ſome ſatisfactions upon thoſe who had really a right to demand them. To bring affairs happily to this end, I ſaw nothing better to be done, than for the King to perſiſt in that conduct he had hitherto obſerved: To receive every one kindly; promiſe little; ſeem deſirous of bringing matters to a concluſion; aſcribe always the fault of delays to obſtacles, and earneſtly endeavour to remove them. This, in my opinion, is the manner in which one generally ought to act in political affairs which are a little thorny.

thorny. It is well known in theory, that the difference between precipitation and diligence is, that this laſt, as much a foe to inaction and ſloth as the other, engages in nothing without having firſt conſulted judgement upon it; while in practice they are almoſt always confounded.

In thoſe arguments which I made uſe of to the King, his converſion was always the foundation I ſuppoſed; and his Majeſty, by contradicting none of them, gave me to underſtand, that he would not be ſtopped by that formality. I added only one thing more; which was, that he would not ſuffer this negotiation to degenerate into mere debates, as his adverſaries did, but clap ſome military expedition to it. Having many other reaſons to add, I offered to give them to the King in writing. His Majeſty replied, there was no occaſion for it; that he believed he comprehended all I could have to ſay to him; and that, when he had time himſelf, he would diſcourſe with me upon a ſyſtem, by which it ſeemed to him, that, after having united himſelf to the Catholics, it would not be impoſſible to reconcile them to the Proteſtants.

That this reſolution might be fully executed, the King, at his return to Mante, after the breaking off the conference of Surene, cauſed others, wholly upon the ſubjects of religon, to be held between the Catholic doctors and the Proteſtant miniſters; at which he was regularly preſent: and, on the other hand, he made his preparations for opening the campaign, in the month of April, by ſome action of importance, rather indeed to keep up his reputation with the people, than with a deſign to continue ſeriouſly a war, for which his funds were abſolutely inſufficient.

This expediton was the ſiege of Dreux, for which the King borrowed a large ſum of money from the city of Mante; and, leaving that place about the beginning of April, came to paſs the river of Eure at Seriſy, while I on my ſide aſſembled, and led

led the neceſſary artillery. The Admiral de Biron, by the King's order, inveſted the city, which made little reſiſtance: all the difficulty lay in taking the caſtle, and eſpecially the tower Griſe, which was cannon-proof. I promiſed the King to carry it, if he would give me four Engliſh and Scotch miners, and a certain number of workmen. My enterpriſe did not fail to furniſh matter for laughter and contempt to my enemies, who eagerly ſeized this occaſion to mortify me. The King, though very doubtful of my ſucceſs, granted my requeſt. I led my miners and pioneers to the foot of the tower, where, to guard them againſt the fire and efforts of the beſieged, I covered them with mantelets, and ſtrong pieces of wood, and made them apply ſo cloſely and with ſuch eagerneſs to the work, that, out of ſix and thirty pioneers which I had, four only could work at once: the hardneſs of the ſtone exhauſted their ſtrength, and covered them with ſweat the inſtant they began to work; but I cauſed them to be relieved immediately by four others; ſo that the work was not diſcontinued for one moment, although the enemies within endeavoured to deſtroy them, by precipitating large pieces of ſtone, and firing inceſſantly upon them.

When I found that, notwithſtanding this vigorous defence, I had the very firſt day made an opening five feet in height, three in width, and four in depth, I believed the ſucceſs almoſt infallible. Six days were conſumed in this work. I incloſed three or four hundred pounds of excellent powder, in ſeveral cavities of ſix or ſeven feet ſquare, in the thickeſt part of the wall, which I ſhut up with ſtrong ſtones cemented together with plaiſter, leaving a paſſage only for two large ſauciſſes of dry hides filled with good powder, the end of which reached to the powder within, and joined on the outſide of the tower a train to which the fire was to be put. The Duke of Montpenſier, deſirous of

seeing the disposition of this machine, received a musket-shot there in his face. Every one waited impatiently for my confusion, the result of this great work. And when they were informed of the time when I was to set fire to it, they eargerly assembled to behold the effect: which was not indeed instantaneous; for at first a low sound was heard, accompanied with a good deal of smoke, during which a thousand contemptuous glances were cast upon me; and I was forced to endure as many strokes of raillery upon my mine: but I soon had my revenge. In a few minutes, a much thicker cloud of smoke rose as high at the tower, and, in an instant, we saw it separate precisely into two parts, one of which fell, dragging men, women, and children with it, who were buried under its ruins. The other continued still standing, but in such a condition, that we could behold under its uncovered roof all those that were within, who, terrified and astonished at such an horrible accident, and at our soldiers firing immediately and directly upon them, sent forth most lamentable cries. The King, moved with compassion, ordered the fire to cease, and sending for those miserable objects, gave a crown to each of them. The castle instantly surrendered; and this once I was sure, that the government of a city, taken almost wholly by my means, would no be refused me. But D'O triumphed in gaining it from me, and I yielded it to him, after the King had represented to me, that the terms he was upon with the Catholic party made it impolitic to disoblige them for so slight a subject.

The king stopped only to perform a few more such little expeditions, and returned immediately to Mante, to resume his conferences. This alternate succession of war and debates lasted all the time that the states continued to be held, and even till the day of the King's abjuration. I should betray the cause of truth, if I suffered it to be only suspected, that

that policy, the threats of the Catholics, the fatigue of labour, the love of repose, the desire of freeing himself from the tyranny of foreigners, or even the good of the people, though highly laudable in itself, had entirely influenced the King's last resolution. As far as I am able to judge of the heart of this prince, which I believe I know better than any person, it was indeed those considerations which first hinted to him the thoughts of his conversion; and I confess, that I myself suggested no others to him, fully persuaded, as I have always been, although a Calvinist, from what I have gathered from the most learned of the reformed ministers, that God is no less honoured in the Catholic than in the Protestant church. But at length the King felt himself brought so far, as to regard the Catholic faith as the most sure. The character of candor and sincerity which I always observed in this prince, persuades me, that he would have ill worn, during all the remainder of his life, such a disguise.

Moreover, the confession I make here ought not to be judged hardly of. It is not surprising that Henry, who had never heard so much spoken of religion as in these conferences, and in these continual controversies, should suffer himself to be drawn on that side, which they were careful to make always victorious *. For it must be observed, as an effect of the King's prudent delays, that all, even the Protestants, nay more, the Protestant clergy who were employed in the conferences, were at last thoroughly convinced, that the King's change of religion was a thing absolutely necessary for the good of the state, for peace, and even for the advantage

* All these discourses of the cardinals and prelates of France, whether intended to enlighten his understanding, or increase his zeal, may be found in vol. 9214. of MSS. in the King's library.

The sincerity of his conversion is there proved by the following marks: His respect for the Pope, the cardinals, and the whole clergy; his solicitude for the conversion of the young Prince of Conde;

vantage of both religions: so that there was a kind of general conspiracy to draw him to it. The Protestant clergy either defended themselves no longer, or did it so weakly, that their adversaries had always the advantage.

The Abbé du Perron, who was there as in the field of his glory, was not a man who would lose the fruits of his victory. With that soft and insinuating conversation, that strong and persuasive eloquence, that inexhaustible fund of erudition, supported by a prodigious memory, he could neither be overthrown, nor convicted of falsehood, but by the help of a whole library; a kind of languishing defence. With princes, the transition from complaisance to flattery is very easy. Some of the Protestant clergy, who were most about the King, and whom he consulted upon his difficulties, formally betrayed their faith †; or, by a concerted perplexity, flattered that religion which they already looked upon to be the religion of the King.

The leaders of the Protestant party were not so easily brought this length. They were sometimes untractable. It was in vain to remonstrate to them, that, by their obstinacy, the King would lose the crown; and that, since it was necessary it should be possessed by a Catholic prince, it was an advantage to them, that this Catholic prince was the same who had so long been affectionately united with them, and upon whose friendship they might rec-

his alliance with the Pope, by marrying the Princess of Florence; his endeavours to cultivate a good intelligence between the sovereign Pontiff and the King of England; the marriage of his sister with the Duke of Bar; the erection of the hospital for sick, and other buildings; the sepulchre of our Lord, and the holy places; the satisfaction which he shewed at the victory gained over the Calvinists by the Bishop of Evreux, &c.

† D'Aubigné names some of these Protestants; and observes also, that the Marchioness de Monceaux, the King's mistress, acted the same part, in the hope of becoming Queen herself, if Henry should be declared King. Vol. 3. book 3. chap. 22.

kon. They had flattered themſelves, that they ſhould ſee a prince of their own faith upon the throne, and that Calviniſm ſhould be the eſtabliſhed religion in France. They thought it hard to be deprived of this advantage. Self-love in all religions makes ſuch a loſs be looked upon as irreparable *.

The King experienced this exceſs of bad humour, when ſome of the chief cities in the kingdom, that had been ſuffered to groan under the oppreſſion of an infinite number of little tyrants, firſt applied to his Majeſty, and deputed the Count of Belin to demand of him the freedom of commerce. Henry was either at Mante, or at Vernon when the Count of Belin came to make him this propoſition, which he received in the preſence of his whole council. There was not a Proteſtant there who appeared willing that he ſhould grant it; and what is ſtill more ſurprizing, it met with equal oppoſition from the Catholics, without their being able to aſſign a lawful, or even a plauſible reaſon. All theſe perſons perplexed one another in their deliberations, and perceived plainly that their opinion was groundleſs, yet they could not alter it. The King looking at me that moment, "Monſieur de Roſny, (ſaid he to me), what makes you ſo thoughtful? "Will not you ſpeak your mind abſolutely any "more than others?" I took the word, and was not afraid to declare myſelf againſt all thoſe who had given their opinions, by maintaining, that it was neceſſary not to heſitate a moment in completing the gaining the people over to the King's in-

* "If I follow your advice," replied Henry IV. to a clergyman named *La-Faye*, who addreſſed him in the name of the Proteſtant party, "there will in a little time be neither a king nor kingdom in "France. It is my deſire to give peace to all my ſubjects, and re-"poſe to my ſoul. Conſider among yourſelves what is moſt neceſ-"ſary for your own ſecurity; you ſhall always find me ready to con-"tent you." Chron. Noyen. *ib.*

tereſts,

tereſts, by an inſtance of kindneſs which he might revoke if he found that they abuſed it. This advice raiſed a cry of diſapprobation, which I have always regarded as a recrimination of that conſent I had extorted from the council, which has been mentioned before. The King was obliged to yield to their importunity, and the Count of Belin returned without ſucceſs.

Henry, however, made his reflections upon this refuſal; and judging that there wanted but little more of the ſame nature to alienate totally the people's affections from him, and to induce them to go over to the party of his enemies, he reſolved to defer his converſion no longer. He well perceived, that he ought no longer to expect to vanquiſh the oppoſition of certain of the Proteſtants, or to obtain their full conſent to this ſtep *; but that it was neceſſary to do ſome violence, and to hazard ſome murmurs, which would end in nothing. As for the Catholics of his party, the King endeavoured only to diſſipate their fears, that, looking upon them as perſons of whom he was ſecure, he would apply himſelf wholly to the gaining the reſt, by beſtowing all favours upon them. He therefore at laſt declared publicly, that the 20th of July ſhould be the day of his abjuration; and named the church of St. Denis for this ceremony.

This declaration diſconcerted the league, and filled the hearts of the people, and the Catholics of the royal party, with joy. The Proteſtants, although they had expected it, murmured and ſhrugged up their ſhoulders, and did for form's ſake all

* Henry IV. was always ſenſible, that his abjuration would expoſe him to great hazards; which made him write in this manner to Mademoiſelle d'Eſtrées. "On Sunday I ſhall take a perilous leap. "While I am writing to you, I have a hundred troubleſome people "about me, which makes me deteſt St. Denis as much as you do "Mante," &c. See the new edition of Henry the Great's letters.

that

that ſuch a juncture required of them; but they did not exceed the bounds of obedience. All the eccleſiaſtics, with Du-Perron, intoxicated with his triumph, at their head, flocked together; every one was deſirous of a ſhare in this work. Du-Perron, for whom I had obtained the biſhopric of Evreux, thought he could not ſhew his gratitude for it in a better manner, than by exerciſing his function of converter upon me. He accoſted me with all the confidence of a conqueror, and propoſed to me to be preſent at a ceremony, where he flattered himſelf he ſhould ſhine with ſuch lights, as would diſſipate the profoundeſt darkneſs. "Sir, "(replied I,) "all I have to do by being preſent "at your diſputes, is, to examine which ſide pro-"duces the ſtrongeſt and moſt valid reaſons. The "ſtate of affairs, your number, and your riches, "require that your diſtinctions ſhould prevail." In effect, they did. There was a numerous court at St. Denis, and all was conducted with great pomp and ſplendor. I may be diſpenſed with dwelling upon the deſcription of a ceremony, which the Catholic hiſtorians * will do with equal prolixneſs and complacency.

I did not imagine I could be of any uſe at this time; therefore kept myſelf retired, as one who had no intereſt in the ſhew that was preparing, when I was viſited by Du-Perron, whom the Cardinal of Bourbon had ſent to me, to decide a final diſpute that had ariſen about the terms in which the form of the King's profeſſion of faith ſhould be conceived. The Catholic prieſts and doctors ſtuffed it induſtriouſly with all the trifles their heads

* See, beſides the above-mentioned hiſtorians, Mezerai, and the volume of MSS. marked 8935. in the King's library; where may be found likewiſe the letter written to his Holineſs by the King, the commiſſion given to M. du Perron, when he went to Rome to make a tender of obedience to the Pope, and the King's declaration of the motives of his converſion.

were

were filled with; and were going to make a ridiculous paper, inſtead of a grave and ſolemn compoſition. The Proteſtant miniſters, and the King himſelf, could not away * with the childiſh inſignificancies with which they had ſtuffed this formula; and it occaſioned a conteſtation which had like to have ruined all.

I went immediately with Du-Perron to the Cardinal of Bourbon, with whom it was agreed, that none of the points of faith which were controverted by the two churches ſhould be omitted, but that all the reſt ſhould be ſuppreſſed as uſeleſs. The parties approved of this regulation; and the inſtrument † was drawn up in ſuch a manner, that the King acknowledged there all the Roman tenets concerning the holy ſcripture, the church, the number and the ceremonies of the ſacraments, the ſacrifice of the mass, tranſubſtantiation, the doctrine of juſtification, the invocation of ſaints, the worſhip of relics and images, purgatory, indulgences, and the ſupremacy and power of the Pope ‡. After which the abjuration was general ||.

BOOK

* "Let us not ſpeak of a *requiem*," (ſaid Henry IV.) I am not dead yet."

† See the original of it in the old Memoirs. Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, and Mezerai after him, reproached the King and the Catholics, apparently without any foundation, that this firſt inſtrument which they ſuppreſſed, was however the ſame that was ſent to the Pope, as if the King had compoſed, written, and ſigned it with his own hand, but, in reality, a counterfeited, by M. Lominie. Theſe are his own words, book 1. p. 198. book 2. p. 207.

‡ Another act of equal validity, by which Henry IV. acknowledged the Pope's authority, is the declaration which he made after his converſion, that it was neceſſary, and the confuſion of affairs, that obliged him to refuſe abſolution from the prelates of France, rather than from thoſe of St. Peter. This declaration is recorded in Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate, vol. 3. p. 61.

|| It was Renauld, or Beaune de Samblaincai, Archbiſhop of Bourges, who received the King's abjuration. The Cardinal of Bourbon, who was not a prieſt, and nine other biſhops, aſſiſted at the ceremony. Henry IV. entering the chapel of St. Denis, the Archbiſhop ſaid to him, "Who are you?" (Henry replied) I am the King. "What

"is

BOOK VI.

THE ceremony of the King's abjuration was followed by a deputation * of the Duke of Nevers to Rome, who, together with the Cardinal de Gondy, and the Marquis de Pisany, were to make the Pope the obeisance usual in such cases. Although this change was a mortal stroke for the league, the Spaniards and the Duke of Maienne

" is your request? (said the Archbishop.) " To be received, (said " the King) unto the pale of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman " church." " Do you desire it?" added the prelate. " Yes I do " desire it," replied the King. Then kneeling, he said, " I pro- " test and swear, in the presence of Almighty God, to live and die " in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion: to protect and " defend it against all its enemies, at the hazard of my blood and " life, renouncing all heresies contrary to this Catholic, Apostolic, " and Roman church." He afterwards put the same confession, in writing into the hands of the Archbishop, who presented him his ring to kiss, giving him absolution with a loud voice, and heard his confession, during which *Te Deum* was sung, &c. See a particular account of the ceremony in the historians Cayet, book 5. p. 222. *et seqq.* Matthieu, &c.

* Clement VIII. refused to acknowledge and receive the Duke of Nevers as ambassador, and would oblige the French bishops to go and present themselves to the grand inquisitor, pretending that they had no power to absolve the King. M. de Thou blames, with as much reason, the Pope's inflexibility upon this occasion, as he extols the courage, prudence, and the whole conduct of the Duke of Nevers, book 108. See Mem. de Nevers. tom. 2. MSS. de bibliot. du Roi, and in the historians above mentioned, the particulars of the embassies of Nevers and Luxemburg, and the negotiations of Father Seraphin Olivari, De la Clielle, of the Abbots du Perron and d'Ossat with the Holy Father. The Pope still deferred a long time an absolution, which he had a great desire to grant, and received very ill La Clielle, who presented to him the letters of Henry IV. Father Seraphin, who was present, did plainly perceived that the Pope's anger was only feigned, said to him merrily, " Holy Father, if the " devil himself was to come and ask an audience of you, and if there " was any hope of converting him, you could not in conscience " deny him it." This made his Holiness smile.

ſtill held out. They endeavoured to perſuade their partiſans, that there ſtill remained reſources capable of fruſtrating it: but all of them ſpoke at that time contrary to their ſentiments; and this feigned confidence was only deſigned to obtain greater advantages from the King, before he was well eſtabliſhed on the throne.

This is not a ſimple conjecture, at leaſt with regard to the King of Spain, ſince it is certain, that he ordered Taxis and Stunga to offer the King ſuccours ſufficient to reduce all the chiefs of the league and the Proteſtant party, without annexing any other condition to this offer, than a ſtrict alliance between the two crowns, and an agreement, that the King ſhould give no ſupport to the rebels in the Low Countries. Philip II. judged of Henry by himſelf, and conſidered his converſion only as the principle of a new political ſyſtem, which required him to betray his oldeſt engagements. It may not, perhaps, be unuſeful to make here a remark upon Spain: it is, that although before and after the death of Catharine de Medicis, ſhe had put a thouſand different ſprings in motion, and although ſhe had changed parties and intereſts every time ſhe thought it expedient to draw advantages from the diviſions that agitated this kingdom, the Proteſtant party was the only one to which ſhe had never turned herſelf. She has often publicly proteſted, that ſhe never had the leaſt intention to gain or ſuffer their alliance. It is by conſequence of this ſame antipathy, that the Spaniards have conſtantly refuſed the new religion admiſſion into their ſtates: which cannot be attributed to any thing but the republican maxims with which theſe religioniſts are accuſed of being tainted. The King being more and more convinced, that to choak the ſeeds of ſchiſm in his kingdom, it was neceſſary to give none of the different factions occaſion to boaſt, that his power was at their diſpoſal; and that, to reduce

all

all parties, he must not espouse any: he therefore constantly rejected these offers from Spain, and those which the Duke of Maienne made him to the same purpose; but, at the same time, appeared willing to treat with any of the chiefs or of the cities of the league which would surrender, and to recompense them in proportion to their forwardness and services: and it was this prudent medium that he was resolved to persist in. Although his last action had united him to the religion of the league, yet his aversion to the spirit of that body, and to the maxims by which it had ever been conducted, was not diminished: the very name only of the league was sufficient to kindle his indignation. The Catholic leaguers supposing that his abjuration authorised them to abolish, in some cities which depended upon them, the edicts that were favourable to the Huguenots, the King caused them to be reestablished: and tho' in some places, the leaguers had obtained the consent even of the Huguenots themselves (determined to purchase peace at any price) for this purpose, yet the Protestant party murmuring at it, Henry cancelled all that had been done to that effect *, and manifested, that his intention was to keep the balance always equal.

The Duke of Maienne, finding that in his last scheme, which he had believed infallible, he was disappointed as well as the rest, placed all his future dependence upon his old friends the Parisians, and neglected no method by which he might awaken their mutinous humour. But very far from succeeding in this attempt, he could not even hinder them from discovering their joy at what had

* The King, on the 12th of December this year, held an assembly of the Protestants at Mante, in which he publicly declared, that his changing his religion should make no alteration in the affairs of the Protestants. *Mem. de la ligue, tome 5.* And the Calvinists having made many demands, he told them, that he could not grant them, but that he would tolerate them. Matthieu, tom. 2. b. 1. p. 164.

juſt paſſed at St. Denis. They talked publicly of peace, and in his very preſence; and he had the mortification to hear a propoſal to ſend deputies to the King, to demand a truce for ſix months, and to be obliged to give his own conſent to it. The truce for three months, that had been granted them at Surène †, had only given them a reliſh for a longer one.

The King gave audience to the deputies in full council. The greateſt number of thoſe who compoſed it, liſtening only to their jealouſy of the Duke of Maienne, whom they feared as a man that had the means in his power of purchaſing favour and rewards, were of opinion, that no regard ought to be had to the demand of the deputies, becauſe the perſon who ſent them perſiſted in his revolt againſt the King, ever ſince his abjuration. Notwithſtanding the juſtice of not confounding the Duke of Maienne with the Pariſians, I ſaw this advice was likely to be followed; and certainly it could not but have produced ſome terrible misfortune. I inſiſted ſo ſtrongly upon the advantage of letting the people, already recovered from their firſt wanderings, taſte the ſweetneſs of a peace, which would intereſt them ſtill more in the King's favour, that this prince declared he would grant the truce they demanded of him, but only for the months of Auguſt, September, and October.

The next day a prodigious concourſe of the populace of Paris aſſembled at St. Denis. The King ſhewed himſelf to the people, aſſiſted publicly at maſs; where-ever he turned his ſteps, the croud was ſo great, that it was * ſometimes impoſſible to pierce

† Or at Villet, ſituated between Paris and St. Denis, as it is obſerved in the Memoirs of the league. It is dated July 31. and was publiſhed the next day at Paris.

* "They are wild," "ſaid Henry, to ſee a King." *Etoile, ib.* In a letter which he wrote to Mademoiſelle D'Eſtrées, upon this or ſome ſimilar occaſion, he ſays, "A pleaſant adventure befel me at "church:

pierce through them: at the same moment, a million of voices together, cried, *Long live the King.* Every one returned, charmed with his good mien, his condescension, and that popular air which was natural to him. " God bless him, (said they, with " tears in their eyes,) and grant that he may soon " do the same in our church of Notre Dame " in Paris." I observed to the King this disposition of the people with regard to him: tender and sensible as he was, he could not behold this spectacle without a lively emotion.

The Spaniards had recourse to their ordinary subtilties. D'Entragues came to me one morning, and told me, that a Spaniard was just arrived at St. Denis, charged with important dispatches, from Mandoce, who had ordered him to address himself directly to me, as being the only man who had any knowledge of the proposals which he had a long time ago made to the King at Bearn, by Morlau and the Viscount de Chaux. This Spaniard, whose name was *Ordognes* or *Nugnes*, had been a domestic of D'Entragues, whose service he had quitted for that of Mandoce: D'Entragues corresponded, by his means, with the Spanish ambassador to the league: This is what I learned of this man by the recital, whether true or false, that D'Entragues made me. I did not confide much in this Spanish emissary, and scarcely more in D'Entragues, with whose turbulent disposition I was acquainted. I received him therefore coldly enough; for I did not doubt but this was all a Spanish stratagem. But D'Entragues seemed so offended at my suspicions of his fidelity, and added so many assurances of the veracity of his Nugnes, that I permitted him to bring him to me that evening. The King, whom

" church: an old woman of eighty years of age, seized me by the " head and kissed me; I was not the first who laughed at it; to- " morrow you shall purify my mouth." *Recueil des lettres d'Henry le Grand.*

I informed of D'Entrague's visit, had the same opinion of it that I had: however, he commanded me to hear the envoy.

D'Entragues did not fail to return at the time appointed, accompanied by the Spaniard; who, after some vague conversation about the joy there was in the court of Spain for the King's abjuration, and infinite protestations of good-will, which I had no reason to believe very sincere, at length told me, he was charged to propose a marriage beween the King and the Infanta of Spain, with some other articles, which he declared he had been ordered to explain only to the King himself, to whom he intreated me to present him. Henry being willing to hear him, I told Nugnes, without any ceremony, that since he came from so suspected a place, he must purchase the honour of an audience from his Majesty, by submitting to a few precautions that would perhaps be a little mortifying. He thought nothing too hard. I therefore began to search him myself, and afterwards caused two of my valets de chambre to make a more rigid scrutiny about his person and cloaths; one of them having been a taylor, acquitted himself perfectly. When he came into the King's apartment, I made him kneel, and held both his hands betwixt mine. He added nothing to the proposals he had already made me; but talked of the alliance between the two crowns, in terms so specious and so magnificent, that the King, who at first would hardly listen to him, could not hinder himself from approving of the Spaniard's proposal, to send some person on whom he could rely, to inquire of Don Bernardin de Mendoce himself, if the truth of what he had just said could be reckoned upon.

This deputation, which would have the appearance of a mystery, I could not approve of, and still less of the choice his Majesty made of La Varenne

for

for this occaſion, a man full of vanity *. The King, to whom I diſcovered all my apprehenſions, thought he ſhould avoid any appearance of an engagement or negotiation with Spain, by giving La-Varenne no commiſſions in writing, and making the regulation of ſome boundaries upon the frontiers of Spain the pretence for his journey. La-Varenne had no ſooner received orders to depart, than he boaſted of his commiſſion, aſſumed the ambaſſador, and repreſented himſelf as ſuch to Mandoce; who, on his ſide, paid him greater honours than he had required. This produced the effect which the Spaniards deſigned it ſhould. It was for ſome time believed in England and Germany, that Henry courted the King of Spain's friendſhip, and to break the alliance with the Proteſtant powers; which might

* His name was William Fouquet, and he derived the title of La-Varenne from the marquiſate of La-Varenne in Anjou, which he bought. His firſt employment was that of a cook to the Princeſs Catharine, and his chief excellency in it was larding meat. If it be true, that this princeſs met him one day after his preferment, and ſaid to him, "La-Varenne, You have gained more by carrying pou-"lets * to my brother, than by larding pullets to me;" one may conclude, that the means by which he gained the King's favour were not the moſt honeſt. He was firſt made cloak-bearer to this prince, afterwards counſellor of ſtate, and comptroller-general of the poſt-office, and always lived in great familiarity with Henry IV. who gave him letters of nobility. La-Varenne appointed a gentleman to attend his ſon. "What," ſaid this prince to him, "if thou hadſt given "thy ſon to a gentleman, I ſhould have underſtood what you would "be at; but to give a gentleman to him, is what I cannot compre-"hend." They ſay, likewiſe, that La-Varenne having obtained ſome favour of the King, which the Chancellor de Believre made ſome difficulty to grant him, La-Varenne ſaid to him, "Sir, don't "have ſuch a high opinion of yourſelf. I would have you know, "that if my maſter was twenty-five years younger, I would not "change my employment for yours." See D'Aubigné, Geneal. de Sainte-Marthe, Mem. de M. le Duc d'Anguléme, Mem. de Du-Pleſſis, &c. Menagiana. Cayet, ibid. tom. 5. p. 276. ſpeaks of the embaſſy of La-Varenne into Spain, in a quite different manner from our Memoirs.

* *The original word is of an ambiguous meaning, denoting both a pullet and a girl.*

perhaps

perhaps have produced an open rupture, if the King had not taken meaſures immediately to convince them of the contrary.

A laſt reſource which the league now depended upon, and which was the cauſe that they always protracted an agreement or rupture with the Spaniards, was the horrid reſolution of aſſaſſinating the King: A reſolution with which they knew well how to inſpire a ſmall number of determined men, whoſe heads they had turned with the alluring proſpect of great rewards, if they ſucceeded in their enterpriſe, and the hopes of meriting a crown of martyrdom if they failed in it. Nature itſelf ſo recoils at the reflection, that thoſe who boaſt of being the ſupporters of religion, ſhould ſo monſtrouſly abuſe what it holdeth moſt ſacred, that this paſſage ought to be effaced from all hiſtories; were it not likewiſe certain, that there is not any ſociety of men, who bear the name of Chriſtians, that would not reject with indignation the imputation of authoriſing ſuch a deſign. It were even criminal to accuſe any body of men, or even any individual, without proofs too clear to be conteſted.

The King had them but too frequently * in thoſe journeys he took from St. Denis to Chalons-ſur-marne, to Fort de Gournai, to Brie-comterobert, to Melun, and afterwards to Meulan and Fontainebleau. Upon this article, the monks eſpecially have contracted a ſtain which they will not eaſily efface. Henry, while at Melun, had like to have periſhed by the hand of theſe furies, whom the Jeſuits and Capuchins had diſperſed over all. Among other

* Cayet, Chron. Noven. book 5. p. 280. ſpeaks more poſitively of thoſe conſpiracies againſt the life of Henry IV. Mariſot ſays, that a Flamand, named *Aventius*, came to St. Denis with a deſign to ſtab this prince; but obſerving with what devotion he behaved at maſs, he threw himſelf at his feet, and implored his pardon; but afterwards, reſuming his firſt intention, he was broke upon the wheel in 1593. *Chap.* 33.

informations which were ſent him upon this ſubject, he received advice, that one of theſe villains had ſet out from Lyons, with a reſolution to come and attempt to aſſaſſinate him. † Fortunately, before he left Lyons, he declared his deſigns, in confeſſion to a prieſt; who, frighted at his frenzy, revealed it to a gentleman of Lyons. This gentleman poſted away immediately to get to Melun before the murderer, and deſcribed him ſo exactly to the King, from the picture the prieſt had drawn of him, that he was known and ſeized amongſt the croud at Melun, confeſſed his crime, and received chaſtiſement. The King was aſhamed even for his enemies, who, by this wickedneſs, diſcovered ſo manifeſtly the bottom of their hearts. He found himſelf equally alarmed with all theſe attempts againſt his perſon, and tormented with the precautions he was obliged to take; and often complained to me in the bitterest manner.

He had been happy, if the behaviour of the Catholics in his court had at leaſt conſoled him for that of the Catholics in the league. But the King's abjuration had produced no more change in them than the others; and they thought they had no leſs right to ſubject him to all their caprices. They bore with impatience the King's not breaking off all commerce with his old Proteſtant ſervants, and openly murmured if he but converſed with any of them, eſpecially with me. The apprehenſion of my bringing him back to his former belief, affected

† See Davila, book 4.; Mem. of the league; de Thou, b. 107.; Mezeray, b. 62. &c. It is proper to obſerve here once for all, that when the Duke of Sully and other Calviniſt writers throw out ſuch imputations upon Villeroi, Jeannin, D'Oſſat, and the Jeſuits, it ſignifies no more, in the ſenſe of the writers themſelves, than that ſuch a thing happened in conſequence of the principles, writings, theſe preachings, the ſpirit, in a word, that actuated the league; and not that ſuch a perſon or ſuch a Jeſuit was the author and mover of the action. See Cayet, b. 5. &c.

them much leſs than their ſuſpicions that, in theſe converſations I had with the King, I ſhould prevail upon him to rectify the abuſes in the government, eſpecially the diſorder in the finances. Henry, who was not yet in a condition to ſpeak as a maſter, had the complaiſance to avoid all particular converſation with the Huguenots, reſumed his conferences upon religion with the Catholics only, and continued them at Andreſy and Milly *. I took this opportunity to aſk the King's permiſſion to go to Bontin, where I had grain to ſell to the value of 5 or 6000 crowns. He granted it, and told me, that, at my return, he might perhaps ſee more clearly into his affairs, and be able to talk farther with me.

I came to Bontin with my wife, at a time when grain bore a very high price. All the great cities, taking advantage of the truce, haſtened to fill their magazines, whatever might happen, and paid for what they bought with the money which the Spaniards had ſcattered over all. Spaniſh piſtoles were then ſo common, that commerce was generally carried on in that money.

I had ſcarce ſold half of my grain, when a letter the King wrote to me from Fountainbleau obliged me to attend him. He had, in my abſence, opened three letters directed to me, from which he could draw no intelligence, becauſe two of them, one of which came from Madam de Simiers, ſiſter to Vitry, and a great friend of Admiral Villars, and the other from La-Font, were written in cyphers; and all that the third, which came from a man named Deſportes, of Verneuil, contained, was, that he had

* And likewiſe at Pontoiſe in Fleury, a caſtle in Gatinois, belonging to Henry Clauſe, grand maſter of the forests and the waters. The Roman Catholics who were there, were, according to M. de Thou, Meſſ. de Schomberg, de Villeroi, de Belin, de Revol, Jeannin, and de Thou himſelf, who gives us alſo to underſtand, that they ſpoke more of politics than of religion.

ſomething

ſomething to communicate to me, relating to the propoſal I made him in my abbey of St. Taurin of Evreux. The King, rigidly watched by the Catholics, could only give me thoſe letters, with the contents of which I afterwards acquainted him. Deſportes was the agent employed by the Baron de Medavy, to treat of an accommodation with him, and the ſurrender of Verneuil. The letter from Madam de Simiers, and that from La-Font, turned only upon ſome facilities which now preſented themſelves, to engage Villars in the King's intereſt. But affairs ſoon took another turn with regard to him: the loſs of Feſcamp ſo affected this governor, that, for this time, he broke off all accommodation. I was informed of it by new letters from Madam de Simiers and La-Font, in anſwer to mine, at the very moment when, by the King's command, I was preparing to go and confirm Villars in his good reſolutions.

This was what had happened at Feſcamp; it is a ſtroke of hardineſs that merits particular mention. When this fort was taken by Byron from the league, in the garriſon that was turned out of it, there was a gentleman called Bois-roſé, a man of heart and of head, who remarked exactly the place out of which he was driven; and taking his precautions deep, contrived to get two ſoldiers, whom he had gained, to be received into the new garriſon which was put into Feſcamp by the royaliſts. That ſide of the fort next the ſea is a perpendicular rock ſix hundred feet high, the bottom of which, for about the height of twelve feet, is continually waſhed by the ſea, except four or five days in the year, during the utmoſt receſs of the ſea, when, for the ſpace of three or four hours, it leaves fifteen or twenty fathom of dry ſand at the foot of the rock. Bois-roſé, who found it impoſſible by any other way to ſurpriſe a garriſon, who guarded attentively a place lately taken, did not doubt of accompliſhing his deſign,

if he could enter by that ſide which was thought inacceſſible. He thought no longer but how to render the thing poſſible; and this was the expedient he took.

He had agreed upon a ſignal with the two ſoldiers whom he had corrupted, and one of them waited for it continually upon the top of the rock, where he poſted himſelf during the whole time that it was low water. Bois-roſé taking the opportunity of a very dark night, came with fifty reſolute men, choſen for the purpoſe from amongſt all the ſailors, and landed with two ſloops at the foot of the rock. He had provided himſelf with a thick cable, equal in length to the height of the rock, and tying knots at certain diſtances, run ſhort ſticks through, to ſerve to ſupport them as they climbed. The ſoldier whom he had gained, having waited ſix months for the ſignal, no ſooner perceived it, than he let down a cord from the top of the precipice, to which thoſe below faſtened the cable, by which means it was wound up to the top, and made faſt to an opening in the battlement with a ſtrong crow run through an iron ſtaple made for that purpoſe. Bois-roſé giving the lead to two ſerjeants, whoſe courage he was well convinced of, ordered the fifty ſoldiers to mount the ladder in the ſame manner, one after another, with their weapons tied round their bodies, himſelf bringing up the rear, to take away from the faint-hearted all hope of returning; which indeed ſoon became impoſſible: for before they had aſcended half way, the ſea riſing more than ſix feet, carried off their ſloops, and ſet their cable a-floating. The neceſſity of extricating one's ſelf from a difficult ſtep is not always a ſecurity againſt fear, when there is ſo much cauſe for apprehenſion. Let one but repreſent to himſelf, theſe fifty men, ſuſpended between heaven and earth, in the midſt of darkneſs, truſting ſolely to a machine ſo inſecure, that the leaſt want of caution, the treach-

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cry of a mercenary ſoldier, or the ſlighteſt fear, might precipitate them into the abyſs of the ſea, or daſh them upon the rocks; add to this, the noiſe of the waves, the height of the rock, their laſſitude and faintneſs; it will not appear ſurpriſing, that the moſt reſolute of the troop ſhould tremble, as, in effect, he who conducted them began to do. This ſerjeant telling the next man that he could mount no higher, and that his heart failed him, Bois-roſe, to whom this diſcourſe paſſed from mouth to mouth, and who perceived the truth of it by their advancing no higher, took his meaſures without heſitation. He paſſed over the bodies of all the fifty that were before him, adviſing to keep firm, and got up to the foremoſt, whom he attempted to reanimate; but finding that gentleneſs would not prevail, he obliged him to mount by pricking him in the back with his poinard; and, doubtleſs, if he had not obeyed him, he would have run him thro', and precipitated him into the ſea. At length, with incredible labour and fatigue, the whole troop got to the top of the rock, a little before the break of day, and was introduced by the two ſoldiers into the caſtle, where they began to ſlaughter without mercy the centinels and the whole guard: ſleep delivered up almoſt all the garriſon to the mercy of the enemy, who carried it with a high hand over all who reſiſted, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort.

Bois-roſe immediately ſent notice of this almoſt incredible ſucceſs to Admiral Villars, and thought the government of the citadel he had ſo dearly bought was the leaſt gratification he might expect. However, he heard that Villars, or rather the Commandeur de Grillon, had a diſign to drive him out of it. In the firſt tranſports of his rage for this injuſtice, he delivered the caſtle of Feſcamp to the King, whoſe converſion he had juſt been informed of. Villars, at this news, broke off the negotiation which he had permitted Madam de Simiers and La-

Font

Font to carry on in his name, and ſent forces to inveſt Feſcamp. Bois-roſe, finding himſelf too weak to make a long reſiſtance, called the King to his aid, who inſtantly ſet forward for Dieppe, and came to St. Vallery in Caux. When this hoſtility broke out, the three months truce was expired; but the King had been prevailed upon to prolong it for two or three months, upon the Duke of Maienne's repreſentation, that it was neceſſary he ſhould have more time to ſettle an affair of ſuch importance as his accommodation, and that of the league. He failed not to exclaim againſt this violation of the truce; and ſent the Count of Belin, governor of Paris, to the King, to complain of it. Belin came to St. Vallery, acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion, and demanded a farther prolongation of the truce for three months; a time neceſſary for the Duke of Maienne to make known his laſt intentions at Rome and Madrid, whither he had ſent Cardinal de Joyeuſe and Montpezat for that purpoſe. The King, who perceived he only wanted to amuſe him, rejected the Count of Belin's propoſals; and, without liſtening to any more complaints of the action, which his enemies had been the firſt cauſe of, marched directly to Feſcamp, forced the troops of Villars to retire, and provided this fortreſs abundantly with all that was neceſſary for its ſecurity.

The King, at his return to Mante, being informed that the Marquis de Vitry was inclined to receive him into Meaux, to ſecond the good intentions of this governor, he came to Lagny, where all was regulated in ſuch a manner, that he made his public entry into Meaux * on the firſt day of the year 1594.

* The Duke of Maienne upbraiding Vitry for having betrayed him, in delivering the city of Meaux into the King's hands, Vitry ſaid to his meſſenger, "You preſs me too much: you will at laſt "make me ſpeak as becomes a ſoldier. Suppoſe a thief had ſtolen a "purſe, and confided it to my care; if afterwards, coming to the "knowledge of the right owner, I ſhould refuſe it him, and refuſe "to

1594. La-Châtre immediately followed this example, with the cities of Orleans and Bourges.

The truce being at an end, the King laid siege to Ferte Milon. I would have taken this opportunity to finish the buſineſs that had carried me to Bontin; but his Majeſty commanded me to review ſome battalions of Swiſs at Montereau. I ſent to Madam de Roſny to meet me at this place, from whence I intended to carry her to Mante. She waited for me there in vain. Two days before that in which I was to review the Swiſs, I received new diſpatches from Madam de Simiers and La-Font, which informed me, that the man (meaning Villars) was appeaſed, and that nothing hindered me from reſuming the ſcheme that had been laid aſide. This affair the King thought of ſuch importance, as not to admit of a moment's delay. The Count de Chaligny, juſt then coming to the army with a paſſport for Paris, intreated the King to ſend a perſon whom he could depend upon, to conduct him to that city; and the King was willing that I ſhould avail myſelf of this double occaſion of learning more particularly the diſpoſitions of the Duke of Maienne and the league, and of getting to Rouen ſecurely.

I accompanied, therefore, the Count de Chaligny to Paris: from whence, after having an interview with the Duke of Maienne, I went to Louviers, to the houſe of the Sieur de St. Bonnet, about two leagues from Rouen: from this place I ſent notice of my arrival to the intromitters: they came to fetch me the next evening, and introduced me into Fort St. Catharine, where Capt. Boniface received and treated me magnificently, while we waited for Villars, who came at night, attended only by one ſervant; I likewiſe having none but my valet de chambre with me. We did not part till af-

" to give it back to the thief who had intruſted me with it, do you " think I ſhould commit a wicked and treaſonable action? So it is " in the affair of the city of Meaux." Memoirs for the hiſtory of France, tom. 2.

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ter a converſation of two hours, which left me entirely ſatisfied of the ſentiments of this governor. Our interview was conducted with the utmoſt ſecrecy; for, beſides that the governors of the principal royaliſt cities in the neighbourhood of Rouen would not have failed, either through jealouſy or through intereſt, to croſs the negotiation, and perhaps have done ſomething worſe, as, in effect, they did, as ſoon as they had any ſuſpicion of the affair. There were in this province a great number of forces, as well foreigners as thoſe belonging to the league, of which Villars was not entirely maſter, and which might in a little time be joined by ſuch conſiderable ſupplies, as to make him repent of his meaſures.

I ſtaid five whole days in Fort St. Catherine with the ſame privacy; during which time I had ſeveral conferences with Villars, and entered upon the principal conditions of his accommodation. Intereſt was not here the greateſt difficulty to get over; he was leſs ſolicitous to gratify mercenary views, than to be convinced that the King, by treating with him, ſought not only to gain the capital of a province, but to bind to his intereſt a man who manifeſted as great an inclination, as he had abilities, to ſerve him. It has been already obſerved, what idea Villars had conceived of the King. As ſoon as my diſcourſe had confirmed him in it, I could perceive the treaty to be in great forwardneſs; but I could not then go any farther, not having in writing the neceſſary powers for concluding the affair.

But to give a more perfect knowledge of this governor: All that you could ſee of him had a reference to one or other of two qualities that predominated in his character, or was produced by their mixture. Theſe two qualities were valour and integrity. The firſt rendered his heart elevated and generous, full of a pride noble and natural *.

ral *, which is nothing else but the sentiment of our worth; a sentiment that has nothing of that pitiful vanity and affectation, by which one is lost in an overweening admiration of himself. The second makes a man sincere and ingenuous, incapable of artifice and surprise, and ever disposed to submit to reason and to justice. He who unites both the two, has rarely any other fault than a hastiness in the first moments of anger.

Such was Villars; and what I have still to say concerning him will justify the truth of this character. Nature had not formed him to continue long an enemy to a prince with whom he had so great a conformity in his humour. The only difference between them was, that Henry, by continual reflections upon the effects of anger, by a habit acquired in a long course of adversity, by the necessity he was under of gaining friends, and finally, by the bent of his heart to tenderness, had converted these first transports, so vehement, into simple movements † discernible in his countenance, in his gesture, and but rarely in his words.

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* M. de Thou, speaking of the Admiral de Villars, says, that he was of a harsh and overbearing spirit. Book 103.

† Here is an anecdote taken from the Memoirs of the life of the President de Thou, which proves what the author says here concerning the character of Henry IV. and which has also some relation to what had been said before upon the siege of Rouen. "One day that "Grillon came into the King's closet, to excuse himself upon his "being reproached, that his going backwards and forwards to treat "with the Admiral, had afforded him the occasion and the means "of making that furious sally which has been mentioned, he passed "from excuses to contestations, and from contestations to transport "and blasphemies. The King, being irritated at this behaviour, "commanded him to go out; but as Grillon was coming back every "moment from the door, and they perceiving that the King grew "pale with anger and impatience, they were afraid he would seize "upon somebody's sword, and make the fellow that was become so "insolent. At last, being come to himself, after Grillon went out, "and turning towards the Lords who attended him, and who, with "De Thou, had admired the patience with which he bore such cri- "minal brutality, he said to them, 'Nature has formed me passion- "ate;

The King was just come to Chartres *, which place he had chosen † for the ceremony of his coronation, when I joined him, to give him an account of my journey, and to procure full powers. I had reckoned upon setting out again instantly, and little expected to be detained with him ten or twelve days, as I was. He was then endeavouring to reconcile the Count of Soissons and the Duke of Montpensier, whose enmity was first occasioned by some disputes relating to the prerogatives of their rank, as princes of the blood, and was afterwards exasperated by their competition for the same posts, the same governments, and, above all, for the same mistress, who was the Princess Catharine, sister to the King. The Duke of Montpensier had, without contradiction, the advantage in the good graces of the King, as well as in fortune; for he had im-

" ... but since I have been sensible of this fault, I have always endeavoured to guard against the dictates of so dangerous a passion. I know by experience, that it is a bad counsellor, and am glad to have such good witnesses of my moderation." "it is certain that his temperament, his continual fatigues, and the different situations of his life, had given him a firmness of soul, that was more proof against anger than against his passion for pleasure. It was remarked, that while Grillon was thus contesting with him, M. Biron, who was then in the King's room, sitting upon a trunk, pretended to be asleep; and as the dispute grew warmer, his sleep became more profound: though Grillon came near him in order to abuse him, and cried aloud in his ears, that he was a mangy snarling dog. The company was persuaded, that the Marechal only affected that deep sleep, that he might not expose himself to the brutality of such a fiery hot-brained man; which he would have been obliged to do, had he been ever so little awake. It was also believed, that he was willing to leave the King all the fatigue of the conversation."

* Feb. 17, 1594.

† Against a frivolous decree of the states of Blois, which annuls the ceremony unless it is made in the city of Rheims. It was decided that his Majesty should be crowned by Nicholas de Thou, Bishop of this city, and not by the Archbishop of Bourges, who claimed that honour as Lord Almoner; and that the *sainte ampoule*, or holy bottle, should be dispensed with. See this ceremony described in the historians.

menſe eſtates; he appeared at the coronation with a train of 4 or 500 gentlemen, while his rival could with difficulty maintain ten or twelve: but poor as he was, without places, without governments, and diſliked by the King ever ſince his eſcape from Rouen, he was ſuperior in one point, he poſſeſſed the heart of the princeſs, which nothing could alienate from him. The Counteſs of Guiche † was the depoſitory of their ſecrets, and their common meſſenger when they could not ſee each other. She had ſo well cultivated this attachment, that ſhe had made them both ſign a promiſe of marriage, which only the difficulty of the times hindered them from carrying into execution.

His Majeſty was ſo paſſionately deſirous of reconciling theſe two princes of the blood to each other, that this conſideration ſuperſeded the treaty with Villars. He had no regard to my inſtances, nor to the danger which I made him ſee would attend the delaying it; I muſt determine to undertake this difficult reconcilement, conjointly with the Biſhop of Evreux, whom he had at firſt pitched upon, but he found he was unable to ſucceed alone in ſo delicate an affair. It is true, I ſtill preſerved a great ſhare of the Count's eſteem; but I knew his haughty and diſdainful ſpirit, and that the very fear of ſeeming to pay a deference to a rival who was his ſuperior, would not only make him rigid in his pretenſions, but perhaps induce him to form new ones. I will not tire the reader with a detail of the conteſtations, the refuſals, and the ſallies of ill humour which we had to undergo; we were more than once upon the point of abandoning the project. However, by the force of arguments, drawn from the will and the ſatisfaction of the King, with a good deal of patience, many intreaties, and much

† The ſame who had been miſtreſs to Henry IV. but ſhe was grown very fat, coarſe, and red-faced. Journal of the reign of Henry III. tom. 1. p. 279.

importunity, we prevailed upon the two princes to see and to embrace each other. I was not to answer for the heartiness of this reconciliation: the article of their passion for the Princess, and her marriage, which I carefully avoided mentioning, continued still undecided, left between them the principal seeds of division; but this I looked upon as an obstacle absolutely unsurmountable.

I was extremely well satisfied at having succeeded, without touching upon this article, and I now saw nothing to delay my journey to Rouen. I was not yet where I thought. The King's ardent desire to reconcile these princes, was with a view of attaining another end, which he still more passionately desired; and this second point was the very same that I thought I had so prudently shifted, the marriage of the Princess his sister. To crown all, I was the very person his Majesty fixed upon to accomplish this matter. I was therefore charged anew to get up the promise of marriage, which I have just mentioned; that, this obstacle being removed, the King, resolute to gratify to the full the Duke of Montpensier, might finally employ his authority to put the Princess into his possession, and by that means free himself from the apprehension of seeing a marriage concluded, which, though clandestinely, would be no less perplexing, since the Count of Soissons would become his heir, whether he consented to it or not, and make use of his own riches against him. If there were any children of this marriage, a thing hardly to be doubted, it would give his Majesty, who had none, another cause for uneasiness.

I trembled when I received the King's order for this purpose. I would have represented to him, that Villars would certainly engage himself in the enemy's party for ever, as would also Medavy, and several other governors in Normandy, unless I went immediately to all those places. It was a thing re-

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solved upon; the King would not hear me, and only granted me what I demanded of him to be able to succeed; which was, that he would give no suspicion of my being charged with this employment, and that he would leave me to make choice of the means.

When I was alone, and had reflected upon the commission which I had received, I confess I found myself in the utmost perplexity. From the knowledge I had of the Princess Catharine's humour, from whom I must wring this writing, I was convinced it was not in the power of human eloquence to make her relish the King's designs with respect to her person. What likelihood was there of persuading a woman, and a princess, to renounce the man she loved, and bestow herself upon one whom she hated? There was no probability of succeeding but by artifice. For this I said to myself, What though in deceiving her I consult not her heart—at least I consult her interest, and divert the misfortunes which the irregularity of her conduct might bring upon the King and the kingdom. I flattered myself, that the Princess would one day think herself obliged to me for having, by an innocent stratagem, hindered her from losing her fortune, together with the friendship of the King her brother. Specious as these reasons were, I cannot help confessing, that I did betray her; and this reflection gave me pain. The impossibility of succeeding by any other means, and the hope that even she would one day pardon me, and confess that I had done her a real service by it, finally determined me. As for the Count, having no occasion to make any application to him, and being likewise but little attached to him, the respect that was due to his person ought to be laid aside, when it opposed the public utility, and what the service of the King my master exacted of me. The whole of this affair was, in the issue, productive of disquietudes to me, from

from which, doubtleſs, my ſcruples and reluctance ought to have preſerved me.

There was ſtill another difficulty to be removed. I ſaw the Princeſs very rarely, becauſe of my continual occupations; and I knew her ſufficiently, not to doubt, but that whatever meaſures I made uſe of to obtain the contract in queſtion, my unuſual aſſiduity would, in a mind naturally diſtruſtful, create ſuſpicions which would guard her againſt all I could ſay, or get others to ſay to her. I therefore endeavoured to act in ſuch a manner, that ſhe ſhould prevent me herſelf. For this purpoſe, I made uſe of the two Du-Perrons, who I knew (eſpecially the youngeſt) were of a humour to make their court to the great, at the expence of a ſecret. I was moſt intimate with the Biſhop of Evreux, the eldeſt; but one riſks nothing in reckoning upon the good opinion all men have of their own merit: on this article they begin with being dupes to themſelves. I went, therefore, to viſit the younger Du-Perron. I flattered him; I inſinuated myſelf into his favour, by feigning to impart ſecrets to him. He regarded himſelf as an important man, and, through vanity, believed every word I ſaid to him. When I perceived him intoxicated with ſelf-love, I told him (with all the marks of the moſt perfect ſincerity, and even exacting an oath of ſecrecy from him, which I ſhould have been very ſorry if he had kept), that the King had imparted to me in confidence his intentions with regard to the Princeſs; that he was reſolved to make her marry the Count; and that ſome little difficulties which ſtill remained to be got over, prevented his Majeſty from publicly declaring his determination. I was aſſured two days only would be ſufficient for Du-Perron to get rid of a ſecret ſo weighty, in ſuch a manner that it would reach the Princeſs Catharine. Accordingly, he imparted it, almoſt in a moment, as a profound ſecret, to M. de Courtenai, and two other of the

Count

Count of Soiſſon's moſt intimate confidents, to whom they ran to communicate it, as he alſo did to the Princeſs and to the Counteſs of Guiche.

I reckoned the Princeſs, flattered with an hope ſo agreeable, would make me the firſt advances; and I was not miſtaken. Going to take leave of her, as a man juſt ready to undertake a long journey, I had a complete proof of Du-Perron's fidelity. The Princeſs added conſiderably to the diſtinction with which ſhe ordinarily received me; and the Counteſs of Guiche, unwilling to loſe ſo favourable an opportunity, after ſome converſation upon indifferent matters, made haſte to bring upon the carpet the amours of the Princeſs and the Count, who was alſo preſent, and embracing me in a tranſport of friendſhip, "See," ſaid ſhe to the lovers, "a man who is able to ſerve you in your deſigns." The Princeſs then addreſſing herſelf to me, told me, that I knew the Count and her had always eſteemed me greatly; and that ſhe would be ſenſibly obliged to me, if I would aſſiſt her endeavours to reſtore herſelf to the good graces of the King her brother. She ſpoke only theſe few words, and left the care of ſaying more to that inſinuating and gracious air, which ſhe knew better than any other woman in the world how to aſſume when ſhe pleaſed. I ſeemed to be gained; and, after thanking the Princeſs for the honour ſhe did me, I added, that if I could depend upon the diſcretion of all who heard me, I would inform them of many things which would not be indifferent to them. Women make nothing of promiſes of ſecrecy, accuſed as they are of keeping them badly. They promiſed, they added an oath, and ſuperadded a thouſand; but I had no mind to open myſelf farther at that time. I aſked them for three days delay: they aſſiſted me in finding an excuſe for deferring my journey to Rouen; and I took leave of the company, who impatiently expected the time I had marked.

I returned punctually at the end of three days. I suffered myself to be preſſed a long time; at laſt, ſeeming to yield to the importunity of the two ladies, I told them, that having ſeveral times ſounded the King upon the marriage in queſtion, he at firſt ſhewed ſome reluctance to it, without caring to explain himſelf farther; but my earneſt intreaties had at length prevailed upon him to open his heart to me upon this ſubject: and he confeſſed, that, far from feeling any repugnance to conclude this union, he thought it a very proper one; and that ſince he had no iſſue of his own, he ſhould be overjoyed to ſee the offspring of his ſiſter and a prince of his blood, whom he would look upon as his own children: that the ſweet and peaceable diſpoſitions of the Count of Soiſſons and the Princeſs were greatly to his taſte; but that he always felt it would be very difficult to forget, that the Count had fought to deceive him, and to obtain his ſiſter without his conſent. This ſpeech, every word of which I had preconcerted, produced its effect. All the three began to complain, that they might have acted otherwiſe, and to condemn one another for having conducted the affair with ſo much independence. This was what I waited for: I ſeized this opportunity to convince them, that I believed the evil might be very eaſily remedied; that the King was naturally kind, and eaſily forgot paſt injuries; all that was now neceſſary to be done, was to behave in a quite contrary manner, to ſolicit his favour, to ſeem abſolutely dependent upon him, and to leave him maſter of their perſons; in fine, (and this was the grand point), to ſacrifice to him the written engagement they had mutually given, as being that by which he had moſt of all been exaſperated; and not to fear giving him even a declaration in writing, in which they ſhould both bind themſelves not to marry without his conſent: after this condeſcenſion upon their part, I believed I could aſſure

2 them,

them, that in less than three months, the King would himself prevent their desires, and cement their union.

I found no difficulty in gaining credit; and that very instant they promised to sacrifice the contract of marriage, possibly because they thought it would be of no use to them, if the King, when become absolute master in his kindom, should not agree to it. The Countess of Guiche said she had left it at Bearn, but would send for it immediately. They did not so easily submit to the declaration I demanded afterwards, and without which their resigning the contract signified nothing, which the parties interested might renew at pleasure. This was the very argument which I urged successfully, and by which I convinced them, that, without this, the King could neither depend upon their sincerity, nor be assured of their obedience. This article was strongly debated; and when at last, by the force of remonstrances, I had obtained a writing, by which the Princess and the Count disannulled all promises that had passed between them, released each other mutually from all engagements, and submitted themselves absolutely to the King's disposal; the consequence of this writing alarmed them, and they had recourse to a medium, without which it is probable the affair had rested here. This medium was, that I only should be intrusted with it, and should not suffer it to go out of my hands, not even to pass into those of the King. Luckily they did not add, that it should be returned to the Princess, if matters turned out otherwise than was expected. I gave my parole of honour; with which they were contented; and the writing was delivered to me in form, signed by the Princess and the Count, and sealed with their arms. The King's joy for my success, which he durst hardly flatter himself with the hopes of, was considerably less, when he found the writing was to remain in my

hands. He often intreated me earneſtly to give it him; but finding, by my perſiſting to refuſe him, that the obedience I owed him could not influence me to a breach of my promiſe, he no longer inſiſted. The two lovers ſeeing the agreeable hopes I had given them ſtill unaccompliſhed, could not, as it may be well imagined, pardon me the impoſition I had put upon them. The ſequel of theſe Memoirs will ſhew it.

After the concluſion of this affair, the remembrance of which was always diſagreeable to me, I was wholly employed in preparing for my journey to Rouen. I was apprehenſive, and not without reaſon, that ſo long a delay had abſolute broke all my firſt meaſures with Admiral Villars. I obtained a cart-blanche * from the King, to conclude a treaty, not only with this governor, but alſo with all the other governors and officers of the province. Juſt as I was going to ſet out, Deſportes arrived, and ſtopped me once more. He was ſent by the Baron de Medavy to the Biſhop of Evreux, to deſire that he would lend him his houſe of Condé for a little time; and alſo prevail upon me to come thither, that he might confer with me upon the conditions of his treaty, and that of Verneuil. I left Chartres, and came in the evening to Anet, Madam d'Aumale having long ſolicited me ſtrongly to viſit her there.

This lady, who had more underſtanding and prudence than her huſband, conjured him inceſſantly to break with the league, and reſign himſelf to the King. She was ſenſible, that not only his duty and ſecurity required that he ſhould take this ſtep, but his intereſt likewiſe; for the Duke d'Aumale's domeſtic affairs were in ſuch diſorder, that there was

* The preſent Duke of Sully has the original of this full power in his poſſeſſion, as likewiſe many of the originals of Maximilian de Bethune's letters upon this ſubject.

no

no other way to avoid approaching ruin, but by being among the first who should avail himself of the advantages which they might obtain, who upon this occasion were most forward in returning to their duty. I alighted at an inn in Anet; and while my supper was preparing, went to wait upon Madam d'Aumale, attended only by a single page. To the joy that animated the countenance of this lady the moment she perceived me, she added all the graces of a friendly reception; and that she might not waste moments so precious, took my hand, and made me run over with her those fine galleries and gardens which make Anet a most inchanting place. Here she expressed to me her earnest desire to have her husband return to the obedience due to his sovereign, and named the conditions upon which he might be induced to consent to it. I omit all the propositions, either approved or rejected, that passed between us. Hitherto I had seen nothing but what did honour to the master of a house truly royal; and I should have been ignorant of the deplorable state to which the Duke was reduced if she had not intreated, and even forced me, to sup with her, and to stay there all night. After a repast, which we waited for a long time, and as ill served, I was conducted into a vast chamber, all shining with marble, but so naked, and so cold, that I could neither get heat nor sleep, in a bed where the short narrow silk curtains, a single slight coverlid, and damp sheets, were sufficient to benumb one, even in the midst of summer. Not able to continue in bed, I rose, and thought to secure myself against the inconveniencies of my damp lodging by making a fire; but I could find no other wood to burn than green holm and juniper, which it was impossible to kindle. I was obliged, therefore, to wear my gown the whole night; by which means I was very early awake; and joyfully quitting so disagreeable a lodging, I

went to join my attendants, the meaneſt of whom had fared better, and paſſed the night more comfortably, than their maſter.

I made myſelf amends for this fatigue at Condé, where I found every conveniency eſſential to good reception. As ſoon as I arrived, I got into a good bed, Medavy not being expected till noon. At firſt he regulated his behaviour according to that notion, that in ſuch a conjuncture as the preſent, the moſt inconſiderable nobleman has a right to ſet a value upon himſelf ten times above his worth. He performed his part perfectly well, by an air of falſe diſtruſt, and an affected ſuperiority, which he imagined would greatly advance his affairs. I contraſted his vanity with a frankneſs that brought him down, and told him very ſimply, that if he waited till the great cities came to an accommodation, he, who had only Verneuil to offer, his ſacrifice would immediately loſe above the half of his value; and that afterwards, perhaps, his propoſals would not be even regarded, or any thing granted of all that he might demand. My ſincerity forced him to be candid likewiſe; he appeared more reaſonable, and we ſoon agreed; he only intreated me not to make the affair public till the end of March, becauſe he had engaged to Villars to do nothing without his participation. He ſent Deſportes with me to Rouen, to pay this compliment to the governor, and to obſerve, at the ſame time, whether I concluded the treaty with Villars, whoſe accommodation drew his along with it, and in ſome meaſure neceſſarily.

I came to Louviers the next day; from whence making known my arrival to Admiral Villars, he ſent the captain of his guards to receive me at the gate of the city. I did not enter ſecretly as before, but publicly, and with a kind of pomp. The ſtreets were filled with the people; and the hopes of a peace, by which tranquillity and commerce would be reſtored, drew a thouſand acclamations of joy from

from them as I paſſed. Villars had cauſed the fineſt houſe in Rouen to be prepared for the reception of me and my train, which conſiſted of twelve or fifteen gentlemen, and had given all the neceſſary orders for treating us magnificently. La-Font, who had the care of my reception, waited to conduct me thither: he outdid his maſter, and at night gave me the muſic, and the diverſion of dancers and jugglers, whom I could not prevail upon to receive either money or preſents. I ſent Du-Perat to make my compliments to the Admiral, Madam de Simiers, and the Abbé de Tiron, who had a great ſhare in the management of this affair: they inſtantly returned me the ſame civility by the Sieur de Perdriel, and deſired him to tell me, that after I had repoſed myſelf this day, we ſhould enter upon buſineſs the next. This, however, did not hinder the Abbot from viſiting me in the evening, without ceremony. Indeed, his whole conduct upon this occaſion diſcovered a degree of rectitude and ſincerity rarely to be found in ſuch conjunctures.

I found by his diſcourſe, that the King had been within a very little of loſing Villars irretrievably. A deputy from Spain, named *Don Simon Antonio*, and another called *Chapelle Marteau*, from the Duke of Maïenne, came to Rouen ſome time before my arrival, and had made very advantageous propoſals to this governor; he had likewiſe daily received letters from the Catholics, even thoſe in the King's party, which tended to render him ſuſpicious of his Majeſty's deſigns, and to prejudice him againſt a negotiation conducted by a Proteſtant agent. This argument had great weight with Villars, always zealous for his religion, and would have infallibly determined him for the enemy's party, if, in this perplexity, his mind had not been balanced by other letters from the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Biſhop of Evreux, and the Marquis

of

of Vitry, who all assured him he might depend upon the King's word, and my sincerity. Tiron shewed me part of each of these letters, and thought it necessary to warn me, that as the Admiral had been perpetually beset by deputies of the league, and offended likewise at the delays that had been used with him, I must not expect to vanquish his irresolution, without suffering some of those sallies of rage, so natural to him, and which, with a little patience, it was easy to allay.

I went to wait on Villars *, well prepared to sustain all these little assaults; and at first perceived plainly, that the sight of me awakened some remains of distrust and anger in his mind. My behaviour soon dissipated this cloud, and he with great calmness and serenity proposed his conditions, which were comprised under the following heads: That he should continue still in his post of Admiral, which had been bestowed on him by the league; and in his government of Rouen possess a power independent of the Duke of Montpensier, governor of that province, at least for three years; and that this power should extend over the bailiwicks of Rouen and of Caux; that the exercise of the Protestant religion should not be allowed in this capital, nor fix leagues around it: That all the officers posted by the league in the cities belonging to his government should be continued there, with 1500 foot and 300 horse, to be maintained by the King for the security of those same cities; That his Majesty should give him the sum of 120,000 livres to pay his debts, and a pension of 60,000: That Fescamp should be delivered to him: and, in fine,

* M. de Villars, in the Memoirs of those times, is represented as a man extremely fierce and passionate. It is there observed, that the Baron de Rosny was the only one that could succeed in these negotiations. Memoirs for the history of France, vol. 2. These negotiations of the Baron de Rosny are also commended by M. de Thou, book 109.

That

That he ſhould have the diſpoſal of the abbeys of Jumieges, Tiron, Bonport, La-Valaſe, Saint-Taurin, and that of Montiviliers, which he deſigned for a ſiſter of Madam de Simiers.

If all theſe articles had as much depended upon me as that relating to the abbey of Saint-Taurin, which was my own, and which I immediately yielded to Villars, the treaty had been concluded without further delay; and this I aſſured him of, with regard to thoſe wherein the King was abſolute maſter. But whatever power I had received from his Majeſty, I could do nothing in thoſe articles which regarded the Duke of Montpenſier, and Biron, who was inveſted with the poſt of Admiral, and in poſſeſſion of Feſcamp, which he had got from Bois-roſe on a promiſe of indemnification, that had not yet been fulfilled: and I did not think I had a right to ſettle this affair without informing the King of it. As I did not heſitate upon any of thoſe conditions which depended immediately upon the King, I expected that Villars would have been ſatisfied with my conduct; but this governor going out with the deputies from the league, at the very moment that I was endeavouring to make him comprehend my reaſons, he interrupted me haſtily with theſe few words, pronounced in a very paſſionate tone: "That I might ſpare myſelf the "trouble of talking to him more, ſince he was de- "termined either to agree upon all, or break off "all, upon the ſpot."

Although I was a little ſtunned with this unforeſeen blow, I anſwered Villars calmly, that I was perſuaded the King would grant him the three articles in queſtion, as well as all the others, (that of Feſcamp making two, becauſe Bois-roſe was concerned in it): That this needed not hinder us from drawing up the treaty, and even ſigning it that moment, as if every thing was agreed to, only with a poſtil in the margin over againſt the three articles, that

that we waited an anſwer from the King. And to convince him that I ſought not to gain time, in order to betray him afterwards, I offered to remain in his power as an hoſtage, till his Majeſty returned an anſwer. Villars ſtill found difficulties; but he could not reſiſt Madam de Simiers, the Abbot de Tiron, and La-Font, who all ſupported my arguments. I had the treaty drawn up in haſte; we ſigned it; and I ſent a copy of it immediately to the King, with a long letter, in which I gave him an account of all that had paſſed. But before the anſwer could be brought to Rouen, another incident happened, which we imagined would have rendered it uſeleſs.

Moſt of the governors of the ſmall forts in the neighbourhood of Rouen, far from returning to the obedience they owed their King, perſiſted in their revolt; becauſe, in the preſent confuſed ſtate of affairs, they acquired gains, which they foreſaw would ceaſe with the war. The moſt artful among them made themſelves equally neceſſary to the two parties, and exacted bribes from both. Du-Rollet, governor of Ponte de l'Arche, was one of thoſe who played this game with the greateſt ſubtilty. He had, for more than a year, flattered the King with hopes that he would fall upon means to deliver the city of Rouen and its governor into his hands, provided he would give the government of this place to him; of which his Majeſty, at a venture, gave him a written promiſe. Du-Rollet, failing in an enterpriſe which exceeded his abilities, took it into his head to fruſtrate my negotiation, which he attempted in this manner.

He commanded a captain named Dupré to mingle with my train as I paſſed through Ponte de l'Arche, and to enter Rouen with me. I had been informed, that Du-Rollet was not very well affected; but I had no reaſon to ſuſpect this captain of having any bad deſigns; nor could I hinder him from following

lowing me. I was likewiſe abſolutely ignorant of this Dupré's being the very ſame perſon who had been employed by Du-Rollet before to cabal againſt Villars in Rouen *. He was no ſooner entered, than, renewing his former acquaintance, he put himſelf at the head of a party of fool hardy perſons, with whom he laid a plot to ſeize the old palace, and ſecure the governor's perſon; perſuading them, that he acted thus by my orders. As he had no other deſign than to alarm the governor, and to inſpire him with the utmoſt deteſtation of me, he was not at much trouble to keep the affair ſecret. In effect, Villars was informed of it immediately.

The exceſs of anger this news threw him into, and the injurious thoughts it inſpired him with againſt the King, and eſpecially me, may be eaſily imagined. Convinced that he had now an inconteſtable proof of my treachery, he would not examine the matter any further, but ſent D'Infencourt to me that moment to deſire I would come to him. I had dined that day with La-Pile, attorney-general of the chamber of accounts, and had juſt received letters which put me into very good humour. The King granted Villars the three articles which had been left undecided, and engaged himſelf to procure the conſent of the parties concerned. Over againſt theſe articles, I had written upon the margin of the original treaty, which I had carried with me, *Granted by his Majeſty's order*. I promiſed myſelf great pleaſure in thus ſurpriſing Villars, who could not expect ſuch a quick diſpatch; and went out of La-Pile's houſe with the treaty in one hand, holding a white ſcarf which I had put into my pocket in the other, intending to throw it about Vil-

* During the ſiege of Rouen, Du Rollet ſeeking to throw himſelf into that city, was taken and ſhut up in the old caſtle; where, however, it is probable, he ſtill continued to carry on intrigues for the King's intereſt. Cayet, b. 4. p. 14.

lar's neck, and embracing him, to salute him Admiral and Governor of the districts of Rouen and Caux. The contrariety of reflections that employed our minds as we advanced to meet one another, had, I believe, something in it singular.

I did not long keep my smiling air; for Villars perceiving me at a distance, came towards me with hasty strides, his face swelled and inflamed, his eyes sparkling, and all his features expressive of the most violent anger. He began by snatching the paper out of my hand, without giving me time to open my mouth; and, with a voice so altered by this inward agitation that it was scarcely articulate, he stammered out these words, too singular not to be related in the original.

"So, Sir, where, in the devil's name, are you "going, so airy, and so full of mirth? By heavens, you are not yet where you imagine, and, "before the game is ended, you may not perhaps "be laughing to yourself, at least if I treat you as "you deserve. You are out in your reckoning, "you and your King of Navarre also; for, by my "soul, he has got a —— in the basket, and if he "can find no other footmen than Villars, take my "word he shall be badly served." Saying this, he tore the treaty in a thousand pieces, and threw them into the fire at the same instant. Having given the reins to his fury, he added an infinite number of invectives in the same tone, as vague, and well supported with oaths, of which his fury was an inexhaustible source.

That I suffered him to go on thus, without interruption, was at first owing to my astonishment, through necessity, and afterwards to reflection: these sorts of dispositions will not be contradicted. At length he stopt of himself, and fell to traversing his chamber, which was very long and wide, like a man out of his senses. "Well, Sir," said I, when I found he was silent, without seeming moved by all

all I had heard, "have you done yet talking injuriously and at random? You have reason to be "satisfied at having thus behaved like a madman, "without being contradicted in your extravagancies." Perceiving that the calm tone in which I spoke to him, obliged him, in spite of himself, to listen to me, I proceeded to tell him, that what he had just done in my presence, appeared to be nothing but an artifice he had conceived to retract the word he had solemnly given; but that this fetch would always dishonour him, and greatly lessen my opinion of his wisdom and integrity. "'Sdeath," cried he, stopping short, "it has not yet befallen "me, it never shall befal me. I am too much a "man of honour; such breaches of faith are only "fit for those who betray their friends, and endea-"vour to get them assassinated." Hitherto he had said nothing so positive as this last word, by which, though I could not comprehend it, I began to be able to conjecture from whence such a transport of fury proceeded.

I asked him to explain himself, and protested to him, with that air of sincerity and confidence, which makes itself felt, even by the most prejudised, that I was absolutely ignorant of his meaning; and that if I could be convicted of the slightest insincerity, I was ready to deliver myself into his hands, without desiring either pardon or favour. This obliging him to be more explicit, he reproached me with having employed Dupré to assassinate him, and to seize upon the old palace. The violence of his agitation not permitting him to speak otherwise than in broken and interrupted sentences, the affair appeared to me devoid of all probability, and I could not hinder myself from entertaining suspicions of his sincerity, nor from telling him, that he had been seduced by Spanish pistols to contrive such a frivolous pretence for breaking with me. "Who I!" cried he, relapsing again into a rage,

" 'Sdeath, muſt I confeſs that I have acted treache-
" rouſly with you, and broke my oath? I would
" rather die than be guilty of ſuch baſeneſs." " By
" heaven, Sir," anſwered I, " for you teach me
" to ſwear, it is only by your fulfilling or break-
" ing off the treaty, that I ſhall know whether to
" believe you an honeſt or a perjured man."

The eclairciſſement was ſtill protracted, and became worſe inſtead of better, in proportion as anger got an aſcendant over us. Very ſeaſonably, during this conteſtation, the Abbot de Tiron came in, and entering immediately into the occaſion of our quarrel, brought us nearer to one another. " De-
" pend upon it, Sir," ſaid he to Villars, " the Ba-
" ron de Roſny is not capable of the deſigns that
" have been projected againſt you: he is a man of
" too much honour, and, in ſuch a caſe, too pru-
" dent to throw himſelf into your power."

Theſe words began to open my eyes. I turned calmly towards Villars, telling him, that I was convinced anger alone dictated all that he had ſaid; and that I expected, as ſoon as it was allayed, he would do me juſtice againſt himſelf, for all the injurious things which had eſcaped him, and that he would make good his former ſtipulation. " Well,
" Sir," ſaid he, already half pacified, " I will keep
" my word: but take care alſo not to fail of your's,
" with regard to the three articles yet undetermi-
" ned." I anſwered, That if it had not been for his fury, which made him throw the treaty into the fire, he might have ſeen that the King had conſented to them all three.

We were upon theſe terms when Madam de Simiers was introduced. " Don't be angry with me,
" Madam," ſaid he, as he went to receive her, with a ſerene countenance, and even ſmiling, " all
" is over, we are good friends again; but, by hea-
" ven, the traitor who made all this miſchief ſhall
" die before I eat or drink." He kept his word;

for

for causing Dupré to be brought before him, after he had confessed the whole affair, he ordered him, without the formality of a trial, to be hung up at a window.

Villars intreated me afterwards to shew him the King's letter. I did not scruple to tell him, that his Majesty's secrets ought only to be communicated to his declared servants. To make Villars of this number, nothing more was necessary, but to draw up the treaty again; which we signed, and of which each of us kept a duplicate. We agreed only, that the affair should remain a secret for some time, on account of the league and the Spaniards; against whom this governor took new measures, by reinforcing the troops he had in Rouen. After this, I no longer made any difficulty in shewing him all my letters, as well those which I had written to and received from the King before, as that in which I informed him of the ratification of the treaty, and his Majesty's answer to it. The courier who carried these last dispatches was not more than four days on his journey.

These letters gave infinite satisfaction to Villars, particularly the last, written with the King's own hand. His Majesty, in that, thanked me, more like a friend than a sovereign, for the service I had just done him, and concluded with these words: "Come "to me at Senlis on the 20th of March, or at St. "Denis on the 21st, that you may help to cry, "*Long live the King*, in Paris; and afterwards we "will do the same at Rouen:" (for I wrote to him, that his presence there was necessary). "Shew this "letter," added he, "to the new friend you have "acquired me, that he may see I recommend my- "self to him, that he may know I love him well, "and that I know how to prize and reward such "brave men as he is." "By heaven," said Villars, at this place, "this prince is too gracious, and too "obliging to remember me, and speak of me in "such high terms." From that moment, Villars conti-

continued firm in his obedience and affection to the King: nor had his Majesty, amongst his most ancient servants, one more absolutely devoted to his interests. He desired me to be satisfied with his word for the execution of all the articles comprehended in the treaty, and I accepted it as the best security he could give me.

The remainder of the time that I staid in Rouen, was employed in regulating some affairs of the same nature. I spent the day with the Admiral, and shut myself up at night, to give audience to the principal officers, as well of the city, and of the parliament, as of the army, scattered throughout the province, who came to me privately to concert measures for disuniting the league. Medavy was of this number, and I concluded the treaty with him. Verneuil not being a city of such importance as to make it necessary to use the same precautions with it as with Rouen, the King ordered Medavy to publish his treaty, for an example to other governors.

As I was solicitous not to neglect meeting his Majesty at the place he had appointed me, I made haste to leave Rouen, overloaded with the thanks and civilities of the governor. I parted with the same satisfaction from the Abbot de Tiron, and Madam de Simiers. I promised them to return in a little, and assured Madam de Simiers, I would bring her brother, the Marquis de Vitry, along with me, with a body of troops sufficient to put Villars into a condition to explain himself without fear. The obligations I owed to them were great enough to demand this service of me, although his Majesty's interest had not been an additional motive to it.

It was upon some correspondences the King carried on in Paris, that he founded his hopes of being soon admitted there; and he was on his way thither from St. Denis when I joined him. His party in that city was so well formed, and so many persons

ſons of equal courage and fidelity had joined, that it was in a manner impoſſible that it ſhould not ſucceed. Ever ſince the battle of Arques, where, as has been ſeen, the Count de Belin was taken priſoner, he had been convinced, from his own experience, of the great qualities of the King, and the weakneſs of his enemies; and the Duke of Maïenne had perceived, that the inclinations of this governor leaned ſecretly towards the King. Upon this ſuſpicion, he did not heſitate about depriving him * of the government of a city ſo conſiderable to the party as was that of Paris, and ſeeking for a man of known fidelity to himſelf and to the league, who could be intruſted with the care of this great city, at a time when the neceſſity of his affairs obliged him to repair to the frontiers of Picardy; accordingly, he had fixed upon Briſſac, whom he gratified with this government.

He anſwered his expectations perfectly in the beginning. The ſtudy of the Roman hiſtory had inſpired this officer (who valued himſelf greatly upon his penetration and judgement) with a very ſingular project, which was, to erect France into a republic, and to render Paris the capital of this new ſtate, upon the model of ancient Rome. Had Briſſac deſcended ever ſo little from this high ſpeculation to particular circumſtances, which, in the greateſt deſigns, it is neceſſary to have a regard to, he had ſeen that there are conjunctures when the happieſt projects become equally chimerical and impoſſible, by the nature of obſtacles, by the difference of geniuſes, and of the character of nations, by the ſpirit of the laws which they have adopted, and by inveterate cuſtom, which, as it were, ſtamps the laſt ſeal upon all. Time only, and long expe-

* The parliament upon this occaſion made a decree, highly honourable for the Count of Belin. The citizens are there exhorted rather to partake than ſuffer his baniſhment from the city. Memoirs for the hiſtory of France, vol. 2. Memoirs of the league, vol 6.

rience,

rience, can remedy the defects in the customs of a state whose form is already decided; and this ought always to be attempted upon the plan of its original constitution *. This is so true, that whenever we see a state conducted by measures contrary to those of its establishment, we may be assured a great revolution is at hand. Moreover, the application of the most effectual remedies does not operate upon the diseased who refuse to receive them.

Brissac went not so far: he could not for a long time comprehend, from whence the general opposition his designs met with proceeded; for he had opened himself freely to the nobles and all the chief partizans of the league: at last he began to be apprehensive for his own safety, lest while, without a second, he was labouring to bring his project to perfection, the King should frustrate it by seizing his capital. This fear made him very readily fall from ideas purely Roman to the French spirit of those times, which was, to be solicitous only for his own advantage. When a predominant principle of interest is yet farther fortified by the apprehension of any danger, there is scarce a man who may not be induced to betray even his best friend. Thus Brissac † acted: he resumed the design of the Count de Belin, but from a motive far less noble; and thought of nothing but of making the King purchase, at the highest price, the treachery he me-

* The sense in which the Duke of Sully understands this maxim, and the true one in which it ought to be taken, is, that the ancient forms and fundamental principles of government are to be varied from as little as possible. He does not mean, that we are to admit the abuses which ignorance or necessity have introduced in the different institutions relating to the finances, politics, &c. He will treat this subject more largely in the sequel of these Memoirs.

† The Duke of Maienne, as De Thou observes, was informed of Brissac's treachery by the Duchess of Guise, his mother; but he would not believe her. Consult upon this reduction of the city of Paris, Matthieu, vol. 2. b. 1. p. 174.; Chron. Noven. b. 6. p. 334.; and other historians.

ditated againſt the Duke of Maïenne in his abſence. St. Luc, his brother-in-law, was employed to negotiate with the King; and having procured very advantageous conditions, Briſſac agreed to admit Henry with his army into Paris, in ſpite of the Spaniards. The troops of the league were abſolutely at his diſpoſal, and there was no longer occaſion for violent meaſures with the people.

D'O † was forward enough in his applications for the government of Paris, and of the iſle of France, and obtained his requeſt. There was here a conflict of intereſt which perplexed this ſuperintendant to ſuch a degree, that, notwithſtanding his new dignity, the reduction of Paris was one of the things in the world he moſt feared to ſee happen. According as he gave it out, this fear had no other motive, but that of ſeeing the finances become a prey to the men of the ſword and the gown, by whom, he ſaid, the King, as ſoon as he was poſſeſſed of Paris, would be oppreſſed, for the payment of penſions, appointments, and gratifications. But this diſcourſe deceived only thoſe who were ignorant of the advantage he found in keeping things in their firſt confuſion, and who knew not with what ſucceſs he had hitherto laboured for that purpoſe.

The King put all the friends of the Count of Belin in motion, on whom he had no leſs dependence than upon Briſſac; and at five o'clock in the morning * preſented himſelf, at the head of 8000 men, before Porte Neuve, where the Mayor of Paris ‡, and the other magiſtrates, received him in form,

† Our Memoirs make no mention of M. D'O's being deprived by the league of this government, which Henry III. had beſtowed upon him. Perefixe, part 2.

* March 22.

‡ This mayor of Paris was John L'Huillier, who when Briſſac ſaid to him, "We muſt render to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's," he replied, "We muſt render them indeed, but not ſell them to him."

form. He went immediately and took poſſeſſion of the Louvre, the palace, the Great and Little Châtelet; and finding no where any oppoſition, he proceeded even to Notre Dame, which he entered to return thanks to God. His ſoldiers, on their ſide, fulfilled with ſuch exactneſs the orders and intentions of their maſter †, that no one, throughout all this great city, complained of the ſlighteſt violence upon their part. They took poſſeſſion of all the ſquares and croſs ways in the ſtreets, where they drew up in order of battle. There was not the leaſt commotion; and, from that very day, the ſhops were opened with all the ſecurity which a long continued peace could have given.

The Spaniards had now only the Baſtile, the Temple, and the quarters of St. Anthony and St. Martin in their poſſeſſion; and there they fortified themſelves, being about 4000 in number, with the Duke de Feria and Don Diego d'Evora at their head; all greatly aſtoniſhed at ſuch unexpected news *, and firmly reſolved to defend themſelves

" him." F. L'Etoile's journal aſcribes this bon mot to Henry IV. L'Huillier was rewarded with the poſt of Preſident of the chamber of accounts, and Counſellor of ſtate; and Martin L'Anglois, an alderman, was made mayor of Paris in his room. Le Grain, b. 6. It is obſerved, in the volume of MSS marked 9033. in the King's library, that Henry IV. entering Paris by the new gate, which has been ſince called the Gate of the Conference, he went out again, and returned ſeveral times, fearing, notwithſtanding the repeated aſſurances of the mayor and aldermen, that, by permitting his troops to enter Paris, their deſign was to cut them in pieces, and ſeize his perſon.

† The King perceiving a ſoldier take a loaf from a baker by force, ran to him, and would have killed him. L'Etoile's journal. Perefixe ſays, that La Noue being arreſted for debts which his father contracted in this prince's ſervice, complained to him of that inſolence. The King, in public, ſaid to him, " La-Noue, you muſt pay your " debts, I pay mine faithfully;" but afterwards taking him aſide, he gave him his jewels to pawn to the creditors, inſtead of the baggage they had ſeized of his. Perefixe, part 2.

* L'Etoile obſerves, that this news being brought to the Spaniards while Langlois was amuſing them with relating circumſtances out of the Roman hiſtory, the Duke of Feria cried out two or three times, " Ah, great King, great King!" L'Etoile's journal.

to

to the laſt extremity, if any attempts were made to force them from thoſe advantageous poſts. The King relieved them from their perplexity, by ſending to tell them, that they might leave Paris, and retreat in perfect aſſurance. He treated the Cardinals of Placentia and Pelleve with the ſame gentleneſs, notwithſtanding the reſentment he ſtill retained for their conduct with regard to him. Soiſſons was the place whither theſe enemies of the King * retired, under favour of a ſtrong eſcort. His Majeſty then publiſhed a general pardon † for all the French who had borne arms againſt him. When this ſacrifice is not extorted by neceſſity, but, on the contrary, made at a time when vengeance has full liberty to ſatiate itſelf, it is not one of the leaſt marks of a truly royal heart. Madam de Montpenſier being introduced to the King, he received her as politely, and converſed as familiarly with her, as if he had ſome very important reaſon for ſparing her the confuſion with which any other perſon in his ſituation would have taken pleaſure to cover her ‡.

The

* The King had a mind to ſee them march out, and looked at them from a window over St. Denis's gate. They all ſaluted him with their hats off, bowing profoudly low. The King, with great courteſey, returned the ſalute to the principal officers, adding theſe words, "Remember me to your maſter; go in a good hour, but "return no more." Peref. part 3. This anecdote agrees with that in the Memoirs for the hiſtory of France, but is contradicted by the Journal written by the ſame author.

† All the Memoirs of thoſe times are filled with inſtances of Henry's clemency, and his lively and agreeable repartees. See the Memoirs above cited. A leaguer coming to him one day when he was playing at Primero, "You are welcome, ſaid the King to "him; for if we win, you will be ours." Le Grain, book 10.

‡ Pereſixe obſerves, that he played at cards with her that very evening. L'Etoile adds, that he returned both her's and Madam de Nemour's viſit; and relates a ſingular converſation that paſſed between this prince and her; at the end of which, Madam de Montpenſier, whoſe hatred for Henry was publicly known, taking notice of his entering Paris, ſhe wiſhed that it had been her brother the Duke of Maienne, who had let down the bridge for his Majeſty.

The King had not yet found an opportunity to converſe with me upon the negotiations of Rouen; therefore, that evening, when the croud was over, he took me aſide to a window in the Louvre, and made me give him a circumſtantial relation of all that had paſſed, even to the minuteſt incidents; to which he liſtened with a good deal of attention. He accuſed himſelf of being the cauſe of Du-Rollet's unſeaſonable interference, by not acquainting me with the propoſals he had made him, which would have put me upon my guard againſt all that could have happened from that quarter.

The King had not yet mentioned to the Duke of Montpenſier, or the Baron de Biron, the conditions which, at their expence, he had granted to Admiral Villars: and this was now all that perplexed him; for he conducted himſelf by quite different maxims from thoſe princes, who, in ſuch caſes, inſtead of prudent demeanor and condeſcenſion, begin by ſilencing all complaint, and owe the obedience which they receive to the tone of authority. He agreed with me that I ſhould make him, in the preſence of thoſe two noblemen, the ſame detail I had juſt now done, as if it were for the firſt time; and ſhould give them to underſtand, that the concluſion of the treaty with Villars depended upon their ſacrificing to him their rights. The thing being executed in this manner, the King, turning towards them, ſaid, with ſome emotion, that he would rather loſe Villars and Rouen both, than gain them by doing any injuſtice to two perſons whom he eſteemed. Montpenſier and Biron were ſo affected

"Adzokers," replied the King, "he might poſſibly have made me "wait a long time, and I ſhould not have entered ſo early." This lady (purſued he) hearing the populace cry, *Long live the King*, ſaid, laughing, that Briſſac had done more than his wife, who in fifteen years, had made but one cuckow ſing; whereas he, in eight days, had made more than twenty thouſand parrots ſing in Paris. *L'Etoile, ann.* 1594.

with

with this manner of treating them, that they declared they would, with all their hearts, desist from their pretensions. Henry thanked them; and, as an equivalent, gave the first the governments of Perche and Maine, to be joined to that of Normandy, as soon as it should be entirely reduced; but Villars's generosity changed this disposition. As for Biron, a marechal's baton, with 420,000 lives in money, indemnified him for the loss which he sustained.

The reduction of Paris threw the King into new perplexities, which obliged him to delay still longer his journey to Rouen. He was employed in receiving the homage of the different courts *, of the university, and of the other corporations of the city of Paris; whose submission he thought he could not better reward, than by applying his cares to the restoring them to that harmony and good order which the civil wars had interrupted. He had likewise answers to give to several governors of towns and fortresses, particularly of the isle of France, who, after the example of the capital, came to make their obeisance.

Villeroy was not amongst the first: it was necessity alone, that either fixed his irresolution, or forced his inclinations. Some places of little importance still held out for him and his son, with which, by means of Du-plessis his friend, and Sancy, whose daughter was just married to his son, he made very advantageous conditions for himself: after obtaining, by repeated importunities, two truces, the one of two months space, the other for three months; which he procured to be ratified by the Duke of Maïenne; after having a long time affected a neutrality, and put a thousand springs in

* The parliament of Paris was recalled from Tours, where it had been removed by letters-patent from the King, dated March 28, 1594.

motion,

motion to protract, till the laſt extremity, his ſeparation from his old friends, he at laſt concluded a treaty * almoſt after all the reſt, and obtained the poſt of ſecretary to the King, in recompenſe for that he had given up.

* This circumſtance in our Memoirs is poſitively contradicted by De Thou, who ſays, book 108. that Villeroy's treaty with the King was concluded long before, but that his Majeſty would not ſuffer it to be made public, becauſe he was deſirous that Villeroy ſhould make uſe of his influence over the Duke of Maienne, to prevail upon him to join his party. Matthieu, in the places already quoted, is of the ſame opinion; and Cayet, who likewiſe ſupports it elſewhere, does not contradict it by Villeroy's letter to the Duke of Maienne, dated Jan. 2. in the ſame year; although, in relating the purport of this letter, he caſts a kind of reproach upon this miniſter. In this letter, which was intercepted by the royaliſts, Villeroy, whoſe deſign was to inform the Duke of Maienne beforehand of his treaty with Henry, which was going to be publiſhed, and to endeavour once more to prevail upon him to follow his example, adviſes Maienne to conſider in earneſt of a peace for the party in general, and himſelf in particular. Becauſe, (ſays he,) their cauſe is deſperate;" and adds, "we have loſt all confidence in each other;" &c. Cayet, book 6. p. 293.

With the key that De Thou and other hiſtorians have given us to Villeroy's ſecret tranſactions with the chiefs of the league, and to the part he played by the King's order, the meaning of thoſe words which they would impute to him as a crime, is eaſily comprehended; and it is even plain, that in ſpeaking to the Duke of Maienne, he could not have expreſſed himſelf otherwiſe. Indeed, if on this occaſion Villeroy could be charged with any fault, it was not diſcovering a little more generoſity when he had ſo good an opportunity for it; for, beſides thoſe rewards mentioned in our Memoirs, he procured the government of Lyons for Charles de Neufville, Marquis of Alincourt his ſon. But what French noblemen in thoſe times, or even what man however little diſtreſſed in his circumſtances, could boaſt of being exempted from this reproach? Father de L'Etoile does not conceal the covetous and ſelfiſh diſpoſition of Villeroy. Henry IV. (ſays he in his journal,) going one day with twelve or fifteen of his "courtiers, to partake of a light collation with Villeroy, ſaid to them, "when they were ſeated at table, My friends, we are at an ordinary, "let us fare well for our money, for we have an hoſt that will make "us pay dear for our entertainment." I do not think it will be neceſſary for the future to obviate all thoſe invectives which the Duke of Sully, in the ſequel of theſe memoirs, throws upon a man who has been highly ſerviceable to this kingdom, till his death in 16[illegible], having poſſeſſed the poſts of miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate under four ſucceſſive kings, Charles IX. Henry III. Henry IV. and Lewis XIII.

The

The day after the King's entry into Paris, he thought proper to make me ſet out for Rouen, ſince he could not go thither himſelf. I arrived at that city on the 25th of March, bringing with me Vitry, at the head of 300 men. La-Font received me at the gate of the city, and conducted me, with all my train, to the houſe that was prepared for me, which belonged to the Sieur de Martinbault, the fineſt in the whole town, and, by Villars's orders, furniſhed ſumptuouſly. Simon Antoine and La-Chapelle did not approve of ſuch a remarkable diſtinction. They knew nothing hitherto of the treaty, but had taken ſo much umbrage at my firſt journey, that they made uſe of all their credit to prevail upon the Admiral to forbid my entrance into the city.

La-Font, who acquainted me with all their intrigues, appriſed me alſo, that they were that very night appointed to ſup with the governor; [illegible] were likewiſe the Abbé Tirón, the Preſident Boquemare, Medavy, and D'Aqueville, two counſellors of the parliament, and ſome others. I was reſolved to take this opportunity to declare myſelf; and La-Font having aſſured me, that the Admiral would not be diſpleaſed with any thing I did, I was willing to enjoy the confuſion of the two deputies of Spain and of the league, by telling them what had juſt happened at Paris.

I went immediately to St. Ouen, where Villars was with his company. He entertained the deputies at one end of the gallery when I entered. I did not ſcruple to interrupt their converſation, by running to embrace him: and told him I was juſt come to invite myſelf to ſup with him, and to tell him my news. Villars, after returning my embrace, pointing to the two deputies, as if he acted in concert with me in this affair, told me coolly, that having ſo many people to ſup with him that night, he was afraid I ſhould not find the party well aſſorted.

ed. I replied, that I could accommodate myself to all companies, and I was perſuaded (the animoſity of party aſide) thoſe two gentlemen would receive the news I had to tell them with pleaſure. The governor glancing a look at Simon Antoine, that deputy taking the thing like a man of gallantry, ſaid he would be charmed to know in what manner the King had treated the Spaniards and the two cardinals. This he accompanied with encomiums on this prince, and complements to me, with all imaginable politeneſs and good taſte. "For ought I "can ſee, you will oblige me to treat you all," ſaid Villars, adding a compliment of excuſe for his bad cheer.

The reſt of the company approaching, the Preſident Boquemare preſſed me to declare my news; but I would ſay nothing till we were ſeated. Supper was called. "I am," ſaid the Admiral, placing himſelf firſt at the middle of the table, "a "very bad maſter of ceremonies." I did not mean to uſe any with Don Simon, who having ambition, and being beſides of a rank to ſupport it, might have, upon a bare compliment, ſeated himſelf in the firſt place, a thing perhaps of ſome conſequence, on this occaſion, when I repreſented the King's perſon. I ſeated myſelf, therefore, without any ceremony, at the head of the table, telling the Spaniſh deputy, that if our own perſons only were concerned, I would willingly pay him what I thought due to a ſtranger of merit: which he received with a very good grace. La Chapelle obſerved to him, that I did at the table what my maſter had juſt done at Paris, and that there was nothing in it but what was orderly. "I ſee," ſaid the Spaniard, "and I am afraid this precedence is but "a bad augury for us; however, it ſhall not hin- "der us from being merry, and drinking to the "health of our maſters, who are not enemies, "ſince there is no war declared between them."

This

This answer was full of wisdom and policy; and, during the whole repast, the Spaniard supported his part of the conversation like a man of spirit, and appeared sensible of the King's good qualities, above all, of the marks of clemency which he had given to all his enemies, whether foreigners or French. I took notice that Tiron only, and a priest named Dadré, were silent during this detail.

Thus the feast passed over with a good deal of joy, real or apparent, in all the guests. After it was over, Villars, as he attended me out, intreated me not to visit him all the next day, which he would employ in getting rid, one way or other, of his deputies. He knew not yet how these two men intended to take their leave of him, but told me, that if I wanted to be informed of it, I need only spend the afternoon with Madam de Simiers. Here I learned that Villars had been closeted three whole hours with the two agents; that they had made use of reproaches, and harsh language. But this governor was not a man to be easily intimidated or altered: he told them plainly, that he had concluded a treaty with the King, and that they had nothing for it, but to retire without delay, either to Soissons, or to the Duke of Mayenne, whither he would grant them a safe conduct, the only favour he could grant them. There was a necessity for coming to this extremity: and Villars took care to guard against the effect of their resentment, by giving orders for the newly-arrived troops to enter Rouen; with which he took possession of the palace, the fort, and the castle. This done, he sent La-Font to me, to tell me, that the next day, at my first request, he would declare himself for the King, in the presence of all the inhabitants of the city, whom he caused to be assembled for that purpose, with all the form and ceremony that might make this action more solemn.

I never experienced a more perfect ſatisfaction than what aroſe from the reflection of having done the King and kingdom ſo conſiderable a ſervice; nor enjoyed a more tranquil ſleep that than which the ſucceeding night afforded me. The next morning early I haſtened to Villars, at St Ouen, whom I found walking in the great ſquare, whither he had come an hour before, and which, as well as all the principal ſtreets, was filled with ſuch a prodigious concourſe of people, drawn thither by the report of the deputies departure, and the new ceremony, that Perdriel, D'Hencourt, La-Font, and the ſoldiers whom the governor, out of reſpect, had ſent to attend me, could with difficulty open me a paſſage: the joy was general, and eaſily remarkable in all their faces.

I accoſted the Admiral, with whom I found the Baron de Meslay and the Preſident Boquemare: and, after the ordinary ſalutation, I told him, that the King, being now a good Catholic, it was time he ſhould give him ſome teſtimonies of his zeal. Villars replied, that in his heart he was already faithfully devoted to his Majeſty's ſervice; and that if, to make an open profeſſion of it, nothing more was neceſſary than to put on the white ſcarf, he was ready to receive it at my hand. I took one out of my pocket; and Villars had no ſooner put it on, than, without further thought of what he was to ſay, "Come on," cried he, with a tranſport perfectly in his character, the league is, that every one cry, *Vive le Roi*." The profound ſilence that had been held during our conference, was interrupted at this word by an univerſal acclamation of *Vive le Roi*. At the ſame inſtant, the ringing of the great bell, with all the others in the city; the diſcharge of all the artillery from the fort and other places; added to this general ſhout a noiſe capable of inſpiring terror, if the joy which dilated every heart had permitted them to perceive, that there

there was not a house in the city that was unshaken. "The sound of these bells," said I to the governor, "suggests to us to go and give thanks to God in "the church of Notre-Dame." Accordingly, *Te Deum* was sung there with great solemnity, and followed by the celebration of the mass, at the beginning of which I retired. As soon as it was over, Villars took me up in his coach, and carried me to a magnificent entertainment, to which the sovereign courts, all the officers of the army, and magistrates of the city, were invited. Orders were sent to Verneuil, Pontau-de-mer, and Havre, where the Chevalier d'Oise commanded, and to all those places that acknowledged the Admiral's authority, to follow the example of the capital.

It was my first care, as soon as I was at leisure, to inform the King of what had just happened, and to intreat him to send some of his counsellors to re-establish the parliament. The next day the city came in a body to thank me for the trouble I had taken, and brought me their present, which consisted of a side-board of plate, gilt, and finely wrought, of upwards of 3000 crowns value; which I was obliged to accept, notwithstanding all my instances to the contrary. It was not long before my courier returned with dispatches from his Majesty: he brought a letter for Admiral Villars, in which the King styled him his "Cousin, Admiral, "Governor in chief of Rouen, Havre," &c. and invited him to come to court, in terms which promised him the most gracious reception: that which was for me, contained an order to return as soon as possible.

The Admiral, who would not appear there ill he had an equipage suitable to his rank and dignity, took time to prepare himself. As for me, I set out forthwith, and lay the first night at Louviers,

where I had with Bois-rose, whom I did not know, the little scene I am going to represent.

This gentleman having learned, by public report, that the King had given Villars the fort of Fescamp, and heard no mention of an indemnification to himself, resolved to complain to the King; and having occasion for the protection and countenance of some governor who was known to his Majesty, came to Louviers a few moments after my arrival, to get a letter of recommendation from Du-Rollet. He alighted at the same inn which I had chosen, and was told that a gentleman was just come, who, by his train, and the discourse of his domestics, appeared to be very well at court: my name they did not mention; and Bois-rose believing me to be still at Rouen, was at no pains to learn it. He did not hesitate a moment in preferring the protection of this Lord to that of Du Rollet. He instantly came up to my chamber; and after making himself known, told me, that he had great reason to complain of a nobleman of the court, called the Baron de Rosny, who, abusing his master's favour, had sacrificed him, as well as the Duke de Montpensier, and Marechal Biron, to Admiral Villars his old friend. He afterwards explained his demands, but in a manner so lively and passionate, and with so many oaths and menaces against this Baron de Rosny, that nothing could be more pleasant than the character I supported upon this occasion.

When he vented all his fire, I told him, that I was well enough acquainted with the affair he mentioned to me, to assure him, that the Baron de Rosny durst not have done any thing in it but by the King's express command; and that his Majesty actually purposed to give him a recompense wherewith he would have reason to be contented. I did not think it necessary to carry my civility so far, as to promise him to serve his resentment against that Baron of whom he complained so bitterly; on the contrary,

contrary. I told him, that if he knew the Baron de Rosny, he would confess, that a man who, for the good of the state, voluntarily resigned his abbey of St Taurin, could only be influenced by necessity to do what he attributed to ill will. I took leave of him, saying, that I should be glad to see him when I arrived at court, where I promised to speak to the King concerning him, and to obtain the equivalent he demanded. Bois-rosé went away as much pleased with me as dissatisfied with the Baron de Rosny; but having inquired my name of one of my pages, whom he met at the bottom of the staircase, he was thunderstruck to hear the name of a man whom he had talked of in such harsh terms to himself; so that being apprehensive of the resentment he supposed I entertained against him, he mounted his horse in an instant, went to another inn, and set out with all possible expedition for Paris, that he might get thither before me, to fin[illegible]rection against the bad offices I was about to render him.

The adventure did not end here. While Bois-rosé took precautions against me as against an irreconcileable enemy, I, with more tranquillity, pursued my route by Mante, from whence I brought my wife to Paris. The first thing I did after my arrival, was to wait on the King, and give him an account of my journey, who, according to custom, would have me omit nothing. After having exhausted every thing that was serious, I was willing to divert him with the scene at Louviers; for Bois-rosé had taken no notice of that, and had only conjured his Majesty not to be prejudiced by what I might say against him, because of an inveterate hatred that I bore him. The King laughed heartily at the adventure of Bois-rosé. I sent for him; and he finding I was the person to whom he was referred, believed his affairs desperate: I enjoyed his uneasiness and perplexity for some time, and afterwards drew him out of it in a manner that surprised him

him greatly. I ſolicited warmly in his favour, and obtained for him a penſion of 12,000 livres a year, a company with an appointment, and 2000 crowns in ſilver. He had not hoped for ſo much; but, his bluſtering apart, I looked upon him as an officer of great courage and reſolution; and I afterwards bound him more cloſely to me, and thought him worthy of the poſt of lieutenant-general of the ordnance in Normandy, when the King had made me grand-maſter of it.

I concealed nothing from the King of all that had happened to me at Rouen, except the preſent of the ſide-board of gilt plate. He was aſtoniſhed one morning to ſee it brought into his chamber. I told him, that, having in vain endeavoured to hinder the city of Rouen from making me this preſent, I came to bring it to his Majeſty, as a thing which belonged to him, ſince I had bound myſelf by a ſolemn vow, never to receive any thing from his ſubjects under this name, while I remained in his ſervice.

And here it ſeems not improper to declare my reaſons for this conduct, which I am perſuaded will not be thought the beſt concerted ſtratagem to gain greater riches: for although the rewards I received from the King were very conſiderable, and even ſurpaſſed my expectations, it will be readily allowed that a man who, for ſo long a time, had almoſt the ſole management of the finances and the army, was able to enrich himſelf by a much ſhorter method. It is not neceſſary that I ſhould name it: the paſt age has afforded but too many examples of it; and, notwithſtanding all my endeavours to introduce a contrary cuſtom, the future, I doubt, will ſupply many more.

Intereſt, therefore, being out of the queſtion, my reſolution to avoid receiving any obligations may be placed to the ſcore of vanity. Againſt this imputation I can offer only a ſimple aſſurance, but a very

very sincere one; that I acted thus from no other motive, than the desire of teaching those who might succeed me in the conduct of affairs, that, in this respect, there is no difference between them and such as are set over the distribution of justice: for if a judge who opens his hand to presents, even without any intention of being influenced by them, is looked upon with abhorrence; a minister, and any man invested with a public employment, renders himself equally guilty, who receives gifts with complacency, which, in the minds of those who give them, are in the very instant, or in the issue, to be at the expence of the King, or at least of his subjects. If we cannot depend on the rectitude of intention of those who make us these presents, (it is to my successors that I address myself here), much less can we on our own who receive them: and let us accustom ourselves to regard, as two things which can never be reconciled, [redacted]fter's profit and our own; unless, as I have observed before, it should be himself who bestows gifts on us; and his liberality will always go far enough to leave us no cause to complain, after we convince him that nothing comes to us from any other source. But the misfortune is, being accustomed to calculate, and to see immense sums pass through our hands, we are led insensibly to consider as a small matter, those that are sufficient for the happiness and for the fortune of one individual.

The King did not dissemble that he was not accustomed to such discourse; and owned, that if this system, simple as it was, could be once established in the finances, it would be the means of enriching both the King and the state; which, before and since, have been ardently sought for in vain. He would not have accepted the side-board, but to accommodate himself to my way of thinking, by obliging me to take it from his hand. This donation became public, because he granted me a writing,

sing *, in which it was specified, that this sideboard was a present made by the city of Rouen to his Majesty, who had bestowed it upon me; and the next day this prince sent me 1000 crowns in gold from his own strong-box, to make me sensible that such an action in a minister should not go unrewarded. I now fulfill his views, by informing the public of this double gratification.

Admiral Villars appeared soon after at court, with a train of more than an hundred gentlemen; some of whom were of the greatest families in France; but people soon drew off their attention from the magnificence of his horses, and the grandeur of his equipages, to fix it upon his generosity and upon his modesty, which are indeed the true riches of a man, although they rarely accompany the former. He accosted the King with an air at once noble and submissive, and threw himself at his feet. "Admiral," said the King, in pain at this posture, and raising him hastily, "such submission "is due to God only;" and resolving to elevate the Admiral as much as he had humbled himself, he began to expatiate to the courtiers upon the great actions which Villars had performed, and did it with a discernment so just as gave them new merit. The Admiral, by protestations of respect, and de-

* Rosny's humour agreed perfectly well with the King's. When he trusted the finances to his care, he desired him not to take a bottle of wine, or receive any present whatever, without his knowledge; and when Rosny informed him of any that were offered to him, the King immediately permitted him to accept of them, being so desirous that he should find his advantage in serving him faithfully, that he often added gifts of his own to those perquisites, to encourage him to serve him better and better. But Rosny never received them till they were duly registered in the chamber of accounts, that every one might know the bounty of this prince towards him; by which means he would avoid the reproach of abusing his favour to empty his coffers. Perefixe, p. 227. This writer, as well as the rest of the world, were, through the Duke of Sully's modesty at that time, ignorant that he himself was the contriver of this wise and well-concerted economy.

votion to his service, endeavoured to stop the course of these praises; and afterwards perceiving the Duke of Montpensier, he went up to him, and, kissing his hand, acknowledged him his superior, resigning to him his government of Rouen with so good a grace, that this prince, who had at first received him coldly enough, being affected with his generosity, embraced him several times, and from that moment received him into the number of his dearest friends.

The months of April and May were employed in the same manner by the King and his council, in receiving deputies from the different cities and governors, who came to treat upon the conditions of their surrender. Those of Lyons and Poitiers were the most considerable. A strange fall for the Duke of Nemours! This ambitious man suffered the chimerical project of making himself King of France, by marrying the Infanta of Spain, to employ his mind; which foolish pretension, the public hatred and the opposition of his own brother, the Duke of Maïenne, obliging him to renounce, he soon consoled himself for this disappointment, by erecting, in idea, a principality composed of the provinces of Lyonnois, Beaujolois, Forêt, Maconnois, and Dombes, which he was to hold of Spain. He began by endeavouring to make sure of the capital of his new kingdom; but the Lyonnois *, more subtil than he, took care to secure the person

* Perefixe supposes the Duke of Maïenne himself to be the author of the revolt of Lyons, it being his design to snatch this city out of the hands of his half brother. What the author says here of the Duke of Nemours, ought not to hinder us from doing him justice in other respects. He is allowed by all the historians to have possessed very great and amiable qualities, both of mind and person, and to have been one of the most deserving noblemen in all France. See his panegyric, and that of the Marquis de St. Sorlin, his brother, in the Memoirs of Brantome, vol. 3. under the article of M. de Nemours, p. 23. et seqq.; and the account of the detail of Lyons, in Cayet, book 6. p. 299. and other historians.

of their pretended fovereign, who treated them already as a tyrant; and conſidering him in that light, kept him confined, without any intention, however, of breaking with the party. The league was offended at the affront offered to one of their leaders; and Saint Sorlin, the Duke of Nemours's youngeſt brother, intereſting Spain in his quarrel, obtained from the Duke of Savoy, and the Duke of Terra Nova, governour of Milan, a powerful ſupply of forces, with which he fell upon the Lyonnois. This violence determined them to ſeparate openly from the league; and calling in Colonel D'Ornano to their aſſiſtance, they declared openly for the King, pulled down and dragged the arms and colours of Spain, Savoy, and Nemours, in the dirt, burnt, with a kind of inſulting farce, in the public ſquare, the effigies of a woman, in the habit of a ſorcereſs, with this inſcription on her forehead, THE LEAGUE; and allowed only three months time to all the little towns dependent upon Lyons, to return to their duty.

The Duke of Nemours remained in great perplexity during this tumult; and apprehending ſomething worſe than confinement from his pretended ſubjects, to effect his eſcape, put on the habit of his valet de chambre, who reſembled him in his ſhape, and going out of his apartment with his cloſe-ſtool pan in his hand, paſſed through the antichamber where the guards were, without being known, becauſe he turned his face aſide, as if to avoid the bad ſmell; from thence he ſtole into the ſtreet, and gained the fields; too happy, after ſo much imaginary grandeur, to abandon, like a fugitive, a city which he had deſtined for the ſeat of his glory; and convinced, by ſad experience, of a truth to which we always will make ourſelves blind, that there is nothing ſo difficult as to make effects anſwer our deſires.

Ambition, moreover, turned another head. Ba-

lagny

lagny seeing himself governor of Cambray, a place by its situation of great importance for the King, had the hardiness to demand his title of governor to be changed into that of sovereign prince, and the misfortune to obtain his request. Hence he flattered himself, that he should see his name swell the catalogue of crowned heads, and forgot that he wanted means to maintain himself in that elevated rank. He maintained it, or thought to maintain it, by exhausting his purse to appear with magnificence at court, and to send to the siege of Laon 2000 arquebusiers and 300 horse. But the glory of this upstart potentate was of short duration: he, as well as Nemours, split upon the common rock so fatal to ambitious men, who can never be persuaded, that the best concerted schemes are those which afford only moderate advantages, but subjected to no changes, and secured from all hazards.

The Spaniards seeing, that, in the centre of the kingdom, every thing slipped through their hands, resolved to stem the torrent by some important blow, and laid siege to La Chapelle. The King did not balance a moment upon the necessity of leaving all his domestic affairs, to go and prevent the reduction of this place. His soldiers, however, were not in the same disposition: Weary of war, they sought only to forget and to avoid it. So much time, therefore, was wasted, before the King could draw his army together, that although he marched before it with a small body of troops, yet he came too late: he found the siege so far advanced, and the Count of Mansfield, who commanded it, so advantageously posted, that, weak as he was, he could not venture to force him. But the place being of great strength, he flattered himself that the governor would hold out long enough to give time to the rest of the troops to join him, and then he would be in a condition either to throw succours into the place, or force the besiegers to a battle.

But this governor, following the maxims of thoſe times, attentive only to his own profit in every thing, had been ſo beneficially ſparing of proviſions, ammunition, and ſoldiers, to man his garriſon, that he was obliged to ſurrender much ſooner than he needed to have done, and ſaw himſelf ruined by his avarice.

The King, by way of repriſal, inveſted Laon. He was not ignorant, that the league had put this place, already ſo ſtrong by its ſituation and fortifications, into a condition ſufficient to make whoever attacked it repent of his attempt. Du-Bourg * was governor of it; one of the beſt and moſt experienced officers the Duke of Maienne had in his army. The Duke's ſecond ſon, the Count of Sommerive, with a great number of the nobility, was ſhut up there. The King, therefore, conſidering that, on this occaſion, he had his military reputation to ſuſtain, a reputation to which he owed all his ſucceſs, neglected, on his part, no care or attention, to accompliſh his enterpriſe.

I attended him joyfully to this ſiege, and was charged, according to my taſte, with the direction of a battery of ſix pieces of cannon, conjointly with the elder De-Born, who, in quality of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, had the conduct of it in the abſence of the Count de la Guiche grand maſter, and conſented to take me for his colleague. Scarce had I taken poſſeſſion of my new employment, when I was obliged to abandon it. The King was informed, by letters from Paris, that the Count d'Auvergne, with D'Entragues, his father-in-law, had begun thoſe ſecret practices againſt him which afterwards had like to have loſt him his head upon a ſcaffold; and that many diſaffected and ſeditious

* He was the ſame who choſe rather to go out of the Baſtile, of which he was governor, publicly with the black ſcarf, than to receive a bribe to put it into the King's hands. Cayet, vol. 2. p. 691.

perſons

persons daily resorted to Paris. A violent dispute had likewise just commenced between the university and curate of Paris on one side, and the Jesuits on the other; which, in a government yet hardly established, was very formidable.

This news convinced his Majesty, that there was a necessity for having a vigilant and faithful agent in that great city; yet he delayed mentioning the affair to me, because he knew well that I should not be pleased with a commission which would oblige me to leave the siege. However, a letter which I received from the Cardinal of Bourbon, and which I could not avoid shewing him, determined him to propose it to me. The Cardinal, without entering into any detail, only expressed himself ardently desirous of seeing me, upon affairs of great importance, which he said I only could succeed in. Although all this had only the air of a compliment, yet his Majesty thought he ought not to neglect this advice: and had these affairs related only to the Cardinal, the King had so many motives for being solicitous about him, that when he had read this letter, he commanded me to prepare for returning to Paris; which I obeyed, but with great regret at quitting the siege. There was a necessity to fill up the employment I left vacant, with a man whose fidelity could be depended upon. I named to his Majesty Vignoles, Parabere, and Trigny; and he chose Parabere. I flattered myself, that when the affairs which called me to Paris were terminated, I should return to Laon; and I was resolved to use all possible expedition with them; but they were succeed by others, and that so soon, that, from the end of May to the beginning of August, which was the time the siege lasted, all I could see of it was in these little excursions I sometimes made thither from Paris; therefore my account of it will be unconnected enough.

Having

Having received the King's inſtructions for my journey, I ſet out, and reached Crépy the firſt night, where I lay, and the next day arrived at Paris. I waited upon the Cardinal immediately, and found him very ill *, and as much depreſſed in mind as in body. He embraced me tenderly, and diſcovered infinite joy at ſeeing me; then ordering his chamber to be cleared, made me ſit down by his bedſide, that I might hear the thouſand important things which he ſaid he had to communicate. Thoſe he began with gave me no great opinion of the reſt; but they were ſuch as ſat neareſt his heart, although they conſiſted only of domeſtic uneaſineſſes, and female quarrels, with which I am almoſt aſhamed to entertain the public. A certain lady, named Madam de Rotieres, was the cauſe of them. The Cardinal, either through jealouſy or a diſturbed imagination, had taken it into his head, that ſhe haſtened his death by magic, to be revenged on him for ſowing diſſenſion between her and the Abbe de Bellozanne, her favourite. His only conſolation was, that if he did not die, his murderess would. My wife had informed him, that this Madam de Rotieres was dangerouſly ill; and probably it was upon this information that he had formed all his fable of magic and death.

He imparted all theſe ſecrets to me with ſuch apparent dejection, that I did not doubt but that theſe imaginations contributed in a great meaſure to haſten his death. I endeavoured to inſpirit him; and he at laſt was able to ſpeak to me of his other affairs, which he had like to have forgot. Next to Madam de Rotieres, the King was the perſon of whom he complained with greateſt bitterneſs; for his mind was in ſuch a ſtate, that he only com-

* The moment he perceived himſelf ill, he departed from Guillon, and came to St. Genivieve, and afterwards to his fine houſe of the abbey of St. Germain, according to De Thou, book 109.

plained

plained of thoſe whom he loved. He had aſked the King's permiſſion to diſpoſe of his benefices; and his Majeſty, he ſaid, had not heard him favourably; which, he added, could only be occaſioned by this prince's not having any regard for him, or that he was not ſincerely attached to the Catholic religion; for how indeed could he be a good Roman Catholic, and diſoblige a cardinal? Afterwards, without conſidering whom it was he was ſpeaking to, he intreated me to defend the Romiſh religion to the King, to confirm him in it, to prevail upon him to keep up a cloſe correſpondence with the Pope, to demand of St. Peter his benediction, that he might afterwards obtain of him the diſſolution of his marriage with Queen Margaret of Valois, and be at liberty to marry another princeſs, by whom he might have children who would ſecure the crown to the houſe of Bourbon, and peace and tranquillity to France. The end of this diſcourſe was much more judicious than I had reaſon to expect: nor was the Pope's panegyric improperly introduced in it; for it muſt be confeſſed, that Clement VIII. was not only poſſeſſed of great wiſdom and juſtice, but alſo ſo good a politician, that the court of Madrid could never boaſt of having deceived him by their diſguiſes.

The Cardinal afterwards brought the affair of the Jeſuits upon the carpet; and although, as a man devoted to the court of Rome, he openly favoured them, yet the arguments he made uſe of to prevail upon me to ſupport them, were founded upon policy and the intereſt of the King, and ſo ſolid, that I was convinced his underſtanding was not impaired by ſickneſs, but only upon the chapter of himſelf. All the ſteps I took in that affair were in conſequence of his Eminence's prudent reflections on the danger of baniſhing the whole ſociety from France in ſuch a conjuncture; for, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, nothing leſs was in agitation.

A fourth affair, which he recommended to me, was, to ſupport, againſt the ſuperintendant, the old Archbiſhop of Glaſgow in Ireland, whom he loved and honoured as if he had been a near relation. This archbiſhop bore the name of Bethune *. The Queen of Scotland, his benefactreſs, being dead, all he now deſired was, to ſpend the ſhort remnant of his life in peace, far from his native country; but in the ſuperintendant he found an enemy, to whoſe perſecutions he was perpetually expoſed, and who ſeemed reſolved to drive him out of France. I never could diſcover the true cauſe of this hatred; perhaps it was owing to the attachment this prelate always ſhewed to the family of the Guiſes, from whom the Queen of Scotland * was deſcended. The Cardinal ſaid, that D'Os had no other motive than the intereſt which the Cardinal took in the Archbiſhop: and it is certain, that, as often as his Eminence ſolicited the ſuperintendant in favour of the old prelate, he ſeemed to be more eagerly bent upon his deſtruction. The Cardinal, therefore, intreated me to prevail upon the King to take

* James de Bethune, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, in Scotland, and not in Ireland, came to Paris in quality of ambaſſador in ordinary from the Queen of Scotland, and died there in 1603, aged eighty ſix years; having, during fifty ſeven years, ſuffered great viciſſitudes of fortune, ſince the murder of Cardinal de Bethune, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, his uncle, which happened in 1546. His epitaph may be ſtill ſeen in the church of St. John of Lateran. Amelot de la Houſſaye, in his Memoirs, mentions the proceſs that Nicholas Denetz, Biſhop of Orleans, had with Maximilian Francis Duke of Sully, in which, it appears, that they unjuſtly diſputed the right this family had to the name of Bethune. "However this may be," ſaid he, ſpeaking of this archbiſhop, "the family of Betun in Scotland, from "whence was deſcended the Cardinal Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, "and the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, ambaſſador from Queen Mary "to part in France, where he died in 1660 or 1661, (her is an error "in the date), is acknowledged by Meſſ. de Sully and de Charoſt, "for a branch of their houſe." vol. 2. p. 68. Therefore, according to our Memoirs, the true name both of the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, was Bethune, and not Betun.

* Mary of Lorrain, daughter of Claude Duke of Guiſe, married in 1530, to James Stuart King of Scotland.

the Archbishop under his protection: he had promised to have no concern, for the future, in any affairs, either within or without the kingdom: indeed, he was no longer capable of it, and his conduct, moreover, irreproachable. To gain me entirely over to his interests, the Cardinal told me, that this archbishop had so great an affection for me, that he wept continually for my unhappiness, in being educated in the Protestant religion.

He resumed again the subject of his benefices, with which he concluded his discourse; and earnestly intreated me to obtain for him his Majesty's permission to resign them, confessing that the possession of these benefices had given dreadful uneasiness to the deceased Cardinal, his uncle, from whom he had them, as well as to himself, some of them having been forcibly taken from families who were the lawful proprietors of them; and his Eminence thought, he should make a sufficient atonement, both for himself and his uncle, and pacify his conscience, by restoring them to the injured persons after his death. He had nothing new to tell me, when his physician entered the chamber. Duret (for it was he) having recommended silence to his patient, took upon himself the care of acquainting me with all the secrets of the Cardinal, whose confidence he possessed; and he acquitted himself like a very eloquent man, that is to say he wearied me sufficiently. I made no other answer to his tedious speeches, than reiterated promises of serving his Eminence.

During the three days which I passed at Paris, I was sufficiently convinced of the dangerous correspondences carried on by the Count d'Auvergne, D'Entragues, and his wife. Their house was the rendezvous for all the King's enemies, either in the league or the Spanish party: every night they held secret councils against the King's interest and service. Till I should have an opportunity of con-

ferring with his Majeſty upon the meaſures neceſſary for ſuppreſſing this wicked cabal, I repreſented to Meſſ. de Cheverney, de Pont-carré, de Bellievre, and de Maiſſe, that they could not watch too narrowly the motions of theſe incendiaries; and I particularly recommended it to Maiſſe, with whoſe activity I was well acquainted.

I afterwards applied myſelf, with a particular attention, to the affair of the Jeſuits, againſt whom a proceſs was actually commenced before the parliament, and vigorouſly purſued by the univerſity and curates of Paris, who accuſed them with having monopolized to themſelves the education of the youth *, and the direction of conſciences; repreſented them as a ſociety very pernicious to the ſtate; and propoſed their being baniſhed as ſuch from all the dominions of France. It was nothing leſs than certain, that all theſe adverſaries of the ſociety would triumph over them, as they had promiſed themſelves, even if the King ſhould not interpoſe his authority. The Jeſuits had acted powerfully upon this occaſion. The party was already ſo well ſupported, that, without laying any ſtreſs upon the Pope, Spain, and their partiſans in the league †, who were not few, one half of the parliament was on their ſide, and openly ſolicited in their favour. The cauſe was put into the hands of advocates in the higheſt repute at the bar: the Jeſuits retained Duret and Verſoris; and their adverſaries Arnaud and Dollé ‡. In Paris nothing was talked of but theſe two powerful factions.

I reflected upon what the Cardinal de Bourbon had repreſented to me, That there was no extre-

* See Richel. polit. teſt. part 1. chap. 2. ſect. 10.

† The Cardinal of Bourbon, the Superintendant D'O, Antony Seguire, King's Advocate, and a great many others, openly ſolicited for the Jeſuits.

‡ See the particulars of this proceſs, De Thou, book 130.; Hiſt. of the univerſity of Paris, vol. 6. p. 860.; and others.

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mity to which this order would not proceed, ſtimulated either by revenge, or by the hope of forcing us to repeal their baniſhment: That, by their intrigues, they might animate part of Europe againſt us: That they well know how to make their perſecution be looked upon as an injury offered to religion itſelf, and bring the King under a ſuſpicion of being ſecretly attached to that which he had juſt quitted; which, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, might have very dangerous conſequences, Clement VIII. not having yet been able to reſolve upon granting the abſolution ſolicited for at Rome; the King being engaged in one of theſe enterpriſes, the event of which is always ſo uncertain, and often ſo dangerous; and, in a word, the Catholics who had moſt power in the kingdom, as well thoſe who were at Paris, as thoſe that filled the court, fearing, or ſeeming to fear, for their own intereſt, that they had not yet ſufficiently provided for the ſecurity of the Romiſh religion in France. I was ſenſible, that Meſſ. de Longueville, Nevers, and Biron, had publicly expreſſed themſelves to this purpoſe, and had uſed all their endeavours to communicate their apprehenſions to the Cardinal of Bourbon, by means of D'Entragues, D'Humiers, Des Sourdis, and ſome others. It is not my deſign to impute here any bad intention to theſe perſons; but it is certain, that, among theſe zealous Catholics, there were few who were not actuated by a motive like that of Biron, who did not diſſeminate theſe diſcourſes till he had loſt all hope of obtaining the government of Laon.

Be this as it will, prudence, I thought, required, that the authority of the abſent King ſhould not be expoſed for a quarrel between prieſts and theologiſts; and did not doubt but his Majeſty, in ſuch a caſe, would chuſe the moſt moderate ſide. I therefore declared to the council, that the King did not think the accuſations which were brought a-

gainſt the Jeſuits, of ſufficient importance to authoriſe any harſh treatment of them; and that his Majeſty would wait to be determined by their future behaviour to the ſtate and himſelf, whether he ſhould baniſh them, or permit them to continue in France: and that, till he had given more poſitive orders concerning them, he abſolutely forbad any violent proceedings againſt thoſe fathers; that no invectives ſhould be permitted in the pleadings againſt them; and even that their cauſe ſhould be tried in full court. No perſon expected to find in me a protector of the Jeſuits; and I may ſay, that my recommendation of them at that time would not have been uſeleſs, although I had not ſpoken in the name of the King. In effect, no further progreſs was made in this affair.

The deference I owed to the Cardinal of Bourbon made me reſolve to ſpeak to the ſuperintendant in favour of the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow; though I knew well, what I had to expect from a man ſo little ſolicitous to conceal the hatred he bore to my whole family, and which a late quarrel with my young ſt brother had augmented, I hoped from the King more juſtice, and I haſtened to join him at La n, after taking leave of the Cardinal, who continued ſtill conſiderably weakened.

At Bruyers, where I had left my field-equipage, I learned, that the Duke of Maïenne, being in conſtant expectation of a great army which Count Charles of Mansfield was to bring him, had advanced with ſome troops as far as La-Fere, and twice attempted to throw a ſupply of 100 horſe and 200 arquebuſiers into Laon; that the firſt was defeated by Givry, and the ſecond by the Count of Soiſſons, whoſe turn it was that day to guard the trench: that the King gave always a glorious example to the princes and officers, and mounted guard in the trenches in his turn.

His

His Majesty was in bed when I arrived at his quarters, although it was three o' clock in the afternoon. He asked me, if I was not surprised to find him in bed at such an hour. This bed, however, was only two matresses upon the hard ground. All night, and the preceding day, this prince had been standing at the trench, where he was employed in directing works to be made in the mountain, upon the declivity of which Laon is situated, either to change the place of some batteries, or to shelter the workmen by parapets. He was so greatly fatigued standing upon the ground, which was extremely rugged, that several contusions rose in his feet, which did not, however, hinder him from staying to see the work carried on, till all these contusions bursting, each of his feet became one large wound, which obliged him to be put to bed, and some dressings to be applied to them; which he ordered to be changed in my presence: "That you "may be convinced," said he, "I do not act the "sick man unseasonably." I was very far, indeed, from entertaining such a thought: and if I accused him of any thing, it was of the contrary excess. I believe he perceived it: for seeking, as it were, to justify himself he told me, that he was under a necessity of undertaking and superintending this work, which would give him two days advance upon the besieged city; and that I would not condemn him after I had seen it, or, at least, heard an account of it from the connoisseurs whom he had sent to visit it, and whose return he expected at five o'clock.

I took advantage of this opportunity of being alone with the King to give him an account of my journey, which I did, kneeling on a cushion which he ordered to be brought for me. His Majesty, desirous of authorising what I had done, ordered Beaulieu-Rure to write three letters instantly: the first, which was addressed to the Chancellor, regarded the Jesuits, and contained only a repetion of what I had

had faid myſelf. In the ſecond, he informed D'O, that it was his intention the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow ſhould enjoy the only two abbeys he had in France peaceably, and juſtified this prelate's paſt conduct, by the gratitude he owed his benefactreſs. The third, to the Cardinal of Bourbon, was written in the name of Loménie, ſecretary of ſtate, who made known to his Eminence, that the King would approve of the diſpoſition he ſhould make of his benefices, and was ready to ratify it, by ſigning himſelf the form he ſhould ſend him, provided he found in it nothing contrary to the canons, the liberties, and cuſtoms of the kingdom. The reſt of the letter was an aſſurance of his protection and friendſhip; and as a proof of his confidence, he ſent the two other letters under cover to him; and had the complaiſance to acquaint him with the contents. I deſired Du Perat, whom the King ſent with theſe three letters to Paris, to deliver one from me to the Cardinal, in which I exhorted him, by every thing that I thought could make any impreſſion upon his mind, to free himſelf from all his domeſtic uneaſineſſes.

Theſe affairs were but juſt over before the arrival of Meſſ. de Biron, Givry, Saint-Luc, Marivault, Parabere, Vignoles, Fouqueroles, and others, whom the King had ſent to examine his works of the preceding day, particularly two mines which he had cauſed to be opened. Every one gave his opinion of them, to ſhew his own ſkill: they could not agree, and a diſpute inſenſibly roſe amongſt them. Marechal Biron, who ſullied the great talents he had for war, by an aſſuming air, and a ſuperiority of accent, which made him always maſter of the converſation, could with difficulty bear to hear any one to declare himſelf of an opinion contrary to his.

The King, perceiving that words grew high amongſt them, in order to oblige them to ſilence, told

told them that he had received notice from three ſucceſſive ſpies, from different places, that the Duke of Maienne and the Count of Mansfeld had reſolved, at all hazards, to throw a very conſiderable convoy of ammunition and proviſions into Laon, in order to avoid a battle; and that this convoy was to ſet out inſtantly upon its march, ſupported by a very powerful eſcort, with a deſign to ſurpriſe the guard, force themſelves a paſſage, and enter into the beſieged city. This afforded a new ſubject for conteſtation, which ended at laſt in Biron's favour, who procured the command of a ſtrong detachment, with which he intended to poſt himſelf in the foreſt between Laon and La-Fere, and to attack the eſcort with the convoy. He compoſed the detachment himſelf, which conſiſted of 1200 French infantry, all choſen men, 800 Swiſs, 300 light horſe, 200 troopers, and 100 gentlemen of the King's houſehold. I aſked the King's permiſſion to go along with this detachment; which he refuſed me ſeveral times, alledging, that there were many things which he wanted me to inform him of; but I made ſo ſtrong inſtances, that the third time I prevailed.

We began our march at ſix o' clock in the afternoon, and reached the foreſt at one in the morning, where we advanced cautiouſly to the extremity of the wood near La-Fere, which was the place of our ambuſcade. Marechal de Biron detained all the paſſengers we met on the great road, who, he thought, might carry intelligence of his deſign into La-Fere; and placed centinels on horſeback at the end of the wood, to bring him an exact information of whatever came out of the city. We waited with great impatience till four o' clock in the afternoon, before we heard any news; and then the centinels came to inform us, that the great road from La-Fere to Laon was covered with ſo long a file of ſoldiers, and ſuch a vaſt quantity of bag-

gage

gage of every kind, that they could imagine nothing elſe but that the whole army of the enemy was advancing. That inſtant I perceived a good number of the moſt reſolute amongſt us to look pale, and whiſper to each other, that it was neceſſary to make our retreat. This ſome of us oppoſed; and the commander declaring himſelf for this laſt opinion, it was agreed upon, by a plurality of voices, that ſome one of the troop ſhould be ſent to reconnoitre, and bring back an exact ſtate of things. Fouqueroles, whoſe valour and intrepidity was well known, was choſen, with two or three others, for this employment: and returning a little time after, informed us, that this ſeemingly formidable line was compoſed of three hundred carts, laden with ammunition, eſcorted by four ſquadrons of 100 horſe each, who marched before the convoy, followed by 8 or 900 muſketeers; an equal number of Spaniſh infantry brought up the rear.

This number not being equal to ours, it was agreed upon, with one voice, that we ſhould attack them; and we only differed upon the manner of doing it. I, with many others, were of opinion, that it would be better to let the convoy enter the foreſt, and afterwards fall upon them in the rear. Givry, Montigny, and Marivault, who were at the head of the cavalry, were for the negative, and maintained ſo poſitively, that there was leſs danger in attacking them in the open field, that they drew Marechal Biron into this opinion. At firſt this method ſucceeded: the cavalry of the enemy gave way as ſoon as they were attacked, though at the beginning they ſhewed great reſolution, and retired to the ſides of the waggons: but we ſoon found whom we had to deal with: the enemy's infantry, which were in front, waited firmly for our troopers, whom Biron ſent to attack them,