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T H E
A G E
O F
L E W I S XIV.

Translated from the FRENCH of
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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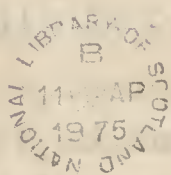
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE publishers of this edition of the Age of Lewis XIV. wrote by the celebrated M. de VOLTAIRE, have spared no pains to render it as correct as possible; and, in order to give the true meaning of the author, the best editions of the original French have been made use of, and, where difficulties occurred, persons most knowing in that language consulted. Some hundreds of mistakes in the London editions are here rectified, and, in many places, whole paragraphs supplied, which in them are intirely omitted: and though the publishers cannot pretend to say that this edition is quite free from

mistakes; yet it is hoped there are but few; and if any such occur, that the reader will excuse them. These considerations, together with its being sold at a much more moderate price, it is expected, will recommend it to the favour of the public.

T H E
E D I T O R ' S P R E F A C E .

THE manuscript of this work having been put into my hands by the author, I read it with very great attention: I observed in it an extreme love of truth, and a perfect impartiality in regard to all the affairs related in it. These, principally, were the reasons which made me consider it as my duty to print it, under the auspicious protection of a monarch, to whom truth is not less dear than glory; and who, with the general consent of all Europe, is equally capable to instruct mankind, and to judge of their works.

I thought such an edition as this would be preferable to one larger, and more pompous: and I dare affirm, that these

two volumes contain more interesting facts, and curious anecdotes, than are in any of the immense collections which have hitherto been published upon the reign of Lewis XIV.

And though the conclusion of this work contains such things as have been done by Lewis XV. and though more than one establishment of Lewis XIV. has been perfected by his successor, it appeared, nevertheless, that the title of THE AGE OF LEWIS XIV. should still continue; not only because it was the history of about eighty years, but because most of the great changes related in it were begun under this reign.

C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

C H A P T E R S

I N T H E

F I R S T V O L U M E.

C H A P T E R I.

I N T R O D U C T I O N. Page 1

CHAP. II. *The minority of Lewis XIV. The victories of the French under the great Conde, then duke d'Enguien.* 35

CHAP. III. *The civil war.* 45

CHAP. IV. *Continuation of the civil war, to the end of the rebellion in 1654.* 58

CHAP. V. *The state of France to the death of cardinal Mazarin, in 1661.* 71

CHAP. VI. *Lewis XIV. governs alone: he forces the Spanish-Austrian branch to give him the pre-*

cedence in all places; and the court of Rome to make him satisfaction: he buys Dunkirk: he assists the Emperor, Portugal, the States-general; and renders his kingdom flourishing and formidable.

Page 100

CHAP. VII. *The conquest of Flanders.* 113

CHAP. VIII. *The conquest of Franche-Comte; the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.* 120

CHAP. IX. *The magnificence of Lewis XIV. the conquest of Holland.* 127

CHAP. X. *The evacuation of Holland; and the second conquest of Franche-Comte.* 153

CHAP. XI. *The fine campaign, and death of the marshal de Turenne.* 163

CHAP. XII. *From the death of Turenne to the peace of Nimegen, in 1678.* 175

CHAP. XIII. *The taking of Strasbourg, and the bombarding of Algiers: the embassy from Siam: the pope humbled: The electorate of Cologne disputed.* 190

CHAP. XIV. *King James dethroned by his son in-law William III. and protected by Lewis XIV.* 205

CHAP. XV. *What passed on the continent, whilst William took possession of Scotland, England, and Ireland, to 1697.* 221

CHAP. XVI. *The peace of Ryswick: the state of France, and Europe: the death, and last will, of Charles II. king of Spain.* Page 244

CHAP. XVII. *The war of 1701. The conduct of prince Eugene, marshal Villeroi, the duke de Vendome, the duke of Marlborough, and the marshal de Villars, to 1703.* 272

CHAP. XVIII. *The loss of the battle of Blenheim, or Hochstet; and its consequences.* 292

CHAP. XIX. *Losses in Spain: the loss of the battles of Ramillies and Turin; and their consequences.* 303

CHAP. XX. *Continuation of the disgraces of France and Spain: the humiliation, constancy, and resources of Lewis XIV. The battle of Malplaquet.* 317

CHAP. XXI. *Lewis XIV. continues to ask peace, and to defend himself: the duke de Vendome places the king of Spain upon his throne.* 341

CHAP. XXII. *The victory of marshal Villars at Denain: the re-establishment of affairs: the general peace.* 353

CHAP. XXIII. *A view of Europe from the peace of Utrecht to 1750.* 367

VOLUME II.

CHAP. XXIV. <i>Particulars and anecdotes of the reign of Lewis XIV.</i>	Page 1
CHAP. XXV. <i>Continuation of the anecdotes</i>	34
CHAP. XXVI. <i>Conclusion of the anecdotes.</i>	55
CHAP. XXVII. <i>Interior government, commerce, police, laws, military discipline, and marine.</i>	86
CHAP. XXVIII. <i>Finances.</i>	113
CHAP. XXIX. <i>Arts and sciences.</i>	124
CHAP. XXX. <i>Continuation of the arts.</i>	153
CHAP. XXXI. <i>Ecclesiastical affairs. Memorable disputes.</i>	159
CHAP. XXXII. <i>Of Calvinism.</i>	177
CHAP. XXXIII. <i>Of Jansenism.</i>	207
CHAP. XXIV. <i>Of Quietism.</i>	
CHAP. XXXV. <i>Disputes upon Chinese ceremonies.</i>	283

THE AGE OF LEWIS XIV.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

OUR intention in this work is not merely to write the life of Lewis XIV; the design is more extensive. We would endeavour to represent to posterity, not the actions of a single man only, but the genius of an age, of all others the most enlightened.

Every age hath produced heroes and politicians: all nations have suffered revolutions; and all histories are equally entertaining to him who wants to treasure up in his mind facts only. But whoever reflects, and, what is more uncommon, whoever has a taste, will reckon only four ages in the history of the world. The four happy ages are those wherein the arts were perfected, and which, serving as an aera of the greatness of the human mind, are a pattern to all posterity.

The first of these ages, to which true glory is annexed, is that of Philip and Alexander; or of Pericles, Demosthenes, Aristotle, Plato, Apelles,

Phidias, and Praxiteles; and this honour was confined to Greece: the rest of the world was uncivilized.

The second age is that of Caesar and Augustus; which is likewise distinguished by the names of Lucretius, Cicero, Livy, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Varro, and Vitruvius.

The third is that which followed the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. At that time a family of plain citizens appeared in Italy, who did such things as should have been undertaken by the kings of Europe: the Medici drew to Florence the arts, which the Turks drove out of Greece. This was the period in which the glory of Italy shone brightest. All the sciences resumed new life. The Italians honoured them with the name of *Vertu*, as the first Greeks had characterized them with that of *Wisdom*. Every thing tended towards perfection. The Michael Angelos, the Raphaels, the Titians, the Tassos, and the Ariostos, flourished. Engraving was invented, beautiful architecture appeared again, even more admirable than in Rome when in its greatest glory: and Gothic barbarity, which in all things had disfigured Europe, was driven quite out of Italy, to give place to good taste.

The arts, continuing to be transplanted from Greece into Italy, found themselves in a favourable soil, where they grew and improved very fast. France, England, Germany, and Spain, were desirous in their turns to taste of these fruits; but they either never came into these climates, or degenerated soon after.

Francis the first indeed encouraged men of learning, but they were men of learning only: he had some architects and painters, but he had neither Mi-

chael Angelos nor Palladios. He endeavoured in vain to establish schools of painting; for the Italian painters, whom he called, trained up no French scholars under them. Some epigrams, and a few loose tales, made up the whole of our poesy, and Rabelais was our only fashionable author in prose under the reign of Henry the second.

In a word, the Italians had every thing, except music, which was then very imperfect; and experimental philosophy, which was every-where equally unknown.

Finally, the fourth is that which is called The age of Lewis XIV. and it is, perhaps, of the four, that which approaches the nearest to perfection. Being enriched with the discoveries of the preceding ages, it made a greater progress in some things than the three others together. Indeed, all the arts were never carried to a greater degree of perfection than under the ages of the Medici's, the Augustus's, and the Alexander's: but human reason, in general, was in this brought nearer to perfection. Sound philosophy was discovered only in this age: and it may with truth be said, that, from the last years of cardinal Richlieu to those that followed the death of Lewis XIV. there happened a general revolution, not only in our government, but in our arts, minds, and manners; which ought to be an eternal epocha of the true glory of our country. And this happy influence was not confined to France, but extended into England, where it excited the emulation which that sensible and thinking nation then wanted. It carried taste into Germany, and the sciences into Muscovy; it even re-animated the languishing state

of Italy; and Europe, in general, owes its politeness to the court of Lewis XIV.

Before this time, the Italians called all those nations on the other side of the Alps by the name of barbarians; and it must be confessed, that the French, in some degree merited this reproachful appellation. Our ancestors, to the romantic gallantry of the Moors, joined the rude barbarity of the Goths: they knew scarce any of the amiable arts; and this proves, that the useful ones were likewise neglected: for when those, which are necessary, are once brought to a degree of perfection; the beautiful and the agreeable soon succeed; and it is not surprising, that poetry, painting, sculpture, eloquence, and philosophy, were almost entirely unknown to a nation, which, though it had ports upon the ocean and the Mediterranean, was nevertheless destitute of ships; and which, though luxurious to excess, was possessed only of a few of the most ordinary manufactures.

The Jews, the Genoese, the Venetians, the Portuguese, the Flemings, the Hollanders, and the English, by turns carried on our commerce, of which we knew not the principles. Lewis XIII. at his accession to the crown, had not a single ship; Paris did not contain 400,000 men, and was not ornamented with four tolerable edifices. The other towns of the kingdom resembled those which are now on the other side of the Loire. All the gentry and nobility, being cantoned up and down the country, in castles surrounded with moats, oppressed those who cultivated the lands. The great roads were almost impassable; the towns were without laws, the

state without money, and the government almost constantly destitute of credit among foreign nations.

It must be confessed, that, from the declension of the family of Charlemagne, France languished more or less under this weakness, because it scarce ever enjoyed the happiness of a good government.

To make a state powerful, the people should either have a liberty founded upon the laws, or the regal authority should be established without controul.

In France, the people were slaves till about the time of Philip Augustus; the lords were tyrants till the reign of Lewis XI; and the kings, constantly engaged in maintaining their authority against their vassals, had neither leisure to think about the good of their subjects, nor power to make them happy.

Lewis XI. did a great deal in favour of the royal authority, but nothing for the happiness and glory of his people.

Francis I. encouraged commerce, navigation, letters, and all the arts; but he was too unfortunate to be able to make them take root in France; and they all perished with him.

Henry the great was meditating the means to free France from those calamities, and that barbarity in which it had been plunged by thirty years discord; when he was assassinated in his capital, in the midst of the people whose happiness he was consulting.

Cardinal Richlieu, being employed in humbling the house of Austria, and the great lords, and in preventing the increase of Calvinism, was too much

engaged in these affairs, to reform the nation; however he at least began this happy work.

Thus for the space of nine hundred years, our genius has been almost always obscured under a Gothic government, in the midst of divisions and civil wars: we had neither laws nor customs that were fixed: the language changed almost every century, and yet always continued barbarous: the nobles were without discipline, always in a state of war or idleness, and unskilled in every other thing: the ecclesiastics lived in disorder and ignorance; and the people, being without industry, were poor and miserable.

And this discovers the reason why the French had no share either in the great discoveries, or the admirable inventions of other nations; printing, gun-powder, glass, telescopes, the compass, the air-pump, the true system of the universe; these were discoveries none of which were made by them. They passed their time in tournaments, while the Portuguese and Spaniards were discovering and conquering new regions both to the east and west of the known world. Charles the fifth had begun to lavish the treasures of Mexico, in Europe, before the subjects of Francis the first had discovered the uncultivated country of Canada: but even by the little which the French did in the beginning of the sixteenth century, we may perceive how much they are capable of, when properly conducted.

In this history, it is designed to shew them as they were under Lewis XIV; and may the descendants of this monarch, and those of his people, being equally animated with a happy and glorious emulation, endeavour to surpass their ancestors!

No one must expect to find here the almost endless accounts of wars undertaken in this age. We are obliged to leave to the annalists, the care of collecting with accuracy all these little facts, which would only serve to divert our attention from the principal object. It is their business to relate the marches and countermarches of armies, the days when the trenches were opened before towns, when they were taken and retaken by arms, and when they were surrendered and given up by treaties. A thousand circumstances, which were interesting to contemporaries, disappear, and are lost to the eyes of posterity, and only those great events are brought into view, which have determined the fate of empires. Every thing that is done does not deserve to be recorded. We shall confine ourselves therefore, in this history, only to what merits the attention of all ages, to what may describe the genius and manners of men, to what may serve for instruction, and to enforce the love of virtue, the arts, and our country.

We shall endeavour to shew the state of France, and the other nations of Europe, before the birth of Lewis XIV; after which we shall relate the great, political, and military events in his reign. The interior government of the kingdom, which is of the greatest consequence to the people, shall be treated separately. The private life of Lewis XIV. and the particularities of his court and reign, will make a considerable part. We shall also have other articles for the arts, the sciences, and the progress of the human understanding in this age. Finally, we shall say something concerning the church, which has been so long united with the govern-

ment, which sometimes weakens, and sometimes strengthens it; and which, though instituted to teach religion and morality, often gives itself up to politics, and human passions.

Of the States of EUROPE before Lewis XIV.

THE Christian part of Europe (excepting Muscovy) had long been in such a situation, that it might be considered as one great republic, divided into several states, some monarchical, and others mixed; some aristocratical, others popular; but all corresponding with one another: all having the same foundation for their religion, though divided into several sects; and all having the same principles of political and natural law, unknown in the other parts of the world. It is upon these principles, that the European nations never make their prisoners slaves; that they respect the ambassadors of their enemies; that they are agreed touching the pre-eminence and particular rights of certain princes, as the emperor, the kings, and other inferior potentates; and that more especially, they are unanimous in regard to the wise policy observed in preserving, as near as possible, an equal balance of power; incessantly employing negotiations, even in the midst of war, and reciprocally maintaining ambassadors, or less honourable spies, in their several courts, who may warn all the others of the designs of any one, give at once the alarm to Europe, and preserve the weaker

from those invasions which the stronger are always ready to make.

After the death of Charles the fifth, the balance inclined too much in favour of the house of Austria. This puissant house, towards the end of the year 1630. was mistress of Spain, Portugal, and the treasures of America; the Low-Countries, the Milanese, the kingdom of Naples, Bohemia, Hungary, and even Germany (if we may be permitted to say so), were become her patrimony; and, if all these states had been united under one head of this house, it is probable all Europe would at last have been subjected to it.

Of GERMANY.

THE empire of Germany is the most powerful neighbour of France: it is nearly of the same extent, less rich perhaps in money, but more abounding in a people robust, and patient of labour. The German nation, in a great measure, is governed as France was under the first Capetian kings, who were chiefs, frequently but ill obeyed by several of their great vassals, and even by some of their lesser ones. At this day, sixty free cities, which are called imperial, about the same number of secular sovereigns, near forty ecclesiastical princes, either bishops or abbots, nine electors, in which are included three kings, and, finally, the emperor, who is the head of all these potentates, compose this vast Germanic body, which, through the national phlegm, subsists almost with as much order, as there was formerly of confusion in the government of France.

Every member of the empire has his rights, his

privileges, and his obligations; and the difficult knowlege of so many laws, which are frequently contested, makes, what they call in Germany, *the study of the laws of nations*, for which they are so celebrated.

The emperor himself, would not, as emperor, be much more powerful, or more rich, than a doge of Venice. Germany, being divided into free cities and principalities, leaves to the chief of all these states only the pre-eminence, with very great honours indeed, but without dominions, or money; and, consequently, without power. By the title of emperor he does not possess a single village: the city of Bamberg alone is assigned for his residence, when he has no other. Nevertheless, this dignity, altogether as vain as it is supreme, was become so powerful in the hands of the Austrians, that it was often feared they would convert this republic of princes into an absolute monarchy.

Two parties at that time divided, and at this day do still divide, Europe, and more particularly Germany. The first is that of the Catholics, subjected more or less to the pope; the second is that of the enemies of the spiritual and temporal power of the pope, and the catholic prelates. Those of this last party are called by the general name of Protestants, though they are divided into Lutherans, Calvinists, and others, who hate one another almost as much as they hate Rome.

In Germany, the Lutheran religion, which they call Evangelical, is professed in Saxony, Brandenburg, the Palatinate, part of Bohemia, Hungary, the states of the house of Brunswick, and Wirtemberg. All the free imperial cities have embraced this sect, which

was considered as more suitable than the catholic religion to people jealous of their liberties.

The Calvinists, being dispersed among the Lutherans, who are the most numerous, make only an inconsiderable body: the Catholics compose the rest of the empire; and, having at their head the house of Austria, they were undoubtedly the most powerful.

Not only Germany, but all the Christian states, still bled at the wounds which they had received in these religious wars; a madness peculiar to Christians, but to which idolaters are strangers; and is the unhappy consequence of that dogmatical spirit which has so long been introduced into all parties. There are few points of controversy which have not been the cause of a civil war; and foreign nations (perhaps our own posterity) will one day be unable to comprehend how it was possible, that our forefathers could kill one another for so many years together, and yet, at the same time, be preaching patience.

In 1619. the emperor Matthias dying without children, the Protestant party exerted itself to deprive the house of Austria of the imperial dignity, and prevent it from descending upon any of the Roman communion: but Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, the cousin of Matthias, was nevertheless elected emperor. He was before king of Bohemia and Hungary, by the abdication of Matthias, and by the forced choice which the people of these two kingdoms made of him.

This Ferdinand II. continued to persecute and weaken the Protestant party. He was, for some time, the most powerful and the most happy mo-

narch in Christendom; not so much by his own merit, as by the success of his two great generals, Walstein and Tilly; for he followed the example of many of the princes of the house of Austria, who were conquerors, without being warriors, and were happy through the merit of those whom they employed. His power had long menaced both the Protestants and Catholics with slavery: the alarm was spread even as far as Rome, over which this title of emperor, and king of the Romans, gives chimerical rights, which the least occasion may render but too real. Rome, which, on its side, anciently pretended to a still more chimerical right over the empire, at this time united with France against the house of Austria. The money of France, the intrigues of Rome, and the complaints of all the Protestants, at last drew out of the heart of Sweden Gustavus Adolphus, the only king of that time who could pretend to the name of hero, and the only one who was able to humble the Austrian power.

The arrival of Gustavus in Germany changed the face of Europe. In 1631. he defeated general Tilly in the battle of Leipfick, so celebrated for the new methods of war which this king put in practice, and which are still considered as some of the master-pieces in the military art.

The emperor Ferdinand, in 1632. was on the point of losing Bohemia, Hungary, and the empire; but he was saved by his good fortune: Gustavus Adolphus was killed at the battle of Lutzen, in the midst of his victory; and the death of this single man re-established what this single man could alone have destroyed.

The policy of the house of Austria, which had sunk under the arms of Adolphus, found itself superior to every thing else. It detached the most powerful princes of the empire from the alliance with Sweden: and these victorious troops, being abandoned by their allies, and deprived of their king, were defeated at Norlingen; and though they were afterwards more successful, yet they were always less to be feared than under Gustavus.

Ferdinand II. dying in this conjuncture of affairs, left all his dominions to his son Ferdinand III. who inherited his policy, and, like him, carried on the war in his cabinet. He reigned during the minority of Lewis XIV.

Germany was not at that time so flourishing as it is become since: luxury was unknown in it, and the conveniencies of life were yet very rare among the greatest lords. They were not introduced till towards the end of 1686. by the French refugees, who fled thither, and established their manufactories. This fertile and populous country was destitute both of commerce and money: the gravity of manners, and the slowness natural to the Germans, deprived them of those pleasures and agreeable arts, which the Italian sagacity had cultivated for so many years, and which the French industry, from that time, began to bring to perfection. The Germans, rich within themselves, were poor abroad: and this poverty, joined to the difficulty of suddenly re-uniting so many different people under the same standards, laid them almost, as at this day, under an impossibility of carrying and maintaining a war among their neighbours for any length of time.

And it has therefore been almost always in the empire, that the French have made war against the empire. The difference of genius and government renders the French more proper for an attack, and the Germans for a defence.

OF SPAIN.

THE Spaniards, being governed by the eldest branch of the house of Austria, after the death of Charles the fifth, had spread more terror than the Germans. The kings of Spain were incomparably more rich and absolute. The mines of Mexico and Potosi seemed to furnish them wherewith to purchase the liberties of Europe. The project of universal monarchy over the Christian world, which had been formed by Charles the fifth, was immediately adopted by Philip II. who, immured in the Escorial, yet, by negotiations, and by war, endeavoured the subjection of Christendom. He invaded Portugal, ravaged France, and menaced England. But being, perhaps, fitter to traffic for slaves at a distance, than to combat his enemies in person, he added no conquest to the easy invasion of Portugal: he voluntarily sacrificed fifteen hundred millions, which make near three thousand millions of our present money, to subject France, and regain Holland: but his treasures only served to enrich the countries he was desirous to subdue.

Philip III. his son, being still less martial and less wise than his father, had but few of the virtues requisite in a king. Superstition, the vice of weak minds, tarnished his reign, and enfeebled the Spanish monarchy. His kingdom began to be depo-

pulated by the numerous colonies, which avarice transplanted into the new world; and it was in these circumstances, that he drove out of his kingdom near eight hundred thousand Moors, though, on the contrary, he ought rather to have invited more to come into it, if it is true that the number of subjects constitutes the wealth and strength of monarchs. Spain after this, became almost a desert: the indolence and pride of the inhabitants suffered the riches of the new world to pass into other hands: the gold of Peru became the property of all the merchants of Europe: and it is in vain that other nations are prohibited entrance into the ports of Spanish America by severe laws; for the factors of France, England, and Italy, load the galleons with their own merchandizes, enjoy the chief profits arising therefrom, and for them, Mexico and Peru have been conquered.

The Spanish greatness under Philip III. was therefore nothing more than a vast body without life or substance, whose reputation was much greater than its strength.

Philip IV. who inherited his father's weakness, lost Portugal by his own negligence, Roussillon by the weakness of his arms, and Catalonia by the abuse of despotism. It was this king, to whom the count duke d'Olivares, his favourite and his minister, gave the name of Great, at his accession to the crown, perhaps with design to excite him to deserve that title: of which, however, he was so unworthy, that, though he was king, no one ever gave it him. Such kings could not long be successful in their wars against France. And if our divi-

sions and mistakes gave them some advantages, they lost the fruits of them by their incapacity. Besides, they commanded a people, who, by their privileges, assumed a right to serve them ill. The Castillians had the prerogative of not serving in the wars out of their own country; the Arragonians were perpetually disputing their liberty against the royal council; and the Catalans, who considered their kings as their enemies, did not even permit them to raise forces in their provinces. Thus this fine kingdom had then but very little power abroad, and was miserable at home. The gifts of nature in these happy climates were seconded by no industry. Neither the silks of Valentia, nor the fine cloths of Andalusia and Castille, were manufactured by the hands of Spaniards. Fine linens were a luxury but very little known. The manufactories of Flanders, the monumental remains of the house of Burgundy, furnished Madrid with every thing they then knew of magnificence. Stuffs of gold and silver were prohibited in this monarchy, as they would have been in an indigent republic that feared being impoverished. In reality, notwithstanding the mines of the new world, Spain was so poor, that the ministry of Philip IV. were reduced to the necessity of coining brass money, on which a value was set almost as great as upon silver. It became necessary for the master of Mexico and Peru to make false money, to defray the expences of the state: for if the sage Gourville may be credited, they dared not to impose personal taxes, because neither the citizens nor the people of the country, as they had scarce any effects, could have been made to pay. Such was the state of Spain; yet neverthe-

less, being reunited with the empire, it put a considerable weight into the balance of Europe.

OF PORTUGAL.

PORTUGAL had just at that time again become an independent kingdom. John duke of Braganza, who passed for a weak prince, had forced this province out of the hands of a king weaker than himself: and the Portuguese, through necessity, cultivated that commerce which the Spaniards neglected through pride. In 1641. they leagued with France and Holland against Spain. This revolution of Portugal was of greater advantage to France than the most signal victories could have been; and the French ministry, which had contributed in nothing to this event, did, without difficulty, obtain the greatest advantage that can be gained over an opponent, which is that of beholding him attacked by an irreconcilable enemy.

Portugal, shaking off the yoke of Spain, extending its commerce, and increasing its power, naturally brings into our mind the idea of Holland, which enjoyed the same advantages in a very different manner.

OF HOLLAND.

THIS little state of Seven united provinces, barren, unhealthy, and almost overwhelmed by the sea, was, for about half a century, almost the only example upon earth of what may be effected by the love of liberty, and an indefatigable industry.

These poor people, far from being numerous, much less martial than the worst of the Spanish forces, and who as yet were of no consideration in Europe, resisted the whole force of their master and tyrant Philip II. eluded the designs of several princes, who would have assisted them with a view to subject them, and laid the foundations of a power, which has since been seen to balance that of Spain itself. The despair, which is inspired by tyranny, armed them at first; liberty raised their courage; the princes of the house of Orange made them excellent soldiers; and scarce had they become the conquerors of their masters, when they established a form of government, which preserves, as much as possible, that equality, which is the natural right of mankind.

The mildness of this government, and the toleration of all sects of religion, dangerous perhaps in other states, but necessary here, peopled Holland with vast numbers of foreigners, especially Walloons, whom the inquisition persecuted in their own country, and who from slaves, by this change, became free citizens.

The doctrines of Calvin, prevailing in Holland, served still more to increase its power. This country, which was then so poor, would not have been able either to support the grandeur of prelates, or to maintain religious orders; neither could a nation, which was in want of inhabitants, admit those to live among them, who should engage themselves by oath, as far as was in their power, to suffer the human species to perish. They had before them the example of England, which, after the ecclesiastics were permitted to enjoy the sweets of marriage,

and the hopes of families were no longer buried in the celibacy of a cloister, had become more populous by one-third.

While the Hollanders, sword in hand, established their new government, they supported it by commerce. They went to the farthest parts of Asia, there to attack their masters, who then enjoyed the discoveries of the Portuguese; and they took from them those islands where the choicest spices are produced; which are as real treasures as those of Peru, and the cultivation of which is as conducive to the health of mankind, as the working of the mines is detrimental to it.

The East-India company, established in 1602. gained, in 1620. near three hundred per cent. which gain increased every year; so that this society of merchants, soon becoming a formidable power, built the city of Batavia in the isle of Java, made it the most beautiful in all Asia, and the centre of commerce, wherein reside five thousand Chinese, and to which all the nations of the world repair. The company in this city can arm thirty ships of war, of forty guns, and at least 20,000 men. A common merchant, when governor of this colony, appears here with all the pomp of the greatest king; nor does this Asiatic grandeur corrupt the frugal simplicity of the Hollanders in Europe. This commerce, and this frugality, constituted the grandeur of the Seven provinces.

Antwerp, which had so long been in a flourishing state, and which had swallowed up the commerce of Venice, now became a mere desert; and Amsterdam, notwithstanding the inconveniencies of its port, grew, in its turn, the magazine of the world.

All Holland was enriched, and rendered beautiful, by immense labours. The waters of the sea were confined by double banks. Canals, cut in all the towns, were faced with stone; the streets became large quays, ornamented with fine trees; and barks, laden with merchandizes, came to the doors of the inhabitants; so that now foreigners are always struck with admiration at this singular mixture, formed by the houses, the tops of the trees, and the streamers of the ships, which at once, and in the same place, exhibit a view of the city, the country and the sea.

This state, of so new a kind, was, from its foundation intimately attached to France: they were united by interest; they had the same enemies; and Henry the Great and Lewis XIII. have been its allies, and its protectors.

OF ENGLAND.

ENGLAND, being much more powerful, affected the sovereignty of the seas, and pretended to hold the balance between the powers of Europe: but Charles I. who ascended the throne in 1625. was so far from being able to support the weight of this balance, that he found the preservation of his own crown difficult and precarious. He shewed himself desirous to render his power in England independent of the laws, and to change the religion in Scotland. He was too obstinate to desist from these designs, and too weak to execute them. He was a good husband, a good master, a good father, and an honest man; but he was an ill-advised king; and engaged himself in a civil war, which at last deprived him of his crown, together with his life,

upon a scaffold, by a revolution that was almost unparalleled.

This civil war, which was commenced in the minority of Lewis XIV. prevented England, for a time, from concerning itself with the affairs of its neighbours. She lost her weight together with her good fortune; her commerce was interrupted, and she was regarded by the other nations of Europe as buried under her own ruins, till the time when she, on a sudden, became more formidable than ever, under the dominion of Cromwell, who subjected her, by bearing the scriptures in one hand, the sword in the other, and the mask of religion upon his countenance; and who, in his government, under the qualities of a great king, covered all the crimes of an usurper.

Of ROME.

THAT balance which England had long flattered herself she maintained between the sovereigns of Europe by her power, the court of Rome attempted to hold by her policy. Italy was divided, as at this day, into several sovereignties. What the pope possesses, is considerable enough to render him respected as a prince; but not sufficiently so to make him formidable. The nature of his government does not increase the people of his territories, who, besides, have but little money or commerce: his spiritual authority, in which there is always some share of temporal, is despised and rejected among one half of the Christian powers; and if, in the other, he is regarded as a father, yet his children have sometimes reason to oppose him, and frequently do

it with success. The maxim of France is to regard him as a sacred, but enterprising person, whose toe it is necessary to kiss, but whose hands-it is sometimes proper to bind. In all the catholic countries, the steps may still be seen which the court of Rome has formerly taken towards universal monarchy. All the princes of the Catholic religion, at their accession, send *embassies of obedience*, as they are called, to the pope. Each crown has in Rome a cardinal, who assumes the title of protector. The pope grants bulls for all bishoprics, and therein expresses himself, as though he conferred these dignities by his sole power. All the Italian, Spanish, Flemish, and even some French bishops are so called, by the divine permission, and that of the holy see. There is no kingdom wherein there are not many benefices in his nomination; and he receives the first year's revenues of the consistorial benefices, as a tribute.

The religious orders, whose chiefs reside at Rome, are likewise so many immediate subjects to the popes, dispersed in every state. Custom, which does every thing, and which is the cause that the world is governed by abuses, as well as by laws, has not always permitted princes intirely to remedy these abuses, which, in other respects, have a connection with things useful and sacred. To take an oath to any other than one's lawful sovereign, is considered as high-treason among the laity, and yet in a cloister it is an act of religion. The difficulty of knowing how far one ought to obey this foreign sovereign, the easiness of being seduced, the pleasure of shaking off a natural yoke to put on another, which we take voluntarily upon ourselves, the spirit of con-

tention, and the unhappiness of the times, have but too often engaged whole orders of religious in the service of Rome against their country.

The enlightened spirit which has reigned in France for more than a century past, and which is dispersed among all ranks and conditions, has proved the best remedy of this abuse. Good books, written upon this subject, are real services done both to the kings and people; and one of the great changes, which by this means has been made in our manners, under Lewis XIV. is the persuasion which all the religious orders begin to entertain, that they are subjects to the king, rather than servants to the pope. Nevertheless, jurisdiction, that essential mark of sovereignty, still continues with the Roman pontiff: and France herself, notwithstanding all the liberties of the Gallican church, permits appeals in ecclesiastical causes to be finally made to the pope.

If a person would annul his marriage, espouse his cousin or his niece, or be absolved from his vows, it is to Rome, and not to his bishop, that he must address himself. Services of this kind are taxed there, and private persons of all nations purchase dispensations at all prices.

These privileges, which are regarded by some persons as having been obtained by the greatest abuses, and, by others, as being the remains of the most sacred rights, are constantly maintained by art. Rome preserves its credit with as much policy, as was ever shewn by the old Roman republic in conquering one half of the known world.

No court ever better understood how to behave according to persons and times. The popes are almost always Italians, perfectly well skilled in as-

fairs, without being blinded by their passions: their council is composed of cardinals, who resemble them, and who are all animated with the same spirit. From this council are issued those orders which extend even to China and America; so that, in this sense, it presides over the universe; and one may say of it what a stranger formerly said of the senate of Rome, *I have seen a consistory of kings*. Most of our writers have, with reason, exclaimed against the ambition of this court: but I do not find one who has done sufficient justice to her prudence. I am in doubt whether any other nation could, for so long a course of time, have preserved in Europe so many prerogatives, which have always been opposed and contested. Any other nation would perhaps have lost them, either by its pride or weakness, by its slowness or vivacity: but Rome, having almost continually behaved with a proper firmness or compliance, has preserved every thing which there was a possibility of preserving. She was rampant under Charles the fifth, terrible to our Henry III. an enemy and a friend by turns to Henry IV. artful towards Lewis XIII. openly opposed to Lewis XIV. at the time when he was most to be feared, and frequently a secret enemy to the emperors, of whom she was more diffident than of the sultan of the Turks.

A few rights, many pretensions, policy, and patience, are all that now remain to Rome of that ancient power, which, six centuries before, was forming designs to subject the empire, and all Europe to the triple crown.

Naples is a testimony which still subsists of that right which the popes formerly with so much art

and grandeur assumed, in creating and bestowing kingdoms. But the king of Spain, who is now the possessor of this state, hath left the court of Rome only the honour and the danger of having a too powerful vassal.

Of the rest of ITALY.

IN other respects, the pope's territories enjoyed a happy tranquillity; which had been interrupted only by an inconsiderable war between the Barbarini cardinals, nephews of pope Urban VIII; and the duke of Parma; and this was neither bloody nor of long duration, but was such as might be expected among these modern Romans, whose manners must necessarily be conformable to the nature of their government. Cardinal Barbarini, the author of these troubles, marched with indulgences at the head of his little army. The greatest battle that was fought, was between four or five hundred men of each party. The fortress of Piegaja, as soon as the artillery approached, which consisted only of two culverins, surrendered at discretion. Nevertheless, more negotiations were necessary to put an end to these troubles, which scarce deserve to be mentioned in history, than if ancient Rome and Carthage had been concerned in them. This event is mentioned here only to shew the genius of modern Rome, which concludes every thing by negotiation, contrary to ancient Rome, which decided all by the sword.

The other provinces of Italy were influenced by various interests. Venice feared the Turks and the

emperor: she with difficulty defended her territories on the Terra firma, against the pretensions of Germany, and the invasions of the Grand Seigneur. She was now no longer *that* ancient Venice, mistress of the commerce of the world, who an hundred and fifty years before had excited the jealousy of so many kings. The wisdom of her government subsisted; but the loss of her immense commerce had almost deprived her of all force; and the city of Venice, by its situation, was incapable of being subdued, and, by its weakness, unable to make conquests.

The state of Florence, under the government of the Medici's, enjoyed tranquillity and abundance: letters, arts, and politeness, which the Medici's had introduced, still flourished; and Tuscany was then in Italy, what Athens had been in Greece.

Savoy, torn by a civil war, and by the French and Spanish troops, had at last re-united intirely in favour of France, and contributed in Italy to a diminution of the Austrian power.

The Switzers, as at this day, preserved their liberty, without attempting the oppression of any. They sold their troops to their more rich neighbours. They were themselves poor, ignorant of the sciences, and of all the arts which luxury introduces; but they were wise and happy.

Of the States of the NORTH.

THE northern nations of Europe, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Muscovy, were like the other powers, always in a state of jealousy and suspicion, or at open war with one another. In Poland, as at this day, the manners and government

of the Goths and Franks prevailed; an elective king, a nobility that divided his power, a people in slavery, a weak infantry, a cavalry composed of the nobles, no fortified towns, and scarce any commerce. This nation was sometimes attacked by the Swedes or Muscovites, and sometimes by the Turks. The Swedes, who, by their constitution, enjoy greater liberty than the Poles, admitting even the peasants into the general assembly of the states, being, however, at this time, more subjected to their kings than Poland, were almost always victorious. Denmark, which had formerly been formidable to the Swedes, was then no longer so to any nation. As to Muscovy, it could be considered only as a nation of mere barbarians.

Of the TURKS.

THE Turks were not what they had been under the Selims, the Mahomets, and the Solimans: luxury and effeminacy had corrupted the seraglio, without banishing cruelty from it; and the sultans, though the most despotic of sovereigns, were the least secure of their thrones, and their lives. Osmin and Ibrahim had been strangled; Mustapha had been twice deposed; and the Turkish empire, shaken by these revolutions, was also attacked by the Persians; but when they gave it time to take breath, and the revolutions in the seraglio were subsided, this empire again became formidable to Christendom; for, from the mouth of the Boristhenes, as far as the states of Venice, Muscovy, Hungary, Greece, and the Isles, have by turns been a prey to the Turkish arms:

and, from the year 1640. they were indefatigable in the war of Candy, so fatal to the Christians.

Such were the situation, the forces, and the interests, of the principal European nations, about the time that Lewis XIII. died.

The state of FRANCE.

FRANCE, having for allies, Sweden, Holland, Savoy, and Portugal; and the other nations, which remained neuter, being also favourably disposed towards her; maintained a war against the Empire and Spain, which proved destructive to both parties, and fatal to the house of Austria. This war resembled all those which, for so many ages, have been carried on between the Christian princes; wherein millions of lives have been sacrificed, and Provinces laid waste, only to obtain, at last, a few inconsiderable frontier towns, the possession of which has very rarely proved adequate to the expence of the conquest.

The generals of Lewis XIII, had taken Roussillon; and the Catalans had thrown themselves into the arms of France, as the protector of that liberty which they defended against their kings: these successes did not however prevent the enemy from taking Corbie, in 1637. nor from penetrating even to Pontoise. Fear had driven from Paris one half of its inhabitants; and cardinal de Richelieu, in the midst of his vast projects for humbling the Austrian power, was reduced to lay a tax on the * *Portes Cochères* of Paris to furnish each a lackey to go to

* *Portes Cochères*, every house which had a large gate, through which a coach might pass.

the war, and to repulse the enemy from the gates of the city.

The French, therefore, had done the Spaniards and Germans a great deal of mischief; but not without suffering as much themselves.

Manners of the AGE.

SOME illustrious generals were produced by the wars: such as a Gustavus Adolphus, a Wallstein, a duke of Weymar, Piccolomini, John de Wert, the marshal de Guebriant, the princes of Orange, and the count d'Harcourt. Nor was the age less remarkable for ministers of state: the chancellor Oxenstiern, the count duke d'Olivares, and, in particular, the cardinal duke de Richelieu, drew upon them the attention of Europe. There is no age, indeed, but what has produced men remarkable for their abilities, in war and politics; for, unhappily, arms and intrigue seem to be the two professions most natural to mankind; and we are always under a necessity, either to negotiate or fight. But those, who are the most successful, are often regarded as the greatest; and the public frequently attributes that to merit, which is the effect only of good fortune.

Wars were not carried on then in the manner we have seen them, under the reign of Lewis XIV. The armies were not so numerous; no general, since the siege of Metz, by Charles the fifth, had ever been at the head of fifty thousand men; and towns were attacked and defended with a less numerous train of artillery than is now employed. The art of fortification was yet in its in-

fancy; harquebuses and pikes were not laid aside; and the sword, which is now become, in a manner, unnecessary, was then in great use. Of the ancient laws of nations, there still remained that of declaring war by an herald. Lewis XIII. was the last who observed this custom: he sent an herald at arms to Brussels, in 1635. to declare war against Spain.

Nothing was then more common, than to behold priests at the head of armies: the cardinal infant, the cardinal of Savoy, Richelieu, la Valette, and Sourdis archbishop of Bourdeaux, all had put on the cuirass, and served, personally, in the wars. The pope, sometimes, menaced these martial priests with excommunication: Urban VIII. being enraged against France, caused cardinal de la Valette to be told, that he would divest him of his dignity, as a cardinal, if he did not quit the military service; but, being afterwards reconciled to France, he loaded him with favours.

The ambassadors also, who are no less ministers of peace than the ecclesiastics, made no scruple to serve in the armies of those allied powers, to whom they were sent: Charnace, envoy from France, in Holland, commanded a regiment there, in 1637.; and, even since, the ambassador d'Estrade has been a colonel in their service.

The forces of France did not, in the whole, amount to more than about eighty thousand effective men. The marine, which, for ages, had been intirely neglected, though somewhat restored under cardinal de Richelieu, was again ruined under Mazarin. The real ordinary revenue of Lewis XIII. was not more than about forty-five millions; indeed silver was then valued at about twenty-six li-

vres the mark; so that these forty-five millions amounted to about seventy millions of the present money of France. The arbitrary value of the mark of silver, is, at this day, forty-nine imaginary livres, which is very exorbitant, and what, consistent with justice and the public good, can never be increased.

Commerce, which is now universally understood, was then in very few hands, and the interior government of the kingdom was intirely neglected; which is a certain proof of a bad administration. Cardinal de Richelieu, who was attentive to his own glory, as connected with that of the state, had begun to render France formidable abroad; but without having, as yet, been able to make her very flourishing at home. The great roads were neither repaired nor guarded; but were infested by robbers; and so were the streets of Paris, which were also narrow, ill paved, and filled with offensive nastiness. It appears, from the parliamentary register at that time, that the watch of this city amounted to no more than forty-five men; those too but ill paid, and such as, in truth, did not do their duty.

Ever since the death of Francis II. France had been continually disturbed by factions, or torn in pieces by civil wars. The yoke had never been borne in a peaceable and voluntary manner. The nobility were, educated in conspiracies; which was then the character of the court, as it has since been to please the sovereign.

This spirit of discord and faction had diffused itself, from the court, into the most inconsiderable towns, and had engaged all orders in the kingdom: every thing was disputed; because nothing was fixed or regulated: even the parishes of Paris

came to blows with one another; and processions encountered for the honour of their banners. The canons of Notre Dame, and those of la Sainte Chapelle, were often together by the ears; and the parliament of Paris, and the chamber of accounts, quarrelled for the precedency, in the church of Notre Dame, on the day when Lewis XIII. put his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary.

Almost all orders in the kingdom were in arms; nay, almost every individual breathed nothing but the spirit of rage and duelling. This Gothic barbarity, which had been formerly authorized by the kings themselves, and which was become the character of the nation, contributed as much as the domestic and foreign wars, to depopulate the kingdom: and it will not be saying too much to affirm, that, in the course of twenty years, of which ten were embroiled by wars, more Frenchmen were killed by the hands of one another, than by their enemies.

We shall say nothing here concerning the manner in which the arts and sciences were cultivated: this part of the history of our manners will be found in its proper place. We shall only observe, that the French nation was plunged in ignorance, without excepting those who thought themselves above the vulgar.

Astrologers were consulted, and believed. All the accounts of those times, to begin with the history of the president de Thou, are full of predictions. The grave and severe duke de Sully seriously relates those which were told to Henry IV. This credulity, which is the most infallible mark of

ignorance, was so common, and in such credit, that, at the birth of Lewis XIV. care was taken to conceal an astrologer near the chamber of his mother, Anne of Austria.

What is related by Vittorio Siri, a well-informed cotemporary writer, will scarce now be believed: he says, that Lewis XIII. was, from his infancy, surnamed the Just; because he was born under the sign of the balance.

The same weakness which gave credit to the absurd chimera, judicial astrology, also occasioned the belief of sorcery and witchcraft; which were made an article of religion; and there was nothing seen but priests a-conjuring of devils. Courts of justice, composed of magistrates who ought to have had more sense than the vulgar, were employed in trying persons accused of witchcraft. The memory of cardinal de Richelieu will always be reproached with the death of that famous curate of Loudun, Urban Grandier, who, by a commission from the council, was condemned to be burnt, as a magician: who but must conceive indignation against the minister, and judges, for having been so weak, as to give credit to the devils of Loudun, or so barbarous as to cause an innocent person to expire in the flames? Latest posterity must hear with astonishment, that the marshale's de'Ancre was burnt at the Greve, as a forcere's: this unfortunate woman, when questioned by counsellor Courtin, concerning the kind of sorcery she had used, to influence the will of Mary de Medicis, having answered, *She had used that power only, which great souls always have over weak minds*; this reply served only to precipitate the decree of her death.

In some of the registers in the Chatelet, the proceedings are still to be seen, in a trial, commenced in 1601. concerning a horse, which an industrious master had dressed, nearly in the same manner in which they are now sometimes seen in a fair: the people were for burning both the master and his horse, as forcerers.

These instances are sufficient, in general, to shew the genius and manners of the age which preceded that of Lewis XIV.

This universal want of the light of true knowledge produced many superstitious practices among the best of the people; which were a dishonour to religion. The Calvinists, confounding the reasonable worship of the Catholics with those abuses which were introduced into it, were thereby more strengthened in their hatred of our church. To our popular superstitions, which are frequently filled with abuses and debaucheries, they opposed a barbarous severity, and savageness of manners; which, indeed, is the character of almost all Reformers. Thus the spirit of party divided the nation, and rendered it contemptible: and that spirit of sociableness, for which this nation is now so celebrated, and so amiable, was then absolutely unknown. There were no houses where persons of merit might assemble, for the sake of conversation and mutual information; no academies; no theatres. In short, our manners, laws, arts, society, religion, peace, and war, were none of them then, what they have since appeared, in the period which is called the age of Lewis XIV.

CHAPTER II.

The minority of Lewis XIV.; and the victories gained by the French, under the great Conde, then duke d'Enguien.

THE cardinal de Richelieu, and Lewis XIII. were both dead; the one, though hated, yet admired, and the other already forgotten. They had left the French, then in a state of great disquiet, filled with aversion for the bare name of minister, and with but very little respect for the throne. Lewis XIII. by his will, appointed a council of regency; and the monarch, who was but ill obeyed in his life-time, flattered himself with having more respect paid to him after his death: but the first step taken by his widow, Anne of Austria, was, to cause the will of her deceased husband to be annulled, by a decree of the parliament of Paris (a). This body, which had long opposed the court, and which, under Lewis, had scarce preserved the liberty of making remonstrances, annulled the will of its king with the same facility it would have determined the cause of a common citizen. Anne of Austria addressed herself to this body, to obtain the regency unlimited; because Mary of Medicis, after the death of Henry IV. had done the same: and Mary of Medicis had set this example, because every other way would have been tedious and uncertain; as the parliament, surrounded by her

(a) August 18. 1643.

guards, could not refuse to do what she desired; and because a decree passed in parliament, and by the peers, seemed to secure to her an incontestable right †.

Custom therefore, by which the regency is given to the king's mother, then appeared to the French a law almost as fundamental as that which excludes women from the crown. The parliament of Paris, having twice given judgment upon this question; that is to say, having, of its own accord, by its arrets, given a sanction to this right of the mothers; it, in effect, seemed to have given the regency; considered itself, not without some appearance of reason, as the tutor and guardian of their kings; and each particular counsellor thought himself a part of the sovereignty. By the same arret, Gaston, duke of Orleans, brother to the late king, had the empty title conferred upon him, of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, under the absolute regency of the queen.

Anne of Austria was forced, at first, to continue the war against her brother Philip IV. king of Spain, whom she loved. It is difficult precisely to give the reason, why this war was carried on against him: nothing was required of Spain; not even Navarre, which should have been the patrimony of the kings of France. Both nations had been at war with each other, ever since the year 1635. because it had been the will of Cardinal de Richelieu;

† Reincourt, in his history of Lewis XIV. says, the will of Lewis XIII. was confirmed in parliament. In reality, Lewis XIII. had, in his will, declared the queen regent, and this was confirmed; but he had limited her authority, which was annulled: and this seems to be what has misled this writer.

and it appears probable, that he would have it so, to make himself necessary. He united with Sweden against the Emperor; and with duke Bernard de Saxe Weymar, one of those generals whom the Italians call *condottieri*; that is, those who sell their troops. He also attacked the Austrian-Spanish branch, in those ten provinces which we, in general, call by the name of Flanders; and he divided with the Hollanders, who were then our allies, this Flanders, which no one ever conquers.

The heat of the war was in Flanders: the Spanish troops, to the number of twenty six thousand men, quitted the frontiers of Hainault, under the command of an old experienced general, named Don Francisco de Mello. They ravaged the borders of Champagne, attacked Rocroi, and imagined they should soon be able to penetrate as far as the gates of Paris, as they had done eight years before. The death of Lewis XIII. and the weakness of a minority, animated their hopes; and when they saw themselves opposed by an army inferior in numbers, and commanded by a young man not more than 21 years of age, their hopes were changed into certainty.

This unexperienced young man, whom they despised, was Lewis of Bourbon then duke d'Enghuin, afterwards known by the name of the great Conde. Most great generals have become such by degrees; but this prince was born a general: the art of war in him appeared to be a natural instinct; and, in all Europe, there were only he and Torstensson the Swede, who, at twenty years of age, had

that natural genius, which makes experience almost unnecessary.

The duke d'Enguien, with the news of the death of Lewis XIII. had received orders not to hazard a battle. The marshal de l'Hopital, who had been given him as a counsellor to advise and direct him, by his circumspection seconded these timid orders: but the prince regarded neither the marshal nor the court: he communicated his design only to Gassion marshal de camp, who was worthy to be consulted by him; and they obliged the marshal to find a battle necessary.

It is remarkable, that the prince, having regulated every thing on the evening (*b*) before the engagement, slept so profoundly, that it was necessary to wake him in the morning to begin it. The same thing is said of Alexander: it is natural for a young man, wearied by the fatigues which a proper disposition for so important an engagement necessarily requires, afterwards to fall into a deep sleep: and it is also as natural, that a genius formed for war, acting without perturbation, should leave the body sufficient tranquillity for repose. The prince, by his quickness in perceiving at once both the danger and the remedy, and by his activity free from disorder, which carried him to all places at the very instant when his presence became necessary, in a manner gained the victory himself. It was he who, with the cavalry, attacked that Spanish infantry, till then invincible, which was as strong, and as closely united, as the celebrated ancient phalanx; and which opened itself with an agility that phalanx had not, to make way for the discharge of

(*b*) May 19.

eighteen pieces of cannon, which were concealed in the centre of it. The prince surrounded and attacked it three times: and he was scarce victorious, before he endeavourd to put a stop to the slaughter. The Spanish officers threw themselves at his feet, to gain from him an asylum against the fury of the conquering soldiers; and the duke d'Enguien took as great pains for their preservation, as he had done to conquer them.

The old count de Fuentes, who commanded this Spanish infantry, died of his wounds; and Conde, being told of it, said, *that he would have chosen to die like him, if he had not conquered.*

The dread, which still remained in Europe of the Spanish arms, was now greatly diminished; and people began to respect those of France, which, for an hundred years before, had not gained so celebrated a battle; for that bloody one of Marignano, disputed rather than gained by Francis the first against the Switzers, had been the work of the German black-bands, at least as much as of the French troops.

The battles also of Pavia and Saint Quintin were epochas fatal to the reputation of France. It was the misfortune of Henry IV. to gain remarkable advantages only over his own people. Indeed, under Lewis XIII. the marshal de Guebriant had some little success: but this was always balanced by proportionable losses. Such grand victories, as shake the foundations of empires, and for ever remain memorable, were obtained in that age only by Gustavus Adolphus.

This battle of Rocroi became an epocha of the

glory of France, and of Conde: he knew both how to conquer, and to reap the benefit of his victory. His letters to the court carried his resolution to besiege Thionville, which cardinal de Richelieu had not dared to hazard; and his courtiers, at their return, found every thing prepared for that expedition.

The prince of Conde crossed the enemy's country, deceived the vigilance of general Beck, and at last took Thionville (c). From thence he hastened to besiege Cirq, of which he also made himself master. He forced the Germans to repass the Rhine, which he also passed after them, with design to revenge the defeats, and repair the losses, which the French had suffered upon these frontiers after the death of the marshal de Guebriand. He found Fribourg taken, and general Merci under its walls with an army even superior to his own. Conde had under him two marshals of France, one of which was Grammont, and the other that Turenne, who had been made a marshal a few months before, after having successfully served in Piedmont against the Spaniards. It was upon this occasion that he laid the foundations of that great reputation which he afterwards obtained. The prince, with these two generals, attacked the camp of Merci (d), which was intrenched upon two eminences. The engagement was renewed three times, on three several days. It is said, the duke d'Enguien threw his staff of command into the enemy's trenches, and marched sword in hand to regain it, at the head of the regiment of Conti. These bold actions are perhaps necessary to animate troops to such difficult

(c) August 8. 1643.

(d) August 31. 1644.

attacks. This battle of Fribourg, rather bloody than decisive, was the second victory gained by the prince of Conde. Merci decamped four days afterwards, and Philipsbourgh and Mayence surrendered, which at once gave both the proof and the fruits of his victory.

The duke d'Enguien, after this, returns to Paris, receives the acclamations of the people, and demands a recompence at court, leaving his army under the command of the marshal de Turenne. But this general, notwithstanding his abilities, was defeated at Mariendal (*e*). Whereupon the prince again flew to the army, resumed the command, and to the glory of once more commanding over Turenne, joined that of effacing the dishonour of his defeat. He attacked Merci in the plains of Norlingen (*f*), and gained a complete victory. The marshal de Grammont was taken by the enemy; but general Gleen, who commanded under Merci, was also taken prisoner, and Merci himself was among the number of the slain. This general, who was regarded as one of the greatest men of the age, was interred upon the field of battle; and the following inscription was engraved upon his tomb: *Sta, viator, heroem calcas*: Stop, traveler, thou treadest upon an hero.

The name of the duke d'Enguien now eclipsed all other names. After this, he besieged Dunkirk in sight of the Spanish army; and he was the first who brought this place under the dominion of France (*g*).

These great successes and services, which were

(*e*) April 1645.

(*f*) August 3. 1645.

(*g*) October 7.

1646.

rather suspected than recompensed by the court, made him dreaded by the ministry, as much as by the enemy: he was therefore withdrawn from the theatre of his conquests, and his glory; and was sent with a parcel of pitiful ill-paid troops, into Catalonia (*b*), where he invested Lerida, but was obliged to raise the siege. He was accused, upon this occasion, in certain books, of a bravado, in having opened the trenches with the music of violins: but these writers were ignorant, that this was the custom of Spain.

The unsteady situation of affairs soon obliged the court to recall Conde into Flanders; where the archduke Leopold, the emperor's brother, had besieged Lens in Artois: but Conde being again at the head of troops, who, under him, had always been victorious, marched with them directly against the archduke; and this was the third time that he gave battle under the disadvantage of inferior numbers. The whole of the harangue which he made to his soldiers was contained in these words: *My friends, remember Rocroi, Fribourg, and Nörlingen*. This battle of Lens completed his glory (*i*).

He himself relieved and supported the marshal de Grammont, who, with the left wing, began to give ground: general Beek he took prisoner; and the archduke, together with the count de Fuensaldagne, with difficulty escaped. The Imperialists and Spaniards, who composed this army, were dispersed, with the loss of upwards of an hundred colours, and thirty-eight pieces of cannon; which, at that time, was a great number. Five thousand

(*b*) 1647.

(*i*) August 20. 1648.

were made prisoners, three thousand were killed, and the rest deserted; so that the archduke remained without an army.

While the prince of Conde ‡ was thus numbering the years of his youth by victories, and while the duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. was also supporting the reputation of a son of Henry IV. and of France, by the taking of Gravelins, Courtray, and Mardyke (*k*); the viscount du Turenne likewise took Landau, drove the Spaniards out of Treves, and re-established the elector (*l*).

He also, in conjunction with the Swedes, gained the battles of Lavingen and Sommerhausen; and forced the duke of Bavaria, at the age of near 80 years, to quit his dominions (*m*). The count de Harcourt also took Balaguier, and defeated the Spaniards. In Italy, they lost Portolongoni; and twenty ships and twenty gallies of France, which composed almost the whole of our naval force, as restored by Richelieu, defeated the Spanish fleet upon the coast of Italy (*n*).

But this was not all: for the French troops also took Lorraine from duke Charles IV. a prince of a martial spirit, but inconstant, imprudent, and unfortunate; who, at one and the same time, was deprived of his dominions by the French, and kept prisoner by the Spaniards. The allies of France distressed the Austrian power both in the north and south. The duke d'Albuquerque, general of the Portuguese, gained the battle of Badajox against the Spaniards. Tortenfon defeated the imperialists

‡ His father died in 1646.

(*k*) July 1644. (*l*) Nov. 1644. (*m*) 1645. (*n*) 1646.

near Tabor, and gained a compleat victory (*o*). The prince of Orange, at the head of the Hollanders, penetrated into Brabant (*p*).

The king of Spain, being defeated on all sides, beheld Roussillon and Catalonia in the hands of the French. Naples, having rebelled against him, had put itself under the protection of the duke of Guise, the last branch of that house, so fruitful in illustrious and dangerous princes. This duke of Guise, who was called only a bold adventurer, because he did not succeed, at least obtained the glory of landing alone in a small bark, in the midst of the Spanish fleet, and of defending Naples, without any other assistance than his own courage.

To behold so many misfortunes showered down upon the house of Austria, so many victories accumulated by the French, and seconded by the successes of their allies, one would be inclined to believe, that Vienna and Madrid only waited for the moment when they were to open their gates; and that the emperor and the king of Spain were almost without dominions. Nevertheless, five years of glory, which had scarce ever been disturbed by any misfortune, had gained but very few real advantages; and though there was a great deal of bloodshed, it produced no revolution. If, indeed, any revolution was to be feared, it was rather in France; which, though in the midst of apparent prosperity, was really upon the brink of destruction.

(*o*) May 1644.

(*p*) Mar. 1645.

CHAPTER III.

The Civil War.

ANNE of Austria, being absolute regent, had made cardinal Mazarin the master of France, and of herself. He had obtained that power over her, which an artful man will acquire over a woman, born with weakness enough to be governed, yet with resolution to persist in her choice.

In some of the memoirs of that time we read, that the queen reposed her confidence in Mazarin, only for want of Potier bishop of Beauvais, whom at first he had chosen for her minister. This bishop is characterized as a man that wanted capacity; which indeed is probable, and that he was employed for some time by the queen, for a blind, that she might not shock the nation by an immediate choice of a second cardinal, who was a foreigner. But we cannot believe that Potier began his short ministry, by declaring to the Hollanders, *that if they hoped to continue in alliance with France, they must become catholics*. He should, in this case, have made the same declaration to the Swedes. This absurdity is related by almost all historians, because they have read it in the memoirs of the courtiers, and in those of the Frondeurs. These memoirs contain but too many facts, which are either misrepresented by passion, or founded only upon popular reports. What is weak and puerile, should not be quoted; and what is absurd, cannot be believed.

Mazarin at first used his power with moderation.

It would be necessary to have lived long with a minister to paint his character, to say what was the degree of his courage or his weakness, and how far he was a wise and prudent man or a cheat. Instead, therefore, of pretending to say what Mazarin was, we shall only relate what he did. In the beginning of his greatness he as much affected simplicity, as Richelieu had state and grandeur. He was so far from having guards, and parading with the pomp of royalty, that his retinue at first was very modest. Affability, and even familiarity, were shewn by him upon all those occasions, wherein his predecessor had displayed an inflexible pride and haughtiness. The queen was desirous to make her regency and her person beloved both by the court and people; and in this she succeeded. Gaston duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. and the prince of Conde, supported her power, and had no emulation but in serving the state.

Taxes became necessary to support the war against Spain and the empire: some therefore were imposed, very moderate, no doubt, in comparison with those we have since paid; and yet insufficient to supply the necessities of the state.

The parliament, being in use to confirm the edicts for these taxes (*a*), strongly opposed the edict of the tariffs, and gained the confidence of the people, by the opposition with which they perplexed the ministry.

At last, the creation of twelve places of master of requests, and the non-payment of about eighty thousand crowns salary to some of the senior companies, caused the whole body of the law to rise,

(*a*) 1647.

and with them all Paris; so that what in our times would scarce have furnished subject for a novel, was then the cause of a civil war.

Broussel, counsellor and clerk of the great chamber, a man without the least capacity, and who had no other merit, than that of always opposing the court, being seized, it caused more affliction among the people, than they ever shewed for the death of a good king. The barricadoes of the league were renewed; the fire of sedition in an instant burst forth into flames, difficult to be extinguished; and they were stirred up, and their fury increased, by a coadjutor, afterwards the cardinal de Retz, who was the first bishop that carried on a civil war, without the mask of religion. This extraordinary man has drawn his own character in his memoirs, which are written with such an air of grandeur, impetuosity of genius, and inequality, as gives us a very strong representation of his conduct. He was a man, who, from the greatest degree of debauchery, and still languishing under its consequences, preached to the people, and made himself adored by them. He breathed nothing but the spirit of faction and sedition. At the age of 23 years, he had been at the head of a conspiracy against the life of Richelieu. He was the author of the barricadoes, precipitated the parliament into cabals, and the people into seditions. What appears surprising, is, that the parliament should be so misled by him, as to set up the standard against the court, even before they had gained the support of any one prince.

This body had long been regarded in a very different manner by the court and the people: if we

may credit the general voice of the court, and all our ministers, the parliament of Paris was no more than a court of justice, for the decision of civil causes between private persons: that this prerogative depended absolutely upon the will of the kings: that it had no pre-eminence over the other parliaments of the kingdom, except that of seniority, and the being composed of more considerable persons: that it was the court of peers, only because the court resided at Paris: that it had no more right to make remonstrances than the others, not to mention that the right itself was only a favour: that it had succeeded those parliaments which anciently represented the French nation; but that it had nothing left of these ancient assemblies more than the name: and, as an incontestable proof of all this, it was said, that the states general were substituted in place of these national assemblies; and that the parliament of Paris no more resembled those parliaments held by our ancient kings, than a consul of Smyrna or Aleppo resembles a consul of ancient Rome.

This single error in the name was the pretext for the ambitious pretensions of a body of lawyers; who, because they had purchased their employments, thought to assume the privileges of the conquerors of Gaul, and the lords who held fiefs of the crown. This body had, in all ages, abused that power which is necessarily assumed by a chief tribunal, continually subsisting in a capital. It had dared to publish an arret against Charles VII. and to banish him the kingdom: it had commenced a criminal process against Henry III. it had at all times resisted its sovereign as much as was in its

power; and in this minority of Lewis XIV. under the mildest of governments, and the most indulgent of queens, it would have carried on a civil war against its prince, in imitation of the parliament of England, which at that time kept its king a prisoner, and afterwards beheaded him. Such were the private sentiments, and the public discourse of the court.

But the citizens of Paris, and all those who belonged to the long robe, considered the parliament as an august court, which had administered justice with an integrity that deserved to be honoured and respected, which desired nothing so much as the happiness of the state, and which endeavoured to promote this happiness at the hazard of its own property; which confined its ambition to the glory of restraining the ambition of favourites, and which, in all things, endeavoured to shew an equal regard to the rights both of king and people: and, therefore, without examining into the origin of its rights and power, the people, when they beheld them support their cause against ministers whom they detested, attributed to them the most sacred rights, and a power the most incontestable: they called the parliament *the father of the state*, and made but very little difference between that right which gives the crown to the kings, and that which gave the parliament the power of moderating their kings desires.

It was impossible to fix upon a just mean between these two extremes; for, in reality, there was no law absolutely obeyed, except that of time and opportunity. Under a vigorous government the

parliament was nothing, but under a weak king it was every thing; and what Monsieur de Guimene said to them, when they complained under Lewis XIII. of being preceded by the deputies from the nobility, might now be applied: *Gentlemen, you will take a sufficient revenge under a minority.*

We shall not here repeat all that has been written concerning these troubles, nor copy books to give the reader a relation of affairs, which, though interesting and important then, are now almost forgotten: but we shall, however, relate what is necessary to characterize the genius and disposition of the nation at that time; and, passing over such things as are common to all civil wars, confine ourselves only to what peculiarly distinguishes that called the *Fronde*.

Two powers, constituted by the nation solely to maintain peace, namely, an archbishop, and a parliament of Paris, having commenced disturbances, the people considered all their outrages as justified. The queen could not appear in public, without being insulted: they called her only by the name of *Lady Anne*; and if any other epithet or title was added, it contained something injurious or unmanly. They, with violence, reproached her as sacrificing the nation to her friendship for Mazarin; and, what was yet more insupportable, she heard songs and ballads sung in almost all places, designed to perpetuate the suspicion which was universally entertained of her virtue, and to be monuments of the wit and malignity of the times.

She fled from Paris to St. Germainis (*b*), accompanied by her children, her minister, the duke

of Orleans, brother of Lewis XIII. and the great Conde himself. They were reduced to pawn the jewels of the crown; and the king himself often wanted necessaries. They were forced to dismiss the pages of the queen's chamber, because they were unable to maintain them. At this very time, even the aunt of Lewis XIV. daughter to Henry the great, and wife to the king of England, having taken refuge in Paris, was there reduced to the extremities of poverty; and her daughter who was afterwards married to the brother of Lewis XIV. lay in bed for want of fire to warm her. The people of Paris, being intoxicated by their rage and fury, paid no regard to the distresses of so many royal personages.

The queen, with tears in her eyes, begged the prince of Conde to be the king's protector. The victor of Rocroi, Fribourg, Lens, and Norlingen, could not but act conformable to so many past services; and he was flattered with the honour of defending a court, which he thought ungrateful, against the Fronde, which sought his support. But the parliament, though it had the great Conde to oppose, yet dared to pursue the war.

The prince of Conti, younger brother to the great Conde, and as jealous of him as he was incapable to equal him; the duke de Longueville, the duke de Beaufort, and the duke de Bouillon, being desirous of change; animated also by the factious spirit of the coadjutor; flattered with the hopes of raising themselves upon the ruins of the state, and with making the wild proceedings of the parliament advantageous to their own private interests; came

and offered their services to that body. Generals were appointed in the great chamber to command an army, which they had not. Every individual imposed a tax upon himself to raise troops. There were in the parliament twenty counsellors provided with new places by cardinal de Richelieu, upon whom the rest of their brethren, through a meanness of spirit, of which every society is susceptible, seemed to persecute the memory of that minister. They loaded them with affronts, refused to regard them as members of the parliament; and made each of them pay 15,000 livres towards defraying the expences of the war, and to purchase the toleration of their brethren.

The great chamber, the inquests, the requests, the chamber of accompts, the court of aids, which had exclaimed with such violence against an inconsiderable and necessary impost, which did not amount to more than an hundred thousand crowns, raised the sum of near ten millions of our present money, for the destruction of their country. Twelve thousand men were raised by arret of parliament. Every great gate furnished a man and horse; and this cavalry was therefore called the cavalry of the great gates. The coadjutor had a regiment under his own command, which was called the regiment of Corinth, because the coadjutor was titular archbishop of Corinth.

Had it not been for the names of the king of France, the great Conde, and the capital of the kingdom, this war of the Fronde would have been as ridiculous as that of the Barbarini: no one could say why they were in arms. The prince of Conde besieged five hundred thousand citizens with eight

thousand soldiers. The Parisians quitted the city, and came out into the fields, many of them dressed up with feathers and ribbands. Their exercises were the jest of the regular troops. Upon the approach of only two hundred of the royal army, they would take to flight. Every thing was turned into ridicule. The regiment of Corinth being defeated by a small party, this check was called the *first epistle to the Corinthians*.

Those twenty counsellors, who had each of them furnished fifteen thousand livres, gained no other honour than that of being called the *twenty fiftens*.

The duke of Beaufort was the idol of the people, and the instrument employed in working them up to this state of sedition: he was a popular prince; but his capacity was inconsiderable, and he was the public object of the raillery of the court; and even of the Fronde itself. He was never mentioned but by the name of king of the city-companies. The Parisian troops, which marched out of Paris, and always returned defeated, were received with laughter and derision; and were the occasion of many verses and epigrams. The taverns, and other places of public entertainment, were the tents where they held their councils of war, in the midst of their buffoonries, songs, and the most dissolute mirth. The licentiousness became so great, that one night the principal officers of the Fronde having met the holy sacrament, which was carrying through the street to a person whom they suspected to be Mazarin, they beat the priests with their swords, and forced them to return.

The coadjutor himself, archbishop of Paris, took his seat in parliament, with a poniard in his pocket; the handle of which being perceived, several persons present cried out, *See! there is our archbishop's breviary.*

In the midst of all this confusion, the nobility assembled in a body, at the Augustines, appointed the syndics, and had public regular meetings: so that it might have been supposed, their design was to remedy these disorders, and assemble the states-general. Nevertheless, the only cause of their meeting was a tabouret, which the queen had granted to madame de Pons. Perhaps there never was so strong a proof given of that lightness of mind, with which the French are reproached.

The civil dissensions which reigned in England, precisely at the same time, may serve extremely well to shew the characters of the two nations. The English, in their civil discords, shewed a melancholy cruelty, and a sensible madness: their battles were bloody; they decided all things by the sword; scaffolds were erected for the vanquished: their king, being taken prisoner, was brought before a court of justice; questioned concerning the abuse of his power, with which he had been accused; condemned to lose his head; and was executed in presence of all his people, with great order, and the same formality of justice, as if it had been the execution of one of his subjects: nor was London, in the course of these horrid disorders, ever in the least sensible of, or affected by, the calamities, which are the consequence of civil wars.

The French, on the contrary, precipitated themselves into seditions, through wantonness and ca-

price: women were at the head of factions, and cabals were formed, and dissipated, by love. The duchess de Longueville engaged Turenne, then just made a marshal of France, to cause the army which he commanded for the king, to revolt. Turenne did not succeed in this; but quitted that army, of which he was general, like a fugitive, to please a woman, who laughed at his passion. From being a general to the king of France, he became lieutenant to Don Estevan de Gamara, with whom he was defeated at Retel, by the royal troops. Every body has heard of the marshal d'Hoquincourt's letter to the duchess de Montbazou; *Peronne est a la belle des belles: Peronne is subjected to the fairest among the fair*. Those verses also are well known, which were written by the duke de la Rochefaucault to the duchess de Longueville, when, in the battle of Saint Antony, he received a musket-shot, which, for some time, deprived him of his sight:

*Pour meriter son cœur, pour plaire a ses beaux
yeux,*

*J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, & l'aurais faite aux
Dieux.*

The war was ended and renewed several different times; and there was scarce any one who did not change parties more than once. The prince of Conde having successfully defended the court, and conducted it in triumph into Paris, gave himself up to the pleasure of despising it; and, not finding that he was rewarded in proportion to his glory and services, he was the first to turn Mazarin

into ridicule, to brave the queen, and insult that government which he disdained. It is said, that he wrote to the cardinal, with this superscription, *A l'illustrissimo Signor Faquino*: and that, being one day in his company, when he took his leave, he said, *Adieu, Mars*. He encouraged the marquis de Jarfai to make a declaration of love to the queen, and was disgusted at her daring to be offended at it. He leagued with his brother the prince of Conti, and the duke de Longueville, who abandoned the party of the Fronde. The duke of Beaufort's faction, at the beginning of the regency, had been called that of the Importants: Conde's was named the party of Petits-maitres; because their desire was to become masters of the state. The only memorials, now remaining of these troubles, are the name of petit-maitre; which, at this day, is applied to our youths of good families, but bad educations; and the name of Frondeurs, which is applied to all censurers of the government.

The coadjutor, who had declared himself an implacable enemy to the minister, secretly reunited with the court, to obtain a cardinal's cap; and sacrificed the prince of Conde to the resentment of Mazarin: and that prince, who had defended the state against its enemies, and the court against rebels; that Conde, who was at the height of glory, having, upon all occasions, behaved like an hero, and ever shewn himself a man of great abilities; was seized and imprisoned, together with the prince of Conti, and the duke de Longueville. He might have governed the state, if he would have condescended to the arts of pleasing; but he rather chose to be admired. The people of Paris, who had re-

newed their barricadoes, in defence of an old superannuated counsellor, made the greatest rejoicings, when the hero, and the defender of France, was confined in the castle of Vincennes.

One year after, these very Frondeurs, who had sold the great Conde, and the princes, to the timid revenge of Mazarin, forced the queen to open their prisons, and banish her prime minister out of the kingdom: and Conde, on his re-appearance in public, received the acclamations of those very people, whose hatred against him had been so violent: but his presence renewed the cabals and dissensions.

The kingdom continued in this state of disorder and confusion some years longer. The government always pursued measures that were weak and uncertain; and it seemed probable it would, at last, be subverted: but the malecontents were in a constant state of disunion, which preserved the court. The coadjutor, who was sometimes a friend, and sometimes an enemy, to the prince of Conde, irritated part of the parliament and people against him; had the impudence to make the queen the instrument of his opposition, and, at the same time, to affront her, by obliging her to banish cardinal Mazarin, who retired to Cologne. The queen, through a contradiction too common in weak governments, was obliged, alternately, to receive his services, and his offences, and to nominate this very coadjutor for a cardinal, who had been the promoter of the barricadoes, and had compelled the royal family to retire out of the capital, and to besiege it.

CHAPTER IV.

Continuation of the civil war, to the end
of the rebellion in 1654.

CONDE at last resolved to begin a war, which, to have become master of the state, he should have commenced in the time of the Fronde; but which, if he had been a good subject, he would never have commenced at all. He quitted Paris, and went to raise forces in Guienne, Poitou, and Anjou; and to beg assistance against France from the Spaniards, to whom he had been the most terrible scourge.

Nothing can better shew the madness of those times, and the absurdity or caprice which determined all affairs, than what now happened to this prince. A courier was sent to him from Paris, with proposals to engage him to peace, and to return. The courier made a mistake, and, instead of going to Angerville, where the prince was, he went to *Augerville*. The letter, by this mistake, arrived too late; and Conde only said, that, if he had received it sooner, he would have accepted the proposals of peace; but that since he was now at a great distance from Paris, it was not worth his while to return thither. And thus this mistake of the courier, and the mere caprice of the prince, again plunged France into a civil war.

And now cardinal Mazarin, who even in his exile at Cologne had governed the court, re-entered the

kingdom, not so much like a minister who came to resume his post, as like a sovereign who retook possession of his dominions (a): he was escorted by a little army of seven thousand men, raised at his own expence, or, rather, at the expence of France; for he had appropriated the public money to his own use.

In a declaration published at that time, it was told the king, that Mazarin had actually raised these troops with his own money; which must confute the opinion of those who have affirmed, that, at his first retirement out of the kingdom, he had been in a state of indigence. He gave the command of his little army to the marshal d'Hoquincourt. All the officers wore green scarfs, which was the colour of the cardinal's livery. Each party had, indeed, its scarf. The king's was white: the prince of Conde's was the Isabella colour. It is surprising, that cardinal Mazarin, who till then had affected so much modesty, should have the boldness to make an army wear his livery, as though he had a party different from his master's: but he could not resist the vanity of it, in which he was countenanced by the queen. The king, who was now of age, together with his brother, went to meet him.

Upon the first advice of his return, Gaston d'Orleans, the brother of Lewis XIII. who had demanded the banishment of Mazarin, raised troops in Paris, without well knowing wherein to employ them. The parliament renewed its arrets, proscribed Mazarin, and set a price upon his head. It was necessary to search the registers, to find what was the price set upon the head of an enemy to the

(a) December, 1651.

kingdom. It appeared, that, under Charles IX. fifty thousand crowns had been promised to whoever should bring admiral Coligny either dead or alive; and it was thought proper to proceed with great seriousness and regularity, in putting the same price upon the assassination of the cardinal prime minister. But this proscription tempted no one to an acquisition of the fifty thousand crowns, which, after all, would not have been paid. In any other nation, and at any other time, such an arret would probably have been executed; but this became only the subject of new pleasantries. The Blots and the Marignys, wits of that time, who diffused gaiety and mirth into these tumults and troubles, caused papers to be fixed up in Paris, promising an hundred and fifty thousand livres, to be divided; so much to whoever should slit the cardinal's nose; so much for an ear; so much for an eye; and so much for making him an eunuch. This ridicule was the only effect of the proscription. Nor did the cardinal, on his side, employ either poison or assassination against his enemies; and notwithstanding the inveteracy and violence of so many different parties and the private animosities which subsisted, there were not many great crimes committed. The chiefs of the parties were not cruel, nor the people furious; for this was not a religious war.

That infatuation, which was so universal at this time, so intirely possessed the whole body of the parliament of Paris, that, after having solemnly decreed an assassination, which was laughed at, it issued an arret, by which several counsellors were to transport themselves upon the frontiers, to oppose the army of cardinal Mazarin; that is, the royal army.

Two counsellors were so imprudent as to go with some peasants to break down the bridges over which the cardinal was to pass; and were made prisoners by the king's troops; but they were presently released, and became the jest and ridicule of all parties.

At the same time when the parliament proceeded to these extremities against the king's minister, it declared the prince of Conde, who had taken arms only against this minister, guilty of high-treason; and, through a contradiction which all the former proceedings render credible, it ordered the new-raised troops of Gaston duke of Orleans to march against Mazarin; and, at the same time, prohibited the taking of any money out of the public treasury to pay them.

Indeed, nothing better could be expected from a company of magistrates, who thus acted out of their sphere, not knowing either their rights, or their real power; unskilled both in politics and war; assembling and deciding in tumult; and siding with parties which the day before they had not thought of, and at which they were themselves afterwards astonished.

The parliament of Bordeaux was at this time at the devotion of the prince of Conde; but it observed a more uniform conduct: for, being much farther from court, it was less agitated by contending parties.

But more considerable objects now interested the whole kingdom of France.

Conde, being leagued with the Spaniards, had taken the field against the king; and Turenne,

having quitted those Spaniards with whom he had been defeated at Retel, had made his peace with the court, and again commanded the royal army. The exhausted condition of the finances did not permit either party to have numerous forces: but the fate of the kingdom was as much decided by lesser numbers. There are times when an hundred thousand men are scarce able to take two towns in a campaign: and there are others, wherein an engagement between seven or eight thousand will be sufficient to overturn or establish a crown.

Lewis XIV. who was brought up in adversity, went, together with his mother, his brother, and cardinal Mazarin, from province to province, not having near so many troops about his person, as he afterwards had in times of peace for his ordinary guard: and five or six thousand men, part of them sent from Spain, and the rest raised by the partizans of the prince of Conde, pursued him into the heart of his kingdom.

The prince of Conde, in the mean time, marched from Bordeaux to Montauban, took many towns, and every-where increased his party.

All the hopes of the court were centered in the marshal de Turenne. The royal army was encamped near Gien, upon the river Loire. That of the prince of Conde was at some leagues distance, under the command of the duke de Nemours, and the duke of Beaufort. The animosity, subsisting between these two generals, was very near being fatal to the prince's party. The duke of Beaufort was incapable of the least command: and the duke de Nemours was rather esteemed for his amiableness and bravery, than for his abilities,

They well nigh proved, between them, the ruin of their army. The soldiers knew that the great Conde was at an hundred leagues distance, and had already considered themselves as in a state of destruction; when, at the dead of night, a courier appeared in the forest of Orleans before the advanced guards. The centinels presently discovered, that this courier was no other than the prince of Conde himself, who, through a thousand dangers and adventures, had come in disguise from Agen, to put himself at the head of his army.

His presence alone did a great deal, and this unexpected arrival much more. He knew, that whatever is sudden, and unhoped for, animates and transports mankind; and he therefore instantly took advantage of that courage and confidence which he had inspired. The great talent of this prince in war consisted in forming the boldest resolutions in an instant, and in executing them with equal prudence and celerity.

The royal army was separated into two bodies. Conde (*b*) fell upon that which was at Blenau, commanded by the marshal d' Hoquincourt; and this body was dispersed almost as soon as attacked. Turenne could not be informed of it; and Mazarin ran in a fright, and in the middle of the night, to Gien, to wake the king, who was asleep, and tell him what had happened. The news threw his little court into the greatest consternation; and it was at last proposed to save the king by flight, and privately conduct him to Bourges. The victorious Conde drew near to Gien; and his approach in-

(*b*) April 1652.

creased the dread and despair of the court: but Turenne encouraged them by his firmness, and saved them by the prudence of his conduct: for he made so good a disposition of his little remains of troops, and took his advantage of the situation and time so happily, that he prevented Conde from pursuing his advantage. It was difficult, upon this occasion, to decide which gained the greatest honour: Conde, in being victorious, or Turenne, in depriving him of the fruits of his victory. It is true, that, in this battle of Blenau, so long celebrated in France, there were not four hundred men killed; but the prince of Conde was not the less near making himself master of the whole royal family, and of getting into his power his enemy cardinal Mazarin. Greater interests, or a more imminent danger, could scarce ever depend on so inconsiderable an engagement.

Conde, who did not flatter himself he should surprise Turenne, as he had surprised Hoquincourt, caused his army to march speedily towards Paris, there to enjoy his glory in the favourable dispositions of a blind people. Their admiration of this last battle, all the circumstances of which were exaggerated, their hatred against Mazarin, and the name and presence of the great Conde, seemed at first to render him absolute master of the capital. But division reigned in the minds of all, and each party was subdivided into factions, which generally happens in all troubles. The coadjutor, who was now become cardinal de Retz, being in appearance reconciled to the court, which was afraid of him, and in which he did not confide, was no longer the master of the people, nor the principal leader among

them. He governed the duke of Orleans, and opposed Conde. The parliament fluctuated between the court, the duke of Orleans, and the prince; but all were unanimous in exclaiming against Mazarin: every one secretly pursued his private interests: the people was a tempestuous sea, the waves of which were tossed about by so many contrary winds. The shrine of St. Genevieve was carried through Paris in procession, to obtain the expulsion of the cardinal minister; and the populace made no doubt the saint would work this miracle, as well as grant rain.

Nothing was seen but negotiations between the chiefs of the parties, deputations from the parliament, assemblies of the chambers, seditions among the people, and the whole country in arms. They kept guard before the gates of monasteries. The prince had called in the Spaniards to his assistance, Charles IV. that duke of Lorraine, who was driven out of his dominions, and whose sole remainder of power or fortune was an army of eight thousand men, which he sold annually to the king of Spain, came to Paris with this army. Cardinal Mazarin offered him more money to return than the prince of Conde had given him to come; and therefore the duke of Lorraine soon retired out of France, having laid it waste in his passage, and carried away with him the money of both parties.

Conde now remained in Paris with a power which diminished daily, and an army yet more weak. Turenne conducted the king and his court towards the capital; and the king, at fifteen years of age, from the summit of Charonne, beheld the battle

of St. Antony, wherein these two generals with so few troops performed so great things, that both their reputations, which already appeared too great to be increased, were yet more exalted by them.

The prince of Conde, with a few lords of his party, followed by a small body of soldiers, sustained and repulsed the attack of the royal army. The king and Mazarin beheld this engagement from an eminence. The duke of Orleans, being doubtful what party to embrace, remained in his palace of Luxembourg. Cardinal de Retz was cantoned in his archbishopric. The parliament waited the event of the battle, before they published any decree. The people who, upon this occasion, equally feared the troops both of the king and prince, had closed the city-gates, and would suffer none either to enter or go out; while the greatest personages in France were engaged in battle, and shedding their blood in the suburbs. It was here where the duke of Rochfaucault, so illustrious for his courage and fine genius, received a stroke below his eyes, which made him lose his sight for some time. There was nothing to be seen but young noblemen killed or wounded, whom they were carrying to the gate of St. Antony, which those within refused to open.

At last Mademoiselle (c), the daughter of Gaston, espoused the party of Conde, whom her father dared not to assist; caused the gates to be opened to receive the wounded, and had the boldness to direct the cannon of the Bastille to be fired upon the king's troops. The royal army retired; and all that Conde gained was glory: but Mademoiselle,

(c) July, 1652.

by this violent action, for ever ruined herself with the king her cousin; and Cardinal Mazarin, who knew her extreme desire to espouse a crowned head, upon this occasion, said, *Those cannon have killed her husband.*

Most of our historians give their readers nothing but relations of battles, and the prodigies of courage and policy: but whoever knows what shameful resources were used upon this occasion, into what misery the people were plunged, and to what meannesses the chiefs of both parties were reduced, will regard the heroes of that time rather with pity than admiration. We may be enabled to judge of this from what is related by Gourville, who was attached to the prince. He confesses, that, to obtain money, he had robbed the receiver's office, and that he seized a certain post-master in his lodgings, and made him pay a ransom for his liberty; and these violences, he assures us, were very common.

After the bloody and fruitless battle of St. Antony, the king was unable to re-enter Paris; and the prince could not continue in it long. A popular tumult, joined to the murder of several citizens, of which he was believed to be the author, rendered him odious to the people. Nevertheless, he had his party in the parliament. This body, being then but little intimidated by a court which wandered about, and was in a manner driven out of its capital, and which was distressed by the cabals of the duke of Orleans, and the prince, by an arret (*d*), declared the duke of Orleans lieutenant-general of the kingdom, though the king was of

age. The same title had been given to the duke de Mayenne in the time of the League. The prince of Conde was stiled generalissimo of the armies. The court, in a rage, ordered the parliament to be transferred to Pontoise; which only some of the counsellors obeyed: so that now there were two parliaments, who disputed each other's authority, and issued contradictory arrets; by which they would have rendered themselves contemptible to the people, had not they always continued unanimous in demanding the expulsion of Mazarin: so much did a hatred against this minister then appear to be an essential duty in a Frenchman.

There were none of the parties at this time but what were in a weak condition: that of the court was as weak as any of them: they were all in want both of men and money: tumults and factions increased; and engagements between the parties had only produced losses and vexation. The court was again forced to sacrifice Mazarin^(e), whom the whole nation accused as the cause of the troubles, though he was really only the pretence. He quitted the kingdom a second time; and, to encrease the shame of it, the king published a declaration, wherein he acknowledged, that, though he parted with his minister, he was pleased with his services, and regretted his exile.

Charles the first, king of England, had lost his head upon a scaffold, for having, at the beginning of the troubles, sacrificed the blood of his friend Strafford to his parliament. Léwis XIV. on the contrary, became the peaceable master of his kingdom, by suffering the exile of Mazarin. And thus

(e) August 12. 1652.

the same weaknesſes were the cauſes of very different effects. The king of England, by abandoning his favourite, emboldened a people, who breathed nothing but war, and who hated kings: but Lewis XIV. (or rather the queen-mother) by baniſhing the cardinal, took away all pretence for ſedition from a people that were weary of war, and who were lovers of regal dominion.

The cardinal was no ſooner departed for Bouillon, which was the place of his new retreat, than the citizens of Paris voluntarily ſent a deputation to the king, to beg his majeſty would return into his capital. He accordingly entered it, and every thing appeared ſo peaceable, that it was difficult to imagine how a few days before every thing could have been in ſuch confuſion. Gaſton of Orleans, unfortunate in his enterprizes, which he never knew how to execute, was confined at Blois, where he paſſed the remainder of his days in repentance; and was the ſecond of the ſons of Henry the great, who died without obtaining great glory. Cardinal de Retz, who perhaps was as imprudent as he was lofty and audacious, was ſeized in the Louvre; and, after being removed from priſon to priſon, he wandered about a long time, and at laſt ended his days in a retreat, in which he acquired thoſe virtues, to which his great courage, in the variety and agitation of his actions and fortunes, had rendered him a ſtranger.

Some counſellors, who had the moſt remarkably abuſed their power, were puniſhed for their behaviour by exile: others confined themſelves within the bounds of their employment as magiſtrates; and ſome of them returned to their duty, in conſi-

deration of an annual sum of five hundred crowns, which were privately paid them by Fouquet, procuror-general and superintendant of the finances †.

In the mean time, the prince of Conde, though abandoned by almost all his partisans in France, and but ill assisted by the Spaniards, continued an unsuccessful war upon the frontiers of Champagne. Some disturbances also continued in Bourdeaux; but they were soon quelled.

The tranquillity of the kingdom was restored by the banishment of cardinal Mazarin: nevertheless, though he had been forced to retire by the universal clamours of the people, and by an express declaration from the king, yet Lewis presently after sending for him (*f*), Mazarin returned, and was astonished to find that he entered Paris with the same power as before, and without the least disturbance. Lewis XIV. received him as his father, and the people as their master. An entertainment was made for him in the Hotel-de-ville, in the midst of the acclamations of the citizens; and, on this occasion, he threw money among the populace: but it is said, that, in his joy for so happy an exchange, he expressed a contempt for our inconstancy. The parliament, though it had before set a price upon his head, as upon a public robber, now sent deputies to compliment him: and this very parliament soon after condemned the prince of Conde to lose his life for contumacy. Such changes are common in such circumstances; but this was more mortifying than usual, as, by their arrets, they condemned a person in whose crimes they had themselves so long participated.

† Memoirs de Gourville.

(*f*) March 1653.

The cardinal, who hastened this condemnation of Conde, soon after married one of his nieces to the prince of Conti, Conde's brother; which was a proof, that the power of this minister was now becoming boundless.

CHAPTER V.

The state of France, to the death of Cardinal Mazarin, in 1661.

WHILE the state had been thus distracted and torn within, it had been attacked and weakened from without. The fruits of the battles of Rocroi, Lens, and Norlingen, were all lost. The important fortress of Dunkirk was retaken by the Spaniards, who also drove the French out of Barcelona, and retook Casal in Italy (a). Yet notwithstanding the disorders of a civil, and the burden of a foreign war, Mazarin was so happy as to conclude that celebrated peace of Westphalia (b), by which the emperor and the empire sold to the king and crown of France the sovereignty of Alsace, for three millions of livres, payable to the archduke; which sum makes six millions of the present money of France. By this treaty also, which became the basis of all future treaties, a new electorate was created in favour of the house of Bavaria. The rights of all the princes, the imperial towns, and the privileges of the most inconsiderable of the Germans, were confirmed. The emperor's power was confined within narrow bounds, and the French,

(a) 1651.

(b) 1648.

being united with the Swedes, became the legislators of Germany. But this glory, obtained by France, was due, at least in part, to the arms of Sweden; for Gustavus Adolphus had given the first shock to the imperial power; and his generals had pushed their conquests very considerably under the government of his daughter Christina. Her general, Wrangel, also was upon the point of entering Austria: and count Konigsmark had become master of one half of the city of Prague, and was besieging the other, when this peace was concluded. And, to humble the emperor in this manner, cost France very little more than a million, paid annually to the Swedes. Sweden, by these treaties, did, indeed, gain greater advantages than France; for she obtained Pomeralia, together with many towns, and a considerable sum of money. She also forced the emperor to transfer certain benefices, which belonged to the Roman catholics, into the hands of the Lutherans. Rome exclaimed against this as an impiety, and declared that the cause of God was betrayed. But the Protestants, on the contrary, boasted they had sanctified the peace by thus robbing the Papists. All mankind speak as they are prompted by their interests.

Spain was not included in this peace, and for good reasons; for, perceiving that France was plunged in civil wars, the Spanish minister hoped to reap advantage from our divisions: and the German troops, being now disengaged, became an additional succour to the Spaniards, the emperor, in four years time from the peace of Westphalia, caused near thirty thousand men to march into Flap-

ders; which was a manifest violation of the treaties; but, indeed, treaties are seldom executed otherwise.

In this treaty of Westphalia, the ministers of the court of Madrid had the address to conclude a separate peace with Holland; and the Spanish monarchy at last thought itself happy in acknowledging as sovereigns, and no longer having for its enemies, those whom it had so long treated as rebels, unworthy of pardon. These republicans increased their riches, and strengthened their peace and their power, by concluding a peace with Spain, without breaking with France.

They became so powerful, that, in a war which they had some time after with England, (c) they sent out a fleet of an hundred ships of the line; and the victory frequently remained doubtful between Blake the English admiral, and the Dutch admiral Tromp, who were by sea, what the Condes and Turennes were by land. France, at that time, had not ten ships of fifty guns in a condition to put to sea; and her marine was declining daily.

Lewis XIV. therefore in 1653. found himself absolute master of a kingdom, which was not yet recovered from the shocks it had received; which was filled with disorders in every part of the administration, but which nevertheless had great resources; destitute even of one single ally, except Savoy, to enable him to maintain an offensive war; and having no longer any foreign enemies, except Spain, which was then even in a worse condition than France. All the people of France, who had been engaged in the civil war, were subjected, or returned voluntarily to

of 1653. (c) 1653. H. 1653. H. 1653.

their duty, except the prince of Conde, and some few of his partisans; one or two of which continued constant to him through friendship, or greatness of soul; such as the counts de Coligni and Bouteville; and the others, because the court refused to purchase them at too high a price.

Conde, now become general of the Spanish armies, was unable to restore a party which he had himself weakened, by the destruction of their infantry in the battles of Rocroi and Lens. He fought at the head of new forces, of which he was not master, against the old French regiments, which had learned to conquer under him, and which were commanded by Turenne.

It was the fortune of Turenne and Conde to be always victorious, when they fought at the head of the French, and to be vanquished when they commanded the Spaniards. Turenne, when from general to the king of France, he had made himself lieutenant to Don Estevan de Gamarra, had scarce been able to save the shattered remains of the Spanish army in the battle of Retel.

The prince of Conde had the same fate before Arras (*d*): he and the archduke besieged that city. Turenne attacked them in their camp, and forced their lines: the troops of the archduke were put to flight; and Conde, with two regiments of French and Lorrainians, alone sustained the efforts of Turenne's army; and while the archduke was flying, he defeated the marshal de Hoquincourt, repulsed the marshal de la Ferte, and retreated victoriously himself, by covering the retreat of the vanquished Spaniards. The king of Spain, in his letter to

him, after this engagement, had these words: *I have been informed that every thing was lost, and that you have saved all.*

It is difficult to determine what it is that gains or loses battles; but it is certain, that Conde was one of the greatest genius's in war that the world ever produced, and that the archduke and his council refused to do any thing which Conde proposed in this engagement.

The relieving of Arras, the forcing of the lines, and the defeat of the archduke, crowned Turenne with glory: but it is remarkable, that in the letter written in the king's name to the parliament †, on occasion of this victory, the whole success of the campaign was attributed to Mazarin, and that the name of Turenne was not even mentioned. The cardinal had, indeed, been at some leagues distance from Arras, with the king; and he had even entered into the camp, at the siege of Stenai, which Turenne had taken, before he succoured Arras. Councils of war had also been held in his presence; and, on this foundation, he assumed to himself the honour of these great actions; but this vanity made him appear so ridiculous, that all the authority of his ministry could not efface it.

The king was not present in the battle of Arras, though he might have been there. He had appeared in the trenches at the siege of Stenai; but Mazarin would not suffer him further to expose his person, whereon the repose of the state, and the minister's power, seemed absolutely to depend.

On one side, Mazarin, the absolute master of

† Dated from Vincennes, September 11. 1654.

France, and of the young king; and, on the other, Don Lewis de Haro, who governed Spain, and Philip IV.; continued the war, under their masters names, though but with little vigour on either part. Lewis XIV. was not yet known in the world; and the king of Spain had never been remarkable. There was not a single crowned head in Europe, who had any share of personal glory. Christina queen of Sweden was the only potentate who governed by herself, and supported the dignity of her throne, though abandoned, disregarded, or unknown, in the other nations of Europe.

Charles II. king of England, who was a fugitive in France, with his mother and brother, brought with him his misfortunes, and his hopes. England, Scotland, and Ireland, were subjected by a private person; and Cromwell, an usurper, worthy to reign, had assumed the title of protector, and not that of king; because the English knew how far the prerogative of their kings should extend, but were ignorant of the bounds to the authority of a protector.

He established his power, by knowing when it was proper to restrain it: he made no attempts on those privileges, of which the people were jealous: soldiers were never quartered in the city of London: he imposed no taxes, that might occasion murmurs: he did not offend the eyes of the public, by appearing with too great pomp and grandeur: he did not indulge himself in any pleasures: he accumulated no treasures: and he took care to have justice administered with that strict impartiality, which makes no distinction between the great and the small.

The brother of Pantaleon, ambassador in England from the court of Portugal, thinking his licentiousness would pass unpunished, because the person of his brother was sacred, insulted certain citizens of London, and caused one of them to be assassinated, to revenge the resistance of the others: but he was condemned to be hanged; and Cromwell, though he might have pardoned him, suffered him to be executed; and the next day signed a treaty with the ambassador.

Commerce had never been so flourishing, or so free, before; and England had never before been so rich. Her victorious fleets made her name respected throughout the world; while Mazarin, being solely engaged in enriching himself, and increasing his own power, suffered the justice, the commerce, the marine, and even the finances, of France, to languish and decay. Being master of France, as Cromwell was of England after the civil war, he might have done that for the country which he governed, which Cromwell had done for his: but Mazarin was a foreigner; and, as he had not the barbarity, neither had he the grandeur of soul, which Cromwell possessed.

All the nations of Europe, which had neglected the alliance of England, under the reigns of James I. and Charles, solicited it under the protector: and queen Christina herself, though she detested the murder of Charles I. entered into an alliance with the tyrant whom she esteemed.

Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro used all their arts of policy, to unite themselves with the protector; and Cromwell, for some time, enjoyed the

satisfaction of seeing himself courted by the two most powerful kingdoms, in Europe.

The Spanish minister offered to assist him in taking Calais : Mazarin proposed to him the siege of Dunkirk, and the putting of that place in his possession : and thus Cromwell had his choice of the keys both of France and Flanders. He was also solicited by the prince of Conde ; but he refused to negotiate with a prince, who had nothing left but his title, and who was without a party in France, and without power among the Spaniards.

The protector declared himself, at last, for France ; but without concluding any particular treaty, and without making any previous partition of conquests ; for he proposed to make his usurpation remarkable by greater enterprizes. His design was, to deprive the Spaniards of America ; but they received timely notice of it. Cromwell's admirals, nevertheless, took Jamaica from them (*e*) ; which island the English still possess, and which secures their commerce in the new world. It was not till after the expedition to Jamaica, that Cromwell signed his treaty with the king of France ; which he did, without making as yet any mention of Dunkirk. The protector treated with him as his equal, and forced the king to acknowledge his title of protector. His secretary signed the treaty, before the plenipotentiary of France ; and he acted like a real superior, by obliging the king of France to cause Charles II. and the duke of York, who were the grandsons of Henry IV. and to whom France owed an asylum, to depart out of his dominions.

While Mazarin was concluding this treaty,

(*e*) May 1655.

Charles II. demanded one of his nieces in marriage: but the bad state of his affairs, which compelled this prince to such a behaviour, also drew upon him a refusal: and the cardinal has even been suspected of a design to get the niece, which he refused to the king of England, married to the son of Cromwell. It is, at least, certain, that, when Mazarin afterwards perceived it became less difficult for Charles II. to regain his crown, he renewed the proposal of marriage, and was refused in his turn.

Henrietta of France who was the mother of these two princes, and the daughter of Henry the Great, having been in France for some time, without any support, was reduced to the necessity of requesting the cardinal to solicit Cromwell, that he would, at least, pay her jointure. This was certainly the severest of all humiliations, to be compelled to beg a subsistence from the man who had shed her husband's blood upon a scaffold. Mazarin made some faint solicitations in England, in the name of this queen; and soon after informed her, that they had been without success. Henrietta, therefore, continued at Paris, in a state of poverty, and under the shame of having implored the pity of Cromwell; and her children entered into the army of Conde, and Don John of Austria, to learn and practise the art of war against France, which had abandoned them.

The children of Charles I. being obliged to retire out of France, had taken refuge in Spain. The Spanish ministers in all the foreign courts, and particularly at Rome, loudly exclaimed, both in writing, and in their discourses, against a cardinal, who had thus, said they, sacrificed all laws, both divine

and human, and all honour and religion, to the murderer of a king; and who had banished out of France Charles II. and the duke of York who were the cousins of Lewis XIV. to please their father's executioner. In answer to these exclamations of the Spaniards, only the offers were produced, which they themselves had made to the protector.

The war in Flanders constantly continued with various success. Turenne having, in conjunction with the marshal de la Ferte, besieged Valenciennes, he experienced the same reverse of fortune, which Conde had suffered before Arras. The prince, being seconded, upon this occasion, by Don John of Austria, who was more worthy to fight by his side than the archduke, (*f*) forced the lines of marshal de la Ferte, took him prisoner, and delivered Valenciennes.

Turenne now did what Conde had formerly done, in a defeat of the same kind. He saved the vanquished army, and every-where sustained the attacks of the enemy; and, even in a month after, he besieged and took the little town of La Capelle; which, perhaps, was the first time a vanquished army dared to undertake a siege. This celebrated march of Turenne, after which la Capelle was taken, was eclipsed by another march, still more glorious, by the prince of Conde: Turenne had no sooner besieged Cambray, than Conde, at the head of two thousand cavalry, pierced through the army of the besiegers; and, having vanquished whoever offered to oppose his passage, (*g*) he threw himself into the city; the inhabitants of which received their deliverer upon their knees. Thus

(*f*) July 17. 1656.

(*g*) May 30. 1658.

these two great generals, being opposed against each other, displayed the various resources of their genius. They were admired in their retreats, as well as in their victories, in their good conduct, and even in their errors, which they always knew how to repair. Their abilities, by turns, put a stop to the progress of both parties; but the disorder which reigned in the finances, both of France and Spain, was a still greater obstacle to their success.

The alliance concluded with Cromwell, at last, gained France a more distinguished superiority: on one side admiral Blake burnt the Spanish galleons, near the Canaries, and deprived them of the only treasures with which the war could be supported: on another side, twenty English ships blocked up the port of Dunkirk; and Turenne's army was reinforced by six thousand veterans, who had effected the revolution in England.

Dunkirk, which was the most important fortress in Flanders, was besieged, both by sea and land. Conde and Don John of Austria, having assembled their forces, appeared to relieve the place. The eyes of all Europe were fixed on this event. Cardinal Mazarin conducted Lewis XIV. near the theatre of war; but would not suffer him to enter upon it, though he was now near twenty years old. He was at Calais, while his army attacked that of Spain, near the Dunes, and gained the most glorious victory that had been obtained since the battle of Rocroi (*b*).

The genius of the prince of Conde could not, on this occasion, do any thing against the superior

troops of France and England. The Spanish army was destroyed; and Dunkirk soon after surrendered. The king hastened, with his minister, to see the garrison march out. The cardinal did not permit Lewis XIV. to appear either as a general, or a king: he had no money to distribute among the troops; nor had scarce a household of his own: for, when he was in the army, he was always at the tables either of Mazarin or Turenne.

This neglect of the royal dignity did not, in Lewis XIV. proceed from any contempt of grandeur; but from the confused state of his affairs, and the care which Mazarin took to unite all splendor and authority in himself.

Lewis entered Dunkirk, only to deliver it up to Lockhart, the ambassador of Cromwell. Mazarin attempted, by his finesse, to elude the treaty, and avoid giving up the place: but Lockhart menaced; and English resolution got the better of Italian address.

It is affirmed by many persons, that the cardinal, who attributed the affair of Arras to himself, endeavoured also to make Turenne cede to him the honour of the battle of Dunes. It is said, that Du Bec-Crepin, count de Moret, came from the minister, to propose to the general the writing of a letter, wherein it should appear, that the cardinal had, himself, regulated the whole plan of the operations: but Turenne rejected this proposal with contempt, and refused to say that which would only have brought shame upon himself, as general, and ridicule upon the cardinal, as a churchman: and Mazarin, who had been guilty of this

weakness, had also that of continuing to be at variance with Turenne, as long as he lived.

Some time after the siege of Dunkirk, Cromwell died, aged 55 years, in the midst of the projects he was forming to strengthen his own power, and increase the glory of his nation. He had humbled Holland, forced a treaty upon Portugal, vanquished Spain, and obliged France to solicit his support. Not long before he died, being told with what haughtiness his admirals had behaved at Lisbon, he said; *I would have the English republic respected as much as the Roman republic was of old.* It is not true, that he affected the enthusiast and the false prophet at his death, as has been reported by some writers: and it is certain, that, in his death, he shewed the same unshaken firmness of soul, which he had always manifested in every action of his life. He was interred like a lawful monarch, and left behind him the reputation of a great king, under which he covered the crimes of an usurper.

Sir William Temple says, that Cromwell, before his death, was desirous to unite with Spain against France; and, with the assistance of the Spanish forces, to obtain Calais, as he had Dunkirk by the assistance of the French. Such a design was, indeed, agreeable to his character and policy; and he would have rendered himself the idol of the people of England, by thus depriving of their principal towns, one after the other, two nations, which were equally hated by his own. But death put a stop to his great designs, his tyranny, and the grandeur of England.

It is remarkable, that the whole court of France went into mourning for Cromwell, except Ma-

demoiselle, who was the only person that did not pay this respect to the memory of the man who had murdered a king that was her relation.

Richard Cromwell succeeded peaceably, and without opposition, to the protectorship of his father, in the same manner as a prince of Wales would have succeeded to a king of England.

Richard shewed, that the fate of a state may frequently depend upon the character of a single man. His disposition was quite different from that of Oliver Cromwell. He had all the gentleness of the social virtues, and none of that intrepid ferocity, which sacrifices all things to its own interest. He might have preserved the inheritance which his father's labour had obtained, if he would have put to death three or four of the principal officers in the army, who opposed his elevation: but he rather chose to resign the government, than reign by committing assassinations. He retired and lived privately, and in a manner unknown, to the age of 90 years, in a country, of which, for a few days, he had been the sovereign. Immediately after his resignation of the protectorship, he went into France: and it is known, that, at Montpellier, the prince of Conti, brother to the great Condé, happening one day to converse with him, without knowing him, said: *Oliver Cromwell was a great man; but his son Richard was a wretch, not to know how to enjoy the fruits of his father's crimes.* Nevertheless, Richard lived happily; which his father never had done.

Some time before this, France beheld a yet more remarkable example of the contempt of royalty.

Christina, queen of Sweden, came to Paris. She was a young queen, who was regarded with admiration, for having, at the age of twenty-seven years, renounced a sovereignty of which she was worthy, for the sake of freedom and tranquillity. It is scandalous in the protestant writers to have said, without the least foundation, that she resigned her crown, only because she was unable to preserve it any longer. She had conceived the design at the age of twenty years, and waited seven years to bring it to maturity. Such a resolution, so superior to vulgar ideas, and which she had so long meditated, ought to silence those who reproach her with fickleness, and an involuntary abdication. One of these reproaches does indeed destroy the other: but the actions of great souls are always sure to be attacked by little minds.

To discover the peculiar genius of this queen, we need only read her letters. In that which she wrote to Chanut, formerly ambassador to her from France, she expresses herself thus: "I have possessed without vanity or ostentation; and I resign with cheerfulness: therefore, have no fears about me; for my happiness is above the power of fortune." To the prince of Conde she wrote in these terms: "I think myself as much honoured in your esteem, as by the crown which I have worn. If, after having resigned it, you think me less worthy of it, I will then confess, that the repose I have so ardently desired, costs me dear: but I shall not, however, repent the having purchased it, even at the expence of a crown; nor will ever disgrace an action, which to me appear-

“ ed so laudable, by a mean and weak repentance ;
“ and if you should condemn me, all that I can
“ offer in my justification, is, that I should not
“ have disregarded the favours which fortune had
“ showered upon me, had I thought them neces-
“ sary to my happiness; and that I might have
“ pretended even to the empire of the world, if I
“ could have been as certain to succeed, or die in
“ the attempt, as the great Conde.”

Such was the genius of this singular personage ; and such was her stile in writing French, though she had seldom spoken it. She understood eight languages: she had been the friend and disciple of Descartes, who died in her palace at Stockholm, after having been unable to obtain so much as a pension in France, where his works were even prohibited, only for the good things which they contained. She had drawn all those ingenious persons of the age into Sweden, who could in any manner contribute to her information. The chagrin of not finding any such among her own subjects, had given her a disgust against reigning over a people who were mere soldiers. She thought it better to live with men who cultivated their rational faculties, than to command over those who were illiterate, and without genius. She had studied all the sciences in a climate where they were then unknown. Her design was to retire into the centre of them in Italy ; and she came into France only in her way thither ; for the arts had then made but little progress among us. Her taste determined her to fix at Rome ; and, with this design, she quitted the Lutheran religion for the Catholic: she was indifferent with regard to either, and made no

scruple to conform in appearance, to the sentiments of the people with whom she intended to pass her life. She resigned her crown in 1654. and publicly performed the ceremony of her abjuration at Inspruck. She was well received by the court of France, though there was not a woman in it with a genius equal to her own. The king saw her, and paid her great honours; but he scarce spoke to her: for, being brought up in ignorance, the good sense with which he was born, rendered him timid.

Most of the women, and others of the court, could perceive nothing farther in this philosophical queen, than that her head was not dressed in the French fashion, and that she danced ill. The most sensible people condemned her only for the murder of Monaldeschi, her gentleman usher, whom, in a second journey which she made to Paris, she caused to be assassinated at Fontainebleau. Whatever might have been his crime with regard to her, as she had renounced her throne, she had no longer any right to do herself justice in this manner. It was not a queen that punished a crime against the state, but a woman who finished an amour by a murder. The shame and cruelty of this action tarnished that philosophy which had made her resign her crown. In England she would have been punished; but, in France, this insult on the king's authority, against the laws of nations, and against humanity, was passed over in silence.

After the death of Cròmwell, and the deposition of his son, England for the space of a year, was in the confusion of anarchy. Charles Gusta-

rus, on whom Christina had conferred the crown of Sweden, rendered himself formidable in the North, and in Germany. The Emperor Ferdinand had died in 1657. and his son Leopold, aged 17 years, who was king of Hungary and Bohemia, had not been elected king of the Romans in his father's life-time. Mazarin was desirous to make Lewis XIV. emperor: but the design was chimerical; as it would be necessary either to force or corrupt the electors: and France was neither rich enough to purchase the empire, nor strong enough to obtain it by force. Accordingly, the first overtures made at Frankfort by the marshal de Grammont and Lionne were rejected as soon as proposed. Leopold was elected: and all that Mazarin's policy could effect, was the conclusion of a league with the German princes, for the observation of the treaties of Munster, and to curb the emperor's authority over the empire.

France, after the battle of Dunes, was powerful abroad, by the glory of its arms, and by the bad condition of the other European powers: but, at home it was exhausted of money, and stood in need of peace.

The inhabitants of the several kingdoms of Europe have scarce ever any interest in the wars of their sovereigns. Mercenary armies, raised by the order of a minister, and commanded by a general who blindly obeys him, often make several ruinous campaigns, while the kings, in whose names they fight, conceive not the least hope, or even design, to deprive one another of their dominions. The victors, though they are at ever so much expence, never gain any thing of the vanquished: in the good

or ill success of their arms they are equally sufferers ; and peace is almost as necessary to them after the most signal victory, as when their enemies have taken their frontier towns.

Two things were necessary to be done by the cardinal to crown his ministry with success ; and these were to conclude a peace, and to secure the tranquillity of the state, by marrying the king. After the campaign of Dunkirk, this prince had been taken so dangerously ill, that they were in great fears for his life. The cardinal, who was not beloved by the king's brother, in this danger, took the necessary measures to secure his immense riches, and his retreat. On all these considerations he determined to have Lewis XIV. married immediately. Two matches offered, the daughter of the king of Spain, and the princess of Savoy : but the king's affections were engaged another way : he was passionately in love with Mademoiselle Mancini, one of the cardinal's nieces : and as he was born with a tender heart, and a firmness in his resolutions, having also an high spirit, and being without experience, it was more than probable he might resolve to marry his mistress.

Madam de Motteville, who was the favourite of the queen-mother, and whose memoirs have a great air of truth, pretends, that Mazarin was tempted to favour the king's passion, in hopes to place his niece upon the throne. He had before married another niece to the prince of Conti, and another to the duke de Mercoeur ; and she with whom Lewis XIV. was enamoured, had been demanded in marriage by the king of England. These were all so

many titles which might justify his ambition. He contrived artfully to sound the queen-mother on this head: *I am afraid*, said he to her, *that the king's passion will hurry him on to marry my niece.* The queen, who was perfectly acquainted with the minister, perceived, that in his heart, he wished what he pretended to fear: and she answered him with the dignity of a princess of the Austrian blood, who was the daughter, wife, and mother of kings; and with the indignation with which she had for some time been inspired by this minister, who affected no longer to depend upon her: *If the king was capable of committing so dishonourable an action, I would put myself, and my second son, at the head of the whole nation, against you and the king.*

Mazarin, it is said, never pardoned the queen for making this reply: but his prudence determined him to conform to her sentiments; and he assumed to himself a kind of honour and merit from opposing the passion of Lewis XIV. though, indeed, his power did not want support from a queen of his own blood: besides, he feared the character of his niece; and therefore concluded he should establish his power more firmly, by flying from the dangerous glory of raising his house to too great a degree of elevation.

He had sent Lionne into Spain, in the year 1656. to solicit peace, and demand the infanta in marriage for the king; but Don Lewis de Haro, being persuaded that France was altogether as weak as Spain, had rejected the cardinal's offers. The infanta, who was the king of Spain's daughter by his first marriage, was designed for young Leopold. The king of Spain, at the time of his second mar-

riage, had only one son, whose unhealthy infancy endangered his life. It was therefore determined, that the infanta, who might probably become the heiress of such great domains, should carry her right into the house of Austria, and not into the house of an enemy. But at last Philip IV. having another son, Don Philip Prosper, and his wife being again with child, the danger of giving the infanta to the king of France appeared less imminent, and the battle of Dunes rendered peace in a manner necessary.

The Spaniards promised the infanta, and demanded a suspension of arms. Mazarin and Don Lewis met in the isle of Pheasants, upon the frontiers of France and Spain: but though the marriage of a king of France, and a general peace, were the object of their conferences, yet above a month was spent in adjusting the difficulties which arose in regard to precedency, and other ceremonies. Cardinals considered themselves as equal in dignity to kings, and superior to lesser sovereigns: and France pretended, with the greatest appearance of justice, to a pre-eminence over other kings: nevertheless, Don Lewis de Haro insisted on an equality between himself and the cardinal, and between France and Spain.

The conferences continued four months; and Mazarin and Don Lewis displayed the utmost strength of their policy. The cardinal's consisted in cunning, Don Lewis's in circumspection. The latter scarce ever said any thing; and what the former said was always equivocal. The genius of the Italian minister displayed itself in wanting to gain advantage by surprise, and that of the Spaniard in

avoiding being surprised. It is pretended Don Lewis said of the cardinal, *he is guilty of a great error in politics, in that he always studies how to deceive.*

Such is the vicissitude of all human affairs, that not even two articles now subsist of this famous Pyrenean treaty. The king of France retained Roussillon, which he always would have done without this peace. In regard to Flanders, the Spanish monarchy no longer possesses any thing there. We were at that time necessarily the friends of Portugal; but now we are so no longer. All things are changed. And if Don Lewis de Haro then said, the cardinal could deceive, we have ourselves since found, that he could foresee. He had long meditated an alliance between France and Spain; as a proof of which that famous letter of his, written during the negotiations of Munster, is cited. “ If the most Christian king could obtain the
“ Low-Countries and Franche-Comte, as a dowry
“ with the infanta, then, notwithstanding any re-
“ nunciation she may be obliged to make, we
“ might aspire to the Spanish succession; nor
“ would this be a very distant expectation, as there
“ is only the life of the prince her brother that can
“ exclude her from it.” This prince was Balthazar, who died in 1649.

The cardinal was palpably deceived in supposing, that the Low Countries and Franche-Comte might be given in marriage with the infanta: for not even a single town was stipulated as her dowry. On the contrary, a restitution was made to the Spanish monarchy of several considerable towns, which had been conquered; as St. Omer, Ypres, Menin, Oudenarde, and others. Some of these towns also

were retained. The cardinal was not mistaken in imagining the renunciation would one day be useless; but then those, who attribute honour to him for this prediction, do also make him foresee, that prince Balthazar would die in 1649.; that, afterwards, his three children, by his second marriage, would all die in their infancy; that Charles, the fifth of all these male children, would die without posterity; and that this Austrian king would one day make a will in favour of a grandson of Lewis XIV. Mazarin, however, did foresee the consequence of renunciations, in case the male posterity of Philip IV. should become extinct; and the reasonableness of his conjectures was justified by very strange events, which happened more than fifty years after.

It being probable, that Maria-Theresa would have those towns for her dowry, which were given up by France, she, by her marriage-contract, had only five hundred thousand crowns, though the expence of receiving her upon the frontiers cost the king a larger sum. These five hundred thousand crowns, which were then equal to two millions five hundred thousand livres, were, nevertheless, the subject of great disputes between the two-ministers; and all that France received at last, amounted to no more than one hundred thousand franks.

This marriage was so far from bringing any other present or real advantage, besides that of peace, that the infantina renounced all her right which she might ever have to any of her father's dominions. And this renunciation was ratified in the most solemn manner by Lewis XIV. who also caused it to be registred in the parliament.

These renunciations, and these five hundred thousand crowns, seem to be the ordinary conditions of marriage between the infantas of Spain and the kings of France. Anne of Austria, the daughter of Philip III. was married to Lewis XIII. on these conditions: and when Isabella, the daughter of Henry IV. was married to Philip IV. king of Spain, no more was stipulated for her dowry than five hundred thousand crowns, of which he never received any part: so that it does not appear there was then any advantage in these grand matches; and the daughters of kings were married to kings, having scarce a necessary nuptial present.

Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, of whom France and Spain had great cause to complain, or, rather, who had himself great reason to complain of them, was comprised in this treaty; but he was included as an unfortunate prince, whom they punished because he could not make himself respected. France restored him his territories, but demolished Nancy, and forbid him to have any forces. Don Lewis de Haro obliged cardinal Mazarin to get the prince of Conde pardoned, and again received into favour, by threatening to give him the sovereignty of Roccroi, Catalet, and other places of which he was in possession. And thus France gained these towns, and recovered the great Conde, both together. Conde had lost his post of grand-master of the king's household, and returned destitute of every thing but glory.

Charles II. titular king of England, who was then more unfortunate than the duke of Lorraine, came within a small distance of the Pyrenees, where this peace was negotiating; and implored

the assistance of Don Lewis and Mazarin. He flattered himself, that their masters, who were his cousin-germans, being reconciled, would at last dare to revenge what ought to be regarded by all sovereigns as their common cause; more especially as Cromwell was now no more: but he could not so much as obtain an interview, either with Mazarin or Don Lewis. Lockhart, the ambassador of Cromwell, was at St. John de Luz, and made himself still respected even after the protector's death; for the two ministers, through fear lest they should offend this ambassador, refused to see Charles II.

They thought his restoration impossible; and that all the English parties, though divided among themselves, would unanimously agree never again to acknowledge kings. But they were both mistaken; for fortune, a few months after, did that which these two ministers might have had the glory of undertaking. Charles was recalled into his dominions by the English; and not a single potentate of Europe ever endeavoured to prevent the father's murder, or favour the restoration of his son. He was received at Dover by twenty thousand of his subjects, who fell upon their knees before him: and I have been told by some old men, who were of this number, that hardly any of those who were present could refrain from tears. Perhaps there never was so tender a scene between a king and his people, or a more sudden revolution. It was over in much less time than was employed in the conclusion of the Pyrenean treaty; and Charles II. was in peaceable possession of England, before Lewis XIV. was married even by proxy.

Mazarin at last returned to Paris, with the king

and the new queen. A father, who should have married his son without suffering him to partake of his patrimony, would not have done otherwise than Mazarin did upon this occasion: he returned more powerful, and more jealous of his power, and even of his honour, than ever. He no longer gave precedency to the princes of the blood, as formerly; and he, who had treated Don Lewis de Haro as his equal, now treated the great Conde as his inferior. He appeared, upon all occasions, with the grandeur and pomp of royalty, having, besides his other guards, a company of foot, which is now the king's second company of musqueteers. Access to him was no longer free and open; and if any one was so bad a courtier, as to beg a favour of the king, he was ruined. The queen-mother, who had so long been the obstinate protectress of Mazarin against France, was deprived of her power as soon as he found he had no longer any occasion for her. The king her son, being brought up in a blind submission to the minister, was unable to shake off that yoke which she had imposed both upon him and herself. She repented what she had done; and Lewis XIV. while the cardinal lived, dared not to reign.

A minister is excusable for the evil which he does, when the government is forced into his hands by a tempest; but, in a calm, he is culpable for not doing all the good which he might have done. Mazarin did service only to himself, either directly, or in his family. Eight years of absolute power, and undisturbed repose, from the time of his last return to that of his death, were not distinguished by any glorious or useful establishment: for the college of

the four nations was the effect only of his last will. He governed the finances like the intendant of a lord that was greatly indebted to him.

The king sometimes demanded money of Fouquet, whose answer was this: *Sire, there is none in your majesty's coffers; but the cardinal will lend you some.* Mazarin had amassed near two hundred millions of our present money. And we find it affirmed in several memoirs, that he gained part of it by such means as were beneath the dignity of his place. We are told by these writers, that he shared the profits arising from prizes taken by privateers. This, however, was never proved; yet the Hollanders suspected him of it; and they would never have suspected cardinal Richelieu.

It is said, that, at his death he had some scruples, though he affected an appearance of courage. He was at least under apprehensions for his riches, of which he made an intire donation to the king; hoping, that his majesty would restore them to him. And in this he was not deceived; for the king returned him the donation at the end of three days. At last, however, the cardinal died; and none but the king seemed to regret his loss; for this prince had already learned to dissemble. The yoke began to be insupportable to him; and he was impatient to reign. Nevertheless, he affected to appear grieved at that death which put him in possession of his throne.

Lewis XIV. and the court, appeared in mourning for the death of Mazarin; an honour that was not common, though Henry IV. had shewn it to the memory of Gabriel d'Etrees.

We shall not here enter into an examination,

whether the cardinal was a great minister, or not: his actions will declare what he was; and posterity must form their judgment from them. But we cannot refrain from combating the opinion, which supposes prodigious abilities, and a genius almost divine, in those who have governed empires with some degree of success. It is not a superior penetration that makes statesmen; it is their character. Mankind, however inconsiderable their share of sense may be, all see their own interests nearly alike. A citizen of Bern or Amsterdam, in this respect, is equal to Sejanus, Ximenes, Buckingham, Richelieu, or Mazarin; but our conduct, and our enterprizes, depend absolutely on our natural dispositions, and our success depends upon fortune.

For example: Were Rochelle to have been taken by a genius like pope Alexander VI. or Borgia his son, he would, under the sanction of the most sacred oath, have drawn the principal inhabitants into his camp, and there put them to death. Mazarin would have got possession of the place two or three years later, by corrupting the inhabitants, and sowing discord among them. Don Lewis de Haro would not have risked the hazard of an attempt. Richelieu, in imitation of Alexander, raised a dike or bank cross the sea, and entered Rochelle like a conqueror: but had the sea been a little more turbulent, or the English a little more diligent, Rochelle might have been saved, and Richelieu called rash and inconsiderate.

We may judge of the characters of mankind from their enterprizes: and we may, without scruple, affirm, that pride and revenge were predominant in the soul of Richelieu; and that Mazarin was pru-

dent, artful, and greedy of riches. But, to discover the degree of genius in a minister, it is necessary either to hear him often speak, or to read his writings. What we daily see among courtiers in general, often happens among ministers: he, who has the greatest genius, frequently fails; while he, whose character is distinguished by a greater degree of patience, fortitude, tractableness, and consideration, generally succeeds.

In reading the letters of cardinal Mazarin, and the memoirs of cardinal de Retz, it may easily be perceived, that de Retz was the superior genius. Yet Mazarin was all-powerful, and de Retz was proscribed. In short, it is certain, that frequently, to make a powerful minister, nothing more is necessary than an indifferent genius, common sense, and good fortune: but, to make a good minister, the ruling passion should be, a love of the public good. The truly great statesman is he who leaves behind him immortal monuments of the service he did to his country.

CHAPTER VI.

Lewis XIV. governs alone. He forces the Spanish-Austrian branch to give him the precedence, and the court of Rome to make him satisfaction. He purchases Dunkirk. He assists the Emperor, Portugal, and the States general; and renders his kingdom flourishing and formidable.

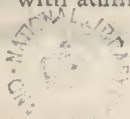
THERE never was in any court a greater variety of hopes, and intrigues than when cardinal Mazarin approached his last moments. The ladies, who had any claim to extraordinary charms, flattered themselves with the hopes of governing a prince of twenty-two years of age, whom love had already so far seduced, as to make him offer his crown to his mistress. The young courtiers hoped to see the reign of favourites revived; and every particular minister was in expectation of being placed at the head of affairs; for no one imagined, that a king, brought up in ignorance of every thing which concerned the business of the state, would dare to take upon him the weight of government. Mazarin had studied to prolong the infancy of this monarch. It was very late before he instructed him; and did it at last only, because the king insisted upon it.

People were so far from any hope or expectation of being governed by their sovereign, that,

among all those who had acted under the first minister, there were none who asked the king, when he would hear them: on the contrary, the universal question to him was, *To whom must we address ourselves?* to which Lewis XIV. constantly replied, *To me:* and the surprise was increased, when it appeared, that he persevered in this resolution. He had, for some time, considered his abilities, and had secretly made trial of his genius for government. When he had once taken a resolution, he always persevered in it to the last moment of his life. He prescribed to each of his ministers the extent of their power; made them give him an account of all their proceedings, at stated times; reposed in them such a confidence, as was necessary to give a sanction to their ministry; and kept a watchful eye over them, that they might not abuse their trusts. He began his reign, by regulating the finances, which were greatly disordered by a long course of rapine.

Discipline was restored among the troops, as well as order in the finances: magnificence and decency adorned his court: brilliancy and grandeur appeared even in its pleasures: all the arts were encouraged; and all contributed to the glory of the king, and of France.

This is not the proper place to represent him in his private life, nor in the interior part of his government: we shall consider these in another place. It is sufficient here to say, that his people, who, since the death of Henry the Great, had never beheld a real king, and who detested the government of a first minister, were filled with admiration, and



pleasing hopes, when they beheld Lewis XIV. doing that at twenty-two years of age, which Henry had done at fifty. If Henry IV. had had a prime minister, he would have been ruined; because the hatred which, in a manner, naturally arises against such a person, would have revived a number of too powerful and dangerous factions. If Lewis XIII. had not had a minister, such a prince, whose weak and distempered body enervated the vigour of his mind, would have sunk under the weight of government. Lewis XIV. might, without danger, either have had, or been without, a prime minister: for not the smallest traces now remained of the former factions; and France now contained only the master, and his subjects. He, at first, shewed himself ambitious of every kind of glory; and that he would make himself as much respected abroad, as absolute at home.

The ancient kings of Europe pretend to an absolute equality, in regard to one another; which is certainly very just and natural; but the kings of France have always claimed a precedency, to which the antiquity of their race and kingdom intitles them: and, if they have ceded the pre-eminence to the emperors, it is, because mankind are scarce ever hardy enough to dispute a right established by ancient custom. The chief of the German republic, who is an elective prince, of inconsiderable power in himself, has, without dispute, the precedency of all the other European sovereigns, on account of his title of Caesar, and Charlemagne's heir. His German chancery did not even give the other potentates the title of majesty. Nevertheless, the kings of France might dispute the precedency with the

emperors; for France was the first founder of the true western empire, of which the name only subsists in Germany. They had, in their favour, not only the superiority of an hereditary crown over an elective dignity, but the advantage also of being descended, in a direct line, from sovereigns, who reigned over a great monarchy, several centuries before any of those houses, which are now in possession of crowns, were arrived at any degree of elevation. They were desirous, at least, to precede the other potentates of Europe. The title of most Christian was alleged in their favour; but Spain, to this title, opposed that of Catholic; and, ever since Charles V. had had a king of France prisoner at Madrid, the Spanish pride had always been very far from relinquishing its pretensions to this rank. The English, and the Swedes, who do not now allege any of these surnames, avoid, as much as they can, any acknowledgement of this superiority.

These pretensions were formerly debated at Rome: the popes, who assumed a right to confer kingdoms by their bulls, imagined, with a greater appearance of reason, that they had a right to regulate the precedency of crowned heads. This court, where every thing is done with great ceremony, was the tribunal before which these vanities of greatness were decided. France, when she was more powerful than Spain, had always had the superiority in these disputes; but, after the reign of Charles V. Spain had neglected no opportunity of placing herself upon an equality. Their pretensions remained undetermined: a step more or less in a procession, a chair placed near an altar, or opposite to a pulpit, were considered as triumphs,

and as giving them a right to this pre-eminence. The chimerical point of honour, in these things, was, at that time, carried to the greatest excess, between crowned heads; as it was also in regard to duels between private persons.

At the entrance of a Swedish ambassador into London (a), the count d'Estlade, the French ambassador, and the baron de Watteville, the ambassador of Spain, disputed the precedence. The Spaniard, by greater liberality, and a more numerous retinue, gained the English populace in his favour, and the coach-horses of the French ambassador were immediately killed: presently after which, the retinue of the count d'Estlade being wounded and dispersed, the Spaniards proceeded in triumph, with their swords drawn.

Lewis XIV. being informed of this insult, recalled his ambassador from Madrid; ordered that of Spain to quit France; broke off the conferences, which were still continued in Flanders, concerning the limits; and directed his father-in-law, Philip IV. to be told, that, if he did not acknowledge the superiority of the crown of France, and repair this affront by a solemn satisfaction, the war should be renewed. Philip IV. was unwilling again to plunge his kingdom into a new war, for the sake of precedence in an ambassador; and he therefore sent the count de Fuentes to declare to the king at Fontainebleau, in presence of all the foreign ministers that were in France, *That the Spanish ministers should never, for the future, have any disputes with those of France.* This, indeed, was not a direct acknowledgement of the superiority of France; but

(a) 1661.

it was, however, a plain confession of the weakness of Spain. This court, which still retained its pride and haughtiness, long murmured at its humiliation. Several of the Spanish ministers afterwards renewed their ancient pretensions; and, at Nimegen, they obtained an equality: but Lewis XIV. at the same time, by his firmness, gained a real superiority in Europe, by making it appear how much he was to be feared.

He had scarce concluded this small affair, so much to his own honour, when he appeared still greater on an occasion wherein his glory seemed to be less interested. The youth of France, in the wars which had long been carried on in Italy against Spain, had imprinted in the minds of the jealous and circumspect Italians the idea of an impetuous people. Italy regarded all the nations round her as barbarous, and even the French as barbarians, who, though gayer than the others, were yet more dangerous; and who, in the pleasures they introduced, shewed much contempt, and to their debaucheries added insult. They were feared in all places, and no-where more than in Rome.

The duke de Crequi, ambassador to the pope, shocked the Italians, by the haughtiness of his behaviour; and his domestics, a sort of people who imitate their masters follies as far as they are able, were guilty of the same disorders in Rome, which were committed by our undisciplined youth in Paris; who, at that time, used, every night, to attack the watch appointed for the security of the city; and imagined, these exploits distinguished them as men of honour and spirit.

Some of the duke de Crequi's servants having

taken it into their heads to attack a small company of Corsicans (who are the guards of Rome), they put these wretches to flight. The whole body of Corsicans, being enraged at this, and secretly animated by Don Mario Chigi, the brother of pope Alexander VII. who hated the duke de Crequi, came, in arms, and besieged the ambassador's house, fired upon his lady's coach, who was just then entering the palace, killed one of her pages, and wounded several domestics (*b*). The duke de Crequi quitted Rome, accusing the pope's relations, and the pope himself, with having favoured this assassination. The pope deferred making any satisfaction, as long as he could, being persuaded, it was only necessary to temporize with the French, and that every thing would be forgotten. At the end of four months, he caused a Corsican, and one of the Sbirri, to be hanged; and ordered the governor, who was suspected of having authorized the action, to retire out of Rome. But the pope was, presently after, in the greatest consternation, to hear, that the king menaced Rome with being besieged; that he had already directed troops to march into Italy; and that the marshal du Pleffis-pralin was appointed to command them. The affair, on both sides, became a national quarrel; and the king was resolved to make his own side respected. The pope, before he made the satisfaction which was demanded, implored the mediation of all the Catholic princes; and did all that was in his power to animate them against Lewis XIV. But the circumstances of affairs were not favourable to the pope: the Empire

(*b*) August 20. 1662.

was attacked by the Turks; and Spain was embarrassed in an unsuccessful war against Portugal.

The court of Rome only irritated the king, without being able to hurt him. The parliament of Provence cited the pope to appear before them; and caused Avignon to be seized. In former times, Rome would have thundered forth her excommunications against these violent proceedings; but these were disregarded now, and even ridiculed. It became necessary for the pope to submit; and he was forced to banish his own brother from Rome; to send his nephew, cardinal Chigi, in quality of legate *a latere*, to make the king satisfaction; to disband the Corsican guard; and to erect a pyramid in Rome, with an inscription, giving an account of the injury, and the reparation. Cardinal Chigi was the first legate ever sent from the court of Rome to beg pardon: they used to come to prescribe laws, and to impose tithes. The king did not rest satisfied with transient ceremonies, as a satisfaction for the insult he had received, nor with monuments, which were equally vain and impermanent (for he, some years after, permitted the demolition of the pyramid): he forced the court of Rome to relinquish Castro and Ronciglione to the duke of Parma; and obliged the pope to make the duke of Modena satisfaction, in regard to his right to Comaccio: and thus, by this insult, he gained the real honour of being the protector of the Italian princes.

At the same time that he thus maintained his dignity, he did not omit to encrease his power. His finances, which were excellently managed by Colbert, enabled him to purchase Dunkirk and

Mardyke of the king of England, for the sum of five millions of livres, at twenty-six livres and ten sols the mark (*c*). Charles II. by his prodigality and poverty, incurred the shame of selling that for money, which had cost the English the price of blood. His chancellor Hyde, who was accused of having either counselled or permitted this weak action, was afterwards banished by the parliament of England; which often punishes the faults of favourites, and sometimes even judges its kings.

(*d*) Lewis caused thirty thousand men to work upon the fortifications of Dunkirk, both to the land and sea sides; and, between the town and the citadel, a large basin was formed, capable to contain thirty ships of war: so that this place became a terror to the English almost as soon as they had sold it.

(*e*) The king soon after forced the duke of Lorraine to give up to him the strong town of Marsal. This unfortunate prince, Charles IV. who had gained considerable honours in the field, but was weak, inconstant and imprudent; had entered into a treaty, by which he gave up Lorraine after his death, to the crown of France; upon condition, that the king should permit him to raise a million, upon the territories which he thus abandoned to him; and that the princes of the blood of Lorraine should be reputed princes of the blood of France. This treaty, which in vain had the approbation of the parliament of Paris, only proved the cause of fresh inconstancy in the duke of Lorraine; who was afterwards glad to give up Marsal, and submit himself intirely to the king's clemency.

Lewis augmented his dominions, even during the

(*c*) October 27. 1662. (*d*) 1663. (*e*) August 30. 1663.

peace; and kept himself always ready for war, by fortifying his frontiers, disciplining his troops, increasing their number, and frequently reviewing them.

The Turks were, at that time, very formidable in Europe; and had attacked the emperor of Germany and the Venetians together. Since the reign of Francis I. it has always been the policy of the kings of France to be in alliance with the Turks, both for the sake of commerce, and to restrain the power of the house of Austria: nevertheless, a Christian king could not refuse the emperor assistance, when he was in great danger: and, indeed, it is the interest of France, that the Turks should harass Hungary; but not that they should subdue it. And besides, France, by its treaties with the Empire, was obliged, in honour, to grant its assistance, when it became necessary. France therefore sent six thousand men into Hungary, under the command of the count of Coligny, the only person remaining of the house of Coligny, formerly so celebrated in our civil wars, and who, perhaps by his courage and virtue, merited as high renown as the celebrated admiral of his name. He had been attached to the great Conde, through friendship; and all the offers of cardinal Mazarin could never make him abandon his attachment. He took with him the flower of the French nobility, and, among others, the young la Feuillade, a man who had an enterprising genius, and a great desire of eminence and glory. (f) This body of French troops marched into Hungary, to serve under Montecuculi, who, at that time, opposed the grand visier Kiuperli,

(f) August 1664.

and, who afterwards serving against France, balanced the reputation even of Turenne. A great battle was fought at St. Gothard, upon the banks of the Raab, between the emperor's forces and the Turks; and the French, upon this occasion, performed prodigies of valour; infomuch that the Germans themselves, who did not like them, could not refuse to do them justice: but it would not be doing justice to the Germans, to affirm, as has been done in so many books, that the honour of the victory ought to be ascribed to the French alone.

The king, at the same time that he employed his power in openly succouring the emperor, and increasing the reputation of his arms, also employed his policy in secretly supporting Portugal against Spain. Mazarin had formally abandoned the Portuguese, by the Pyrenean treaty; in which several little tacit infractions had been made by the Spaniards. But the French made one that was both bold and decisive: the marshal de Schomberg, who was a foreigner, and a Huguenot, went into Portugal with four thousand French troops, whom he paid with the money of Lewis XIV. though he pretended to maintain them in the name of the king of Portugal. These four thousand French troops, being joined to the Portuguese forces, obtained a complete victory at Villa Viciosa; which fixed the crown in the house of Braganza: and thus Lewis XIV. already made himself regarded as a martial and political prince; and he was dreaded in Europe, even before he had actually made war.

It was this policy which, in spite of his promises, made him avoid joining the few ships he

then had to the fleets of Holland. He had entered into an alliance with the Dutch in 1662. This republic, about that time, renewed the war against England; the cause of which was the vain and ridiculous competition for the honour of the flag, and their rights to the commerce of the Indies. Lewis, with pleasure, beheld these two maritime powers annually sending out fleets against each other, composed of more than an hundred men of war, and mutually destroying one another, by the most obstinate combats that were ever seen; all the fruit of which was only the weakening of both parties. One of these engagements lasted during three intire days (*g*). It was in these encounters that Ruyter gained the reputation of being the greatest naval commander that ever lived. It was he who burnt the finest of the English ships, even in their own ports, and within four leagues of London itself. He, in short, rendered Holland triumphant on the seas, the dominion of which the English always had before; and whereon Lewis XIV. was, as yet, of no consequence.

The sovereignty of the seas was, for some time, divided between these two powers: and the art of building ships, and employing them in commerce, and in war, was well known only by them. France, under the ministry of Richelieu, thought herself powerful at sea, because, out of about sixty vessels, which she computed in her ports, she could put to sea about thirty; of which only one carried seventy guns. Under Mazarin, the few ships we had were purchased of the Dutch. We were in want of offi-

(*g*) June 11. 12. 13. 1666.

cers, sailors, manufactures, and, in short, every thing which is necessary in the construction and equipment of shipping. The king undertook to repair the ruinous condition of his marine, and to supply France with every thing of this kind which it wanted, with incredible diligence. Yet, in 1664. and 1665. while the English and Dutch covered the ocean with near three hundred large ships of war, Lewis had not then more than fifteen or sixteen of the lowest rates, which the duke of Beaufort commanded against the Barbary corsairs; and, when the states general pressed him to join his fleet with theirs, there was only a single fire-ship in the port of Brest, which it was shameful to send out, and which, nevertheless, at the repeated solicitations of the Dutch, was sent to them. But Lewis XIV. used his utmost efforts to efface the shame of this in the most sudden and effectual manner.

He succoured the states more essentially and honourably with his land-forces. He sent them six thousand men, to defend them against the bishop of Munster, Christopher Bernard van Ghelen a warlike prelate, and their implacable enemy, who was hired by England, to attack and ravage the territories of the Dutch. But Lewis made them pay dear for his assistance, and treated them like a powerful person, who sells his protection to opulent merchants. Colbert placed to their accompt not only the pay of these troops, but even charged them with the expences of an embassy sent into England, to negotiate their peace with Charles II. Succours were never given with so ill a grace, nor received less gratefully.

The king, having thus rendered his troops expert

in the art of war, formed new generals in Hungary, Holland, and Portugal; and, having obtained satisfaction and respect in Rome, he no longer beheld a single potentate whom he had any reason to fear. The devastation made in England by the plague, the burning of London, of which the Catholics were unjustly accused, and the continual prodigality and indigence of Charles II. which were as destructive to his affairs as the contagion, or the fire, placed France in perfect security, with regard to the English. The emperor had not yet recovered that strength, which he had lost in his war against the Turks: and Philip IV. king of Spain, being in a languishing state of body, and his monarchy being as feeble as himself, Lewis XIV. was the only great and formidable monarch: and he was young, rich, perfectly well served, implicitly obeyed, and shewed an impatience to signalize himself, and become a conqueror.

CHAPTER VII.

The Conquest of FLANDERS.

OPPORTUNITY soon presented itself to a king who anxiously sought for it. His father-in-law Philip IV. died. By his first wife, who was the sister of Lewis XIII. he had had the princess Maria-Theresa, who was married to Lewis XIV. by which marriage the Spanish monarchy at last came into the house of Bourbon, which had so

long been its enemy. By his second marriage with Mary-Anne of Austria, he had had Charles II. a weak and unhealthy child, who was the heir to his crown, and the only one remaining of three male children, of which two had died in their infancy. Lewis XIV. pretended, that Flanders and Franche-Comte, which were provinces of the kingdom of Spain, ought, according to the laws of these provinces, to revert to his wife, notwithstanding her renunciation. Were the causes of kings determined by the laws of nations before an impartial tribunal, the affair might have been doubtful.

Lewis directed his pretensions to be examined by his council, and by the doctors in theology, by whom they were declared incontestable; but they were pronounced quite the contrary by the council and confessor of Philip the fourth's widow. She had one very strong argument in her favour, which was an express law of Charles V. but very little regard was paid to the laws of Charles V. by the court of France.

One of the pretexts, which were alleged by the king's council, was, that the five hundred thousand crowns, granted as a dowry with his wife, had never been paid: but they forgot, that the dowry of Henry the fourth's daughter remained still unpaid as well as this. The altercations between France and Spain were commenced in writings, wherein the calculations of a banker, and the arguments of a lawyer, were amply displayed; but reasons of state were the only reasons to which any regard was paid.

The king, depending more upon his forces than his arguments, marched into Flanders, to the acqui-

sition of undoubted conquests. He was himself at the head of thirty-five thousand men; another body of eight thousand was sent towards Dunkirk, and another of four thousand towards Luxembourg. Turenne under him, was the general of his army, Colbert had multiplied the resources necessary to defray the expence of these troops. Louvois, the new minister for military affairs, had made immense preparations for the campaign. He distributed magazines of all kinds upon the frontiers, and was the first who introduced that advantageous method; which the weakness of the government had before rendered impracticable, of subsisting the armies by means of magazines. Whatever siege the king undertook, or on whatever side he turned his arms, succours and subsistence were always ready, the quarters for the troops marked out, and their marches regulated. Discipline, which, by the inflexible austerity of the minister was rendered daily more severe, kept all the officers to their duty: and the presence of a young king, who was the idol of his army, rendered the strictness of this duty not only easy, but delightful. The military employment began, from that time, to be considered as an honour much superior to that of birth. Services, and not families, were regarded; which had seldom been observed before. By this means, an officer, though of very inconsiderable birth, was encouraged; and, at the same time, those of the highest rank had no cause to complain. The infantry, upon which, since the disuse of lances, the whole weight of the war had fallen, shared in the advantages enjoyed by the cavalry: and the

troops, in general, were inspired with new courage by the new maxims in the government.

The king being possessed of a minister, and a general, whose abilities were equally great; who were both jealous of each other, and who, for that reason, served him the better; having also an army composed of the best troops in Europe, and having entered into an alliance with Portugal; he, with all these advantages, attacked a province of a kingdom that was depopulated and ruined. He had only his mother-in-law to oppose; and she was a weak woman, whose unhappy government had rendered the Spanish monarchy defenceless. Philip the fourth's widow had made her confessor, who was a German Jesuit, named Father Nitard, her prime minister. He was as capable to govern the will of his penitent, as he was incapable to govern the state; having none of the qualities of a minister, or a priest, except pride and ambition. He had the boldness one day to tell the duke of Lerma, even before he held the reins of government, *you ought to respect me, for I have your God in my hands, and your queen at my feet, every day.* With this haughtiness, which is so opposite to true greatness of mind, he suffered the treasury to be without money, the fortifications throughout the kingdom to fall into ruin, and the ports to be without ships, the troops without discipline, destitute of officers, ill-paid, and still worse commanded: and these troops were to oppose an enemy, which enjoyed all the advantages Spain wanted.

The art of attacking towns, as it is now practised, was not then brought to perfection, because the art of fortifying and defending them was not

so well understood as it is now. The frontiers of Spanish Flanders were almost without fortifications and garisons.

Lewis had only to present himself before them: he entered Charleroi as he would have entered Paris: Ath and Tournay were taken in two days; nor did Furnes, Armentieres, or Courtrai, hold out longer (*a*). He appeared in the trenches before Douai (*b*), and it surrendered the next day. Lille (*c*), the most flourishing city in all this country, the only one that was well fortified, and which had a garison of six thousand men, capitulated after nine days siege. The Spaniards had only eight thousand men to oppose the victorious troops; and the rear of this little army was attacked and cut in pieces by the marquis, afterwards the marshal de Crequi (*d*); and the remainder fled under the walls of Mons and Brussels, leaving the king a conqueror without fighting.

This campaign being made in the midst of the greatest plenty of every thing, and its success being so sudden, and so easy, it appeared rather like a tour made by the court for their diversion: and pleasures of every kind, and all the luxury of the table, were then introduced into our armies, even at the very time when discipline was improving. The officers did their duty much more exactly, but their conveniencies were much greater than formerly. Marshal Turenne, for a long time, was served in the field only upon plates of iron. The marshal d'Humieres was the first, who, at the siege of Arras, in 1658. was served in silver in the trenches, and had ragouts and entremets served

(*a*) July 6. 1667. (*b*) August 27. (*c*) August 27.
(*d*) August 31.

up to his table. But, in this campaign of 1667, wherein a young king, who loved grandeur and magnificence, displayed that of his court in the fatigues of war, every one was emulous, in imitation of the royal example, to shew his taste and grandeur, in his table, his dresses, and his equipages. This luxury, which is a certain sign of riches in a great kingdom, and is frequently the cause of ruin in a little state, was nevertheless but inconsiderable, compared to what we have seen since. The king, his generals, and his ministers, went to the rendezvous of the army on horseback; whereas, now, there is not even a captain of horse, nor the secretary of a general officer, who does not go in his post-chaise, more commodiously, and with greater ease, than in making a visit formerly from one part of Paris to another.

The delicacy of the officers did not then prevent them from appearing in the trenches with the security of the helmet and cuirass: of which the king himself gave an example, by going thus into the trenches before Douai and Lisle. This prudent precaution has preserved the lives of many great men. But it has since been too much neglected by young men, who are not over-robust, and who, though effeminate, are full of courage, and seem to be more afraid of fatigue than danger.

The rapidity of these conquests filled Brussels with alarms; and the citizens began to remove their effects to Antwerp. The conquest of all Flanders might have been the work of a single campaign. The king only wanted a sufficient number of troops to garrison the towns which were everywhere ready to open their gates on his approach.

Louvois advised his majesty to put strong garisons in the towns already taken, and to fortify them. Vauban, one of those great men, and great geniuses, who appeared in this age for the service of Lewis XIV. was directed to construct these fortifications; which he did according to his own new method, which is now become a rule to all good engineers. People were astonished to behold towns surrounded by works which were almost even on a level with the open country. High and menacing fortifications were only so much the more exposed to destruction from the artillery; and the more he made them level, the less liable they were to be destroyed or taken. He constructed the citadel of Lisle upon these principles. In France, the government of a city had never yet been separated from that of the fortress: but an example of this was now given in favour of Vauban, who was the first governor of a citadel. We may farther observe here, that the first plan of fortification, in relievo, which is to be seen in the gallery of the Louvre, was of the fortifications of Lisle.

The king hastened to return, and to enjoy the acclamations of his people, the adorations of his courtiers, and mistresses, and the pleasure of those entertainments which he gave to his court.

CHAPTER VIII.

The conquest of Franche-Comte; and the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

THE court was intirely engaged in diversions at St. Germain, when, in the month of January (*a*), and the severity of winter, the world was astonished to behold troops marching on all sides, some one way, some another, through the roads of Champagne, in the three bishopricks. Trains of artillery and ammunition-waggons appeared, under divers pretences, in the roads which lead from Champagne into Burgundy. This part of France was universally in motion, yet the cause intirely unknown. Strangers, as being interested therein, and the courtiers through curiosity, formed various conjectures upon it; Germany was alarmed; but the real motive to all these preparations, and these irregular marches, was unknown to all the world. Secrecy in a conspiracy was never better observed than in this enterprize of Lewis XIV. who, at last, on the second of February, quitted St. Germain, being accompanied by the young duke d'Enguien, son of the great Conde, and some others of his court; the rest of the officers being with the troops. He went on horseback, and, in a very short time, arrived at Dijon: and twenty thousand men, collected from twenty different places, appeared at the same time in France-Comte, a few leagues

from Befancon having at their head the great Conde, whose principal lieutenant-general was his friend Bouteville-Montmorency, who was become duke of Luxembourg, and who had always been attached to him in his good and bad fortune. Luxembourg had been instructed in the art of war under Conde; and, by force of merit, he obliged the king to employ him, though he did not love him.

The true motives to this sudden and unexpected enterprize were these: the prince of Conde was jealous of the glory of Turenne; and Louvois, of his favour with the king: Conde's jealousy was that of an hero, and Louvois that of a minister. The prince, being governor of Burgundy, which joins to Franche-Comte, formed the design to make himself master of that province in the winter, in less time than Turenne the summer before had conquered French Flanders. He immediately communicated his design to Louvois, who entered into it with eagerness, in order to have Turenne removed and rendered unnecessary, and, at the same time, to serve his master.

This province, which was then poor enough with regard to money, but was exceeding fruitful and populous, forty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth, was not only called Franche, or free, but really was so. The kings of Spain were rather its protectors than its masters. And though the province belonged to the government of Flanders, it depended but very little upon it. The whole administration was divided and disputed between the parliament and the governor of Franche-Comte. The people enjoyed great privileges, and were always

respected by the court of Madrid, which paid a deference to a province jealous of its rights, and in the neighbourhood of France. No people ever lived under a more gentle government; nor was any people ever more strongly attached to its sovereigns. Their love for the house of Austria continued even for two generations; though this might rather be called the love of their liberties.

In short, Franche-Comte, though poor, was happy; and as it was a kind of republic, it was not without factions: and, notwithstanding what is said by Pellisson, force was not the only means used to subject this province.

Some of the principal inhabitants, by promises and presents, were gained at first; particularly, the abbe John de Batteville, the brother of him, who, having insulted the French ambassador at London, had, by that outrage, caused the humiliation of the Spanish-Austrian branch. This abbe, who had formerly been an officer, then a Carthusian, afterwards a Turk, and at last an ecclesiastic, had the promise of grand dean, and other benefices. The governor's nephew, count de St. Amour, was also corrupted; nor did the governor himself at last prove inflexible. Some of the counsellors of their parliament were likewise purchased at no very considerable expence. These secret intrigues were no sooner commenced than they were supported by twenty thousand men; and Besancon, the capital of the province, was invested by the prince of Conde. Luxembourg appeared also before Salins; and the next day both these places surrendered. The only article of capitulation, desired for the surrender of Besancon, was the preservation of an holy

shroud, which was very highly revered in that city: and this request was granted them without difficulty. The king arrived at Dijon; and Louvois, who had secretly repaired to the frontiers to direct all these marches, came to inform him, that these two places had been besieged and taken. The king immediately hastened to appear, where fortune did every thing in his favour.

He marched in person to besiege Dole, which was reputed strong, and was commanded by the count de Montrevel, who, through a certain greatness of soul, was faithful to the Spaniards, whom he hated; and to the parliament, which he despised. His garison consisted only of four hundred soldiers and citizens; and he nevertheless dared to make a defence. The trenches, which were not carried on in form, were scarce opened, when a croud of young volunteers, who had followed the king, ran to attack the counterscarp, wherein they made a lodgment. The prince of Conde, whose courage was rendered calm and unruffled by age and experience, supported them properly, and joined them in their danger, to extricate them out of it. The prince was present in all places, accompanied by his son; and afterwards came to give an account of every thing to the king, as though he had been an officer who had his fortune to make. The king, in his quarters, rather shewed the dignity of a monarch in his court, than any impetuous ardour, which was then not necessary. All the ceremonial of St. Germain's was observed. He had an apartment for his repose, his great officers to wait upon him, courses regularly served to his table, and a draw-

ing-room, all within his tent: nor was the dignity of the throne in any thing laid aside, except in having his general officers and aids-de-camp dine at his table. He, in the toils of war, did not shew the impetuous courage of Francis I. and Henry IV. who fought all the various species of danger. He was satisfied in not fearing them himself, and in engaging all others to precipitate themselves therein, with ardour, to serve him. He entered Dole (*b*) at the end of four days siege, and twelve days after his departure from St. Germain: and, in short, in less than three weeks all Franche-Comte was subjected to him. The council of Spain, being astonished and incensed at the little resistance that was made, wrote to the governor; "That the king of France, instead of going in person, might as well have sent his laqueys to take possession of the province."

Such good fortune, and such great ambition, roused Europe from its lethargy. The emperor began to raise troops, and the empire itself to appear in motion. The Switzers, who are the neighbours of Franche-Comte, and whose sole good is their liberty, began to tremble for it. The rest of Flanders was liable to be invaded the ensuing spring: and the Dutch, to whom it had always appeared of consequence to have the French for their friends, dreaded the having them for their neighbours. Spain now had recourse to these very Hollanders, and was, in fact, protected by this little nation, which before it had only despised, and considered as a country of rebels.

Holland was governed by John de Wit, who,

(*b*) February 14. 1668.

at the age of twenty-five, had been elected grand pensionary. He regarded the liberties of his country as much as his personal grandeur: agreeable to the frugality and modesty of his republic, he had only one man and one maid-servant, and upon all occasions, walked on foot through the streets of the Hague, while, in the negotiations of Europe, his name was numbered with those of the most powerful monarchs: he was indefatigable in business, and shewed great order, prudence, and application, in the management of affairs, an excellent citizen, a great politician, yet he was nevertheless afterwards very unfortunate.

He contracted a friendship, which is uncommon among ministers of state, with Sir William Temple, the English ambassador at the Hague. Temple was a philosopher, who united business with literature. Though bishop Burnet has reproached him with atheism, he was a very good man, was born with the genius of a wise republican, loved Holland as his own country, because it was free, and was as jealous of its liberties as the grand pensionary himself. These two statesmen united with the count de Dhona, the ambassador of Sweden, in order to stop the progress of the king of France.

The rapidity of the events, which happened about this period, is what chiefly distinguishes it. Flanders, which we call *French Flanders*, had been taken in three months, Franche-Comte in three weeks, and the treaty between Holland, England, and Sweden, to preserve the balance of Europe, and put a stop to the ambition of Lewis XIV. was proposed and concluded in five days.

Lewis XIV. was filled with indignation, to behold such a little state as Holland forming designs to set bounds to his conquests, and be the arbiter of kings; and his indignation was increased, when he found that this little state was able to do this. Such an enterprize of the United provinces was an outrage he could not bear, though he affected to disregard it; and, from that time, he meditated revenge.

Notwithstanding his ambition, his power, and his rage, he dissipated the storm which seemed to be rising in all parts of Europe, by proposing a peace himself. France and Spain fixed upon Aix-la-Chapelle, as the place to hold the conferences; and, for mediator, chose the new pope, Rospigliosi, who was named Clement IX.

The court of Rome, to conceal its real weakness under an appearance of credit, fought, by all manner of means, to have the honour of being the arbiter of Europe; in which design it had not been able to succeed in the Pyrenean treaty: but it at least appeared to have gained this in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. A nuncio was sent to the congress, to be the shadow of an arbiter between the shadows of plenipotentiaries. The Hollanders, who had long been jealous of their glory, refused to divide the honour of concluding what they had commenced. All the negotiations were really carried on at St. Germain, by means of their ambassador Van-Beunning. What was privately granted by him was sent to Aix-la-Chapelle, to be signed in form by the ministers assembled at the congress. Who would, thirty years before, have imagined, that a citizen of Holland should force France and Spain to receive his mediation?

This Van-Beunning, who was a burgomaster of

Amsterdam, had the vivacity of a Frenchman, joined to the pride of a Spaniard. He, upon every occasion, took a pleasure in shocking the imperious grandeur of the king; and, to the tone of superiority, which the ministers of France began to assume, he opposed republican inflexibility. *Will you not believe what the king says?* said Monsieur de Lionne to him, in a conference. *I do not know what the king will do,* replied Van-Beunning; *but I know what he can do.* In short, a peace was concluded, in an authoritative manner, by a burgomaster, at the court of the most superb of monarchs: by which the king was forced to restore Franche-Comte. The Hollanders would have been much better pleased, if he had restored Flanders, and so have delivered them from so formidable a neighbour. But all the nations of Europe thought the king shewed sufficient moderation, in relinquishing Franche-Comte (*f*). He, in the mean time, gained more by keeping the towns of Flanders; and he opened the ports of Holland, whose destruction he meditated at the very time when he seemed to comply with all its demands.

CHAPTER IX.

The magnificence of Lewis XIV. The conquest of Holland.

LEWIS XIV. compelled, for some time, to remain in peace, continued, as he had begun, to regulate, to fortify, and to adorn his kingdom.

(*f*) May 2. 1668.

He shewed, that an absolute monarch, who is well-disposed, may effect every thing. He had only to command, and success in the administration was as rapid as his conquests had been. It was really wonderful to behold the sea-ports, which before were deserted and in ruins, now surrounded by works which were at once both their ornament and their defence; covered also with ships and mariners, and containing already near sixty large men of war. New colonies, under the protection of his flag, were sent from all parts into America, the East-Indies, and to the coasts of Africa. In the mean time, many thousand men were employed in France, under his immediate inspection, in the construction of immense edifices, and in the exercise of all those arts which architecture introduces. And, in the interior of his court and capital, the nobler and more ingenious arts acquired France that glory and elegance, of which the preceding ages had not even the idea. Literature flourished. The barbarity of the schools was corrected by good sense and good taste. But a full account of the glory and happiness of the nation shall be given in its proper place in this history: here we shall speak only of general or military affairs.

Portugal, about this time, exhibited an extraordinary scene to Europe. Don Alphonso, who was an unworthy son of the happy Don John of Braganza, reigned over that kingdom. He was furious and of a weak judgment. His wife who was a daughter of the duke de Nemours, being in love with Don Pedro, Alphonso's brother, she formed a design to dethrone her husband, and espouse her lover. Her husband's barbarity justified the auda-

cioufness of this attempt. His strength of body was more than common. He had publicly kept a mistress, by whom he had had a child, which he acknowledged: and he had long cohabited with the queen. She, nevertheless, accused him of impotence; and having, by her prudent conduct, obtained that authority in the kingdom which her husband had lost by his furious behaviour, she caused him to be confined; after which she soon obtained a bull from Rome to espouse her brother-in-law. It is not surprising, that Rome should grant this bull; but it is so, that those who were all-powerful should, nevertheless, have occasion for it. This event, which only caused a revolution in the royal family, and not in the kingdom of Portugal, producing no change in the affairs of Europe, deserves our notice in this place only for its singularity.

France, soon after (*a*), received a king, who quitted his throne in a different manner. John Casimir, king of Poland, renewed the example of queen Christina. Wearied by the fatigues and perplexities of government, and desirous to live in a happy tranquillity, he chose a retreat at Paris, in the abbey of St. Germain, of which he was abbot. Paris, which, for some years, had been the seat of all the arts, was a delightful residence to a king, who sought the sweets of society, and was a lover of learning. He had been a Jesuit, and a cardinal, before he was a king; and, being equally disgusted with royalty and the church, he now sought only to live in a philosophical retirement, and would never permit the title of majesty to be given him at Paris.

(*a*) September 1668.

But a more interesting affair, at this time, commanded the attention of all the Christian princes.

The Turks, less formidable indeed than under the Mahomets, the Selims, and the Solimans, but still dangerous and formidable through our divisions, had, for two years, besieged Candy with all the forces of their empire. And it is hard to say which was most astonishing, the long and vigorous defence made by the Venetians, or their being abandoned by the other potentates of Europe.

The times were greatly changed. Formerly when Christendom was in a state of barbarity, a pope, or even a monk, could engage millions of Christians to go and combat the Mahometans in their own empire; and the nations of Europe were exhausted both of men and money, for the conquest of the wretched and barren province of Judaea: but now, though the isle of Candy, which was reputed the bulwark of Christendom against the infidels, was overpowered by sixty thousand Turks; yet the powers of Europe regarded the loss with indifference. The gallies of Malta, and a few of the pope's, were the only force which defended this republic against the Ottoman empire. The senate of Venice, whose impotence was as great as its wisdom, was unable, with mercenary troops, and such weak assistance, to resist the grand visier Kiuperli, who was a good minister, and a better general; was master of the Turkish empire, at the head of formidable forces; and even had good engineers.

The king, in vain, set the other powers of Europe an example for the relief of Candy. His galleys, and the new ships which he had just built in the port of Toulon, sailed thither with seven

thousand men, under the command of the duke de Beaufort; but this succour was insufficient in so imminent a danger, because this generosity of the French was not imitated by any other nation in Europe.

La Feuillade, a private gentleman of France, performed an action upon this occasion, of which there was no example but in the times of chivalry. He brought near three hundred gentlemen to the relief of Candy, at his own expence, though he was not rich. Had any other nation of Europe given a supply equal to this sent by Feuillade, it is probable Candy would have been saved. But this succour only served to retard the taking of it some days, and to be the cause of unnecessary bloodshed. The duke of Beaufort was slain in a sally; and Kiuperli at last (*b*), by capitulation, entered the place, which was now no better than a heap of ruins.

The Turks, in this siege, shewed themselves superior to the Christians even in the knowlege of the military art. The largest cannons, which had yet been seen in Europe, were cast in their camp. They, for the first time, drew parallel lines in the trenches; and we are obliged to them for the knowlege of this; but they were themselves indebted for it to an Italian engineer. It is certain, that such conquerors as the Turks, who had experience, courage, riches, and that constancy in fatigues, which was then their distinguished character, might have conquered Italy, and made themselves masters of Rome in a very short time. But the weak emperors which they had afterwards, their bad generals, and

(*b*) September 16. 1669.

the error of their government, have been the security of Christendom.

The king, being but little affected by these distant revolutions, matured his great design of a conquest of the Low Countries, which he intended to commence by that of Holland. The opportunity grew daily more favourable. This little republic ruled upon the seas; but nothing could be weaker by land. Being allied with Spain and England, and in peace with France, she reposed too great a confidence in the security of treaties, and the advantages of an immense commerce: in proportion as her naval armaments became disciplined and invincible, her land-forces were poor and contemptible. Their cavalry was composed only of citizens, who never quitted their houses, and paid men, which they got out of the dregs of the people, to do the duty for them. The infantry was nearly upon the same footing. The officers, and even the governors of the fortified towns, were either boys, or the relations of burgomasters, brought up in inactivity and inexperience, and regarding their posts in the same light in which priests regard their benefices. The pensioner John de Witt used his endeavours to correct these abuses; but he did not act with sufficient vigour and resolution; which was one of the great faults of this republican.

The first thing necessary to be done, was to detach England from its alliance with Holland. The United provinces being once deprived of this support, their destruction appeared inevitable. Lewis XIV. did not find it difficult to engage Charles II. in his designs. The English king had not, indeed, shewn himself very sensible of the dishonour

which his reign and nation had received, in the burning of his ships, even in the Thames, by the Dutch fleet. He breathed neither revenge nor conquests: his passion was rather to enjoy his pleasures, and reign with a power less constrained: and to flatter this disposition, therefore, was the most effectual way to seduce him. Lewis, who, to have money, then needed only to speak, promised a great sum to king Charles, who could never get any without the consent of his parliament. The secret treaty, concluded between the two kings, was imparted, in France, only to *Madame*, the sister of Charles II. and wife of *Monsieur*, the king's only brother, to Turenne, and to Louvois.

A princess, of twenty-six years of age, was the plenipotentiary for the conclusion of this treaty with king Charles. The pretence for her going into England was a tour, which the king determined to make, in his new conquests, towards Dunkirk and Lisle. The pomp and grandeur of the ancient kings of Asia did not equal the splendor of this tour: the king was preceded, or followed, by thirty thousand men, some of which were destined to reinforce the garrisons in the conquered countries, others to work upon the fortifications, and others to level the roads. The king took with him the queen his wife, and all the princesses, and most beautiful ladies in his court. *Madame* shone in the midst of them; and her heart was elated with the pleasure, and the glory, of all this preparation, which was made only upon her account. The journey appeared to be one continued entertainment from Saint Germain's to Lisle.

The king, who was desirous to gain the affections of his new subjects, and deceive the attention of his neighbours, was every where profuse in his liberalities; and gold and diamonds were lavished upon all, who had the least pretence to the honour of speaking to the monarch. The princess Henrietta embarked at Calais, to see her brother, who was at Canterbury to receive her; and Charles, being seduced by his friendship for his sister, and the money of France, signed every thing Lewis XIV. desired; and prepared the destruction of Holland, in the midst of diversions and entertainments.

The loss of Madame, who died suddenly, and in an extraordinary manner, soon after her return, raised some suspicions prejudicial to Monsieur; but they caused no change in the resolutions of the two kings. The spoils of the republic, which was to be destroyed, were already divided, by the secret treaty, between the courts of France and England, in the same manner as Flanders had been divided with the Dutch in 1635. Thus projects, allies, and enemies, are perpetually changing, and great designs are frequently rendered vain and delusive. A rumour of the approaching enterprize began to be spread; but Europe listened to it in silence. The emperor being employed in quelling the seditions of Hungary, Sweden immersed in negotiations, and Spain being always weak, irresolute, and slow; a free and unlimited career was given to the ambition of Lewis XIV.

Holland, to complete its misfortune, was divided into two factions; one, of rigid republicans, to whom the least shadow of despotic power appeared a monster, contrary to the laws of humanity;

the other, of moderate republicans, who were for reinstating, in the posts of his ancestors, the young prince of Orange, who became afterwards so celebrated, under the name of William the Third. The grand pensionary John de Witt, and Cornelius his brother, were at the head of the rigid partisans of liberty; but the party of the young prince began to prevail: and the republic, being thus more engaged in its domestic dissensions, than attentive to its danger, contributed to its own ruin.

Lewis not only purchased the king of England, but also gained the elector of Cologne, and Vanghalen bishop of Munster, who thirsted for wars, was greedy of spoils, and was naturally an enemy to the Hollanders. Lewis had formerly assisted them against this bishop; but now he united with him for their destruction. Sweden, which had joined the Dutch in 1668. to put a stop to progresses which did not concern her, now, when they were menaced with ruin, abandoned them; and renewed her ancient alliance with France, in consideration of the usual subsidies.

It is singular, and deserves to be remarked, that, among all the enemies, which were going to fall upon this little state, there was not one who could allege any pretence for a war. The enterprize might, indeed, be justly compared to the league between Lewis XII. the emperor Maximilian, and the king of Spain, who had formerly planned the destruction of the Venetian republic; because it was rich and proud.

The states-general, in a great consternation, wrote to the king, humbly intreating his majesty to tell

them, whether the great preparations he was making were really destined against them, his ancient and faithful allies? wherein they had offended him? and what reparation he required? He replied, "That he should employ his troops in such a manner as his dignity might demand, which did not require him to give an account of it to any one." All the reason given by his minister was, that the Dutch gazette had been too insolent; and because Van-Beunning was said to have struck a medal, injurious to Lewis XIV. Van-Beunning's christened name was Joshua. A taste for mottos and devices prevailed at that time in France. The sun had been given as a device to Lewis XIV. with these words, *Nec pluribus impar*. It was said, that Van-Beunning had caused himself to be represented, with a sun, and these words for a motto, *In conspectu meo stetit sol: The sun stood still at my appearance*. But this medal never really existed. The states had, indeed, caused a medal to be struck, in which they had expressed all the glorious achievements of the republic: *Affertis legibus, emendatis sacris, adjutis, defensis, conciliatis regibus, vindicata marium libertate, stabilita orbis Europae quiete: The laws established, religion amended, kings succoured, defended, and reconciled, the liberty of the seas asserted, and the peace of Europe settled*.

In reality, they boasted of nothing which they had not done: nevertheless, they caused this medal to be destroyed, to appease Lewis XIV.

The king of England, on his side, reproached them with disrespect, because their fleet had not lowered its flag before an English ship: and they were also accused in regard to a certain picture,

wherein Cornelius de Witt, the brother of the pensionary, was painted with the attributes of a conqueror. Ships were represented, in the back ground of the piece, either taken or burnt. Cornelius de Witt, who had really had a great share in the maritime exploits against England, had permitted this trifling memorial of his glory: but the picture, which was in a manner unknown, was deposited in a chamber wherein scarce any body ever entered. The English ministers, who presented the complaints of their king against Holland, in writing, therein mentioned certain *abusive pictures*. The states, who always translated the memorials of ambassadors into French, having rendered *abusive*, by the word *fautifs*, *trompeurs*, they replied, that they did not know what these *rogueish pictures* (*ces tableaux trompeurs*) were. In reality, it never in the least entered into their thoughts, that it concerned this portrait of one of their citizens, nor did they ever conceive this could be a pretence for declaring war.

All that human prudence and ambition is capable of contriving for the destruction of a nation, was prepared by Lewis XIV. And we have no example, in all history, of such formidable preparations for so inconsiderable an enterprize: for, among all the conquerors who have subjected any part of the world, no one ever began his conquests with so many regular troops, nor so much money, as were employed by Lewis XIV. to subject this little state of the United provinces. Fifty millions, which makes ninety-seven millions of the present French money, were expended in the preparations. Thirty

ships of fifty guns joined the English fleet of an hundred sail. The king, with his brother, appeared upon the frontiers of Spanish Flanders and Holland, near Maestricht and Charleroy, at the head of upwards of one hundred and twelve thousand men. The bishop of Munster, and the elector of Cologne, had near twenty thousand. The generals of the king's army were Conde and Turenne; Luxembourg commanded under them: Vauban was to conduct the sieges. Louvois appeared in all places, with his usual vigilance. A finer, and, at the same time, a better disciplined army, had never been seen. In particular, the king's household troops, as newly reformed, made a most gallant appearance. They were composed of four troops of life-guards, each containing three hundred gentlemen; among whom there were many young *cadets*, without pay, subject, with the rest, to the regular duty of the service: two hundred light horse, two hundred gendarmes, five hundred musqueteers; all chosen gentlemen, in the flower of their youth; twelve companies of gendarmerie, which were afterwards augmented to sixteen; even the hundred Switzers accompanied the king, and his regiments of French and Switzers mounted guard before his house, or before his tent. These troops, which, in general, were covered with gold and silver, were, at once, an object both of terror and admiration, in the eyes of a people to whom magnificence of every kind was entirely unknown. A discipline, more strict than formerly, had introduced new order among the troops. There were, as yet, no inspectors of the cavalry and infantry, which we have since had. Two persons only were

appointed to do this service. Martinet, at that time, brought the infantry under the discipline in which it still continues: the chevalier de Fourilles did the same thing in the cavalry. Martinet, about a year before, had introduced the bayonet into some few regiments; before which time, it had never been used in a general and uniform manner. This last effort of military invention, which, perhaps, is the most terrible of all others, though known before, was but little practised; because the use of pikes, as yet, prevailed. He also modeled the construction of copper boats, which might be easily transported from one place to another, upon carriages, or upon mules. The king with all these advantages, being certain of the increase of his glory and power, carried with him an historian, to write a relation of his victories: this was Pclisson, whose genius enabled him to write well, but did not prevent him from flattering his hero. We shall say more of him in the article concerning the fine arts.

Against Turenne, Conde, Luxembourg, Vauban, an hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, a prodigious train of artillery, and plenty of money, with which attempts were made to corrupt the fidelity of the governors of the enemy's towns, all that Holland had to oppose was a young prince of a weak constitution, who had never seen a siege, nor a battle, and about twenty-five thousand bad soldiers, who constituted the whole guard of the country. Prince William of Orange, aged twenty-two years, had been elected captain-general of the land forces, by the almost unanimous voice of the nation: and John de Witt had consented to it

through necessity. The prince of Orange, under the phlegmatic disposition of a Dutchman, had a strong ambition, and an ardent thirst of glory, which afterwards appeared upon all occasions in his conduct, but never in his conversation. His temper was cold and severe, though his parts were quick, active, and penetrating: his courage, which was undaunted, made his body, which was weak and languishing, support fatigues that were superior to his strength. He was courageous without ostentation, ambitious without pride, born with a phlegmatic obstinacy proper to combat adversity, fond of business and war, unacquainted with the pleasures attendant upon greatness, or even those annexed to humanity; and, in short, almost in every thing, the reverse of Lewis XIV.

He was at first unable to make any opposition to the torrent which burst in upon his country; his forces were too inconsiderable, and even his power limited by the states. The French army fell suddenly upon Holland, which none would succour. The imprudent duke of Lorrain, who attempted to raise forces, and join his fortunes to those of this republic, beheld the whole province of Lorrain seized by the French troops, with the same facility that Avignon is seized, when the French are at variance with the pope.

In the mean time, the king caused his troops to advance towards the Rhine, in those provinces which border upon Holland, Cologne, and Flanders. He distributed money in all the villages, to repair the damages which might be done by his troops: and if any gentleman of the neighbourhood came to make complaints, he was sure to receive a present. A per-

son being sent from the governor of the Low Countries, to make complaints concerning some disorders committed by the troops, the king, with his own hands, gave him his portrait, enriched with diamonds, valued at more than twelve thousand franks. Such a behaviour drew upon him the admiration of the people, and increased the dread of his power.

The king was at the head of his household troops, and others which were esteemed the choicest of his forces, to the number of thirty thousand men; which Turenne commanded under him. The prince of Conde had the command of another army as strong as this. The other troops, sometimes commanded by Luxembourg, and sometimes by Chamilli, were to compose separate armies, as occasion might require, or to join these, if necessary. The operations were commenced by the siege of four towns at once, whose names, were it not upon this occasion, would not deserve to be mentioned in history: these towns were Rhinberg, Orsoi, Wesel, and Burick; and they were taken almost as soon as invested. Rhinberg, which the king intended to besiege in person, did not wait the firing of a single cannon; for, to be the more certain of taking it, the lieutenant of the place, who was an Irishman, named Dossary, had been corrupted; and, after being guilty of the baseness to sell himself, had the imprudence to retire to Maestricht, where the prince of Orange punished him with death.

All those towns, which bordered upon the Rhine and the Issel, surrendered. Some of the governors sent their keys, upon a distant appearance only of one or two squadrons of French troops; several officers fled out of the towns in which they were in

garison, even before the enemy appeared; and the consternation was general. The prince of Orange had not troops sufficient to appear in the field. All Holland expected to be subdued, as soon as the king should have passed the Rhine. The prince of Orange, in haste, caused lines to be drawn on the other side of that river; and, after they were finished, perceived the impossibility of keeping them. All, therefore, they now wanted to know, was, where the French would form their bridge of boats, in order, if possible to prevent their passage. The king's real design was to pass the river over a bridge composed of those little copper boats invented by Martinet. Some of the people of the country, upon this occasion, told the prince of Conde, that the dryness of the season had rendered a branch of the Rhine fordable, opposite to an old tower, which was used as a kind of custom or toll-house, and was called by the Dutch *toll-huis*. The king ordered the place to be sounded by the count de Guiche. According to Pelisson's letters, who was an eye-witness; it was found there were not more than forty or fifty paces in the middle of the river, in this part, that required swimming. This was considered as nothing, because the horse would interrupt the current, which, besides, was far from being rapid. The passage therefore was easy, and, on the other side, there were only four or five hundred cavalry, and two weak regiments of infantry, without any cannon. The French artillery fired upon these forces in flank, while the king's household troops, and the best of the cavalry, crossed without any danger, to the number of about fifteen thousand. The prince of Conde appeared by the side of them,

during the passage, in one of the copper boats. The Dutch cavalry, having scarce made a faint attempt to oppose, instantly fled before the multitude which was coming after them. Their infantry, also laid down their arms, and begged for quarter. No lives were lost in the passage, except some of the cavalry, who, having intoxicated themselves with drinking, did not take care to keep in the fordable part; and not a single person would have been killed, had it not been for the imprudence of the young duke de Longueville (c). It is said, that, his head being filled with the fumes of wine, he fired a pistol upon those of the enemy, who begged their lives upon their knees, crying out to them, *No quarters to such scoundrels*. The shot killed one of their officers; upon which the Dutch infantry, in despair, instantly retook to their arms, and made a discharge, by which the duke de Longueville was killed. A captain of horse, named Ossembrouk, who had not fled with the others, ran up to the prince of Conde, who, having crossed the river, was then mounting his horse, and clapped his pistol to his head. The prince, by a sudden movement, changed the direction of the shot, which wounded him in the wrist; and this was the only wound the prince of Conde ever received in all his campaigns. The French, being enraged at this, put all the infantry to the sword which had taken to flight. Lewis XIV. passed the river with his army upon a bridge of boats.

Such was this peculiar and extraordinary passage of the Rhine, which was celebrated then as one of those great actions which must for ever remain me-

(c) June 12. 1672.

morale to mankind. That air of grandeur with which the king dignified all his actions, the rapidness of his conquests, the splendor of his reign, the adoration of his courtiers, and, finally, the disposition which the people, and more especially the Parisians, have to exaggeration, joined to that ignorance of war which is universal in great cities, made this passage of the Rhine be regarded at Paris as a prodigy. The notion of it, which generally prevailed, was, that all the forces had passed this river by swimming, in presence of an army which was intrenched on the other side, and amidst the fire of artillery from an impregnable fortress called the *Tholus*. It is certain, this passage was regarded by the enemy as almost impossible; and, indeed, if they had had a strong body of good troops on the other side, the attempt might have been very dangerous.

As soon as the troops had passed the Rhine, they took Doelbourg, Zutphen, Arnheim, Norembourg, Nimegen, Skenk, Bommel, Crevecoeur, etc. and there were but few hours in the day wherein the king did not receive an account of some conquest. An officer, named Mazel, made this request to Turenne: "If you will send me about fifty horse, I can with them take two or three towns."

Utrecht sent its keys, and capitulated, together with all the province which bears its name. Lewis made his triumphal entry into that city, being attended by his grand almoner, his confessor, and the titular bishop of Utrecht. The great church was given up to the Catholics with great solemnity; and the bishop, who had only possessed the vain

and empty title, was, for some time, established in a real dignity. The religion of Lewis XIV. made conquests as well as his arms; by which, in the opinion of the Catholics, he gained a right to Holland.

The provinces of Utrecht, Overissel, and Guilders, were subjected; and Amsterdam expected the moment of its slavery or ruin was at hand. The Jews, established in it, were earnest in offering to Gourville, the intendant and friend of the prince of Conde, two millions of florins, to secure themselves from being plundered.

Naerden, in the neighbourhood of Amsterdam, was already taken. Four only of the cavalry, who went out a marauding, advanced as far as the gates of Muiden, where the sluices are, which may be opened to drown the country, and which is only one league from Amsterdam. The magistrates of Muiden, being under the greatest dread and consternation, came and presented their keys to these four soldiers; but, at last, observing the rest of the troops did not come up, they took back their keys, and shut their gates. A moment's diligence would have put the king in possession of Amsterdam: and this capital being once taken, not only the republic would have perished, but the nation of Holland would no more have existed, and even the land itself would soon have disappeared. The richest families, and those who were most desirous of liberty, prepared to embark for Batavia, and fly even to the extremities of the world. The ships capable to make this voyage were numbered, and a calculation made of how many they could imbarck; and it was found,

that fifty thousand families might take refuge in their new country. The Dutch would no longer have existed but in the most distant part of the East-Indies; and these European provinces which subsist only by their Asian riches, their commerce, and, if a Frenchman may say so, by their liberty, would, on a sudden, have been ruined and depopulated. Amsterdam, which is the warehouse and the magazine of Europe, wherein commerce and the arts are cultivated by three hundred thousand men, would presently have become only one vast lake. All the adjacent lands require immense expence, and many thousands of men, to raise and maintain their banks: and they would probably at once have wanted the support both of men and money, and would at last have been overwhelmed by the sea, leaving Lewis XIV. only the wretched glory of having destroyed one of the finest and most extraordinary monuments of human industry.

The distresses of the state were increased by the divisions which commonly arise among unhappy people, who endeavour to cast the blame of public calamities upon one another. The grand pensionary de Witt thought the remainder of his country could be saved only by begging peace of the conqueror. De Witt, being both a strong republican, and jealous of his own particular authority, was always more afraid of the prince of Orange's elevation than of the conquests of the king of France: he had even made this prince swear to observe a perpetual edict, by which he was excluded from the dignity of stadtholder. The spirit of party, honour, interest and authority, all excited de Witt to take care, that this oath was observed; and he

therefore rather chose to see his republic subjected by a victorious king, than under the dominion of a stadtholder.

On the other side, the prince of Orange, being as much attached to his country, more ambitious than de Witt, more patient under the public calamities, and hoping every thing from time, and the obstinacy of his perseverance, was ardent in his endeavours to prevent a peace, and to obtain the stadtholdership. And though the states resolved to sue for peace in spite of the prince, yet the prince was elevated to the dignity of stadtholder in spite of the de Witts.

Four deputies came to the king's camp, to implore his clemency in the name of a republic, which, six months before, had thought itself the arbitrator between kings. The deputies were not received by the ministers of Lewis XIV. with that politeness so peculiar to the French, who, even in the severity of government, retain their civility and complaisance. Louvois, who was proud and morose, and more capable to serve his master well, than to render him beloved, received these suppliants with haughtiness, and even with the insult of railery. They were made to return several different times: but at last the king ordered his determination to be declared to them; which was, that the states should give up to him all they possessed on the other side of the Rhine, comprehending Nimigen, together with several other towns and forts in the heart of their territories: that they should pay him twenty millions: that the French should be masters of all the great roads of Holland both by land and

water, without paying toll: that the Catholic religion should be every-where restored: that the republic should every-year send an ambassador extraordinary to France with a gold medal, whereon should be engraved an acknowledgement, that they held their liberties of Lewis XIV. and, finally, that they should also make satisfaction to the king of England, and the princes of the empire, particularly those of Cologne and Munster, by whom Holland still continued to be ravaged.

These conditions of a peace, which approached so near to slavery, appeared intolerable; and the rigour of the conqueror inspired the vanquished with a desperate courage. The Dutch resolved to die in defence of their liberty. The hearts and the hopes of the nation were all turned upon the prince of Orange. The people became enraged against the grand pensionary, who had sued for peace; and their seditious fury soon joined the designs and animosity of the prince's party. An attempt was immediately made against the life of the grand pensionary John de Witt; and Cornelius his brother, being afterwards accused of an attempt against the prince's life, was put to the rack; and, in his torments, recited the first lines of this ode of Horace, *Iustum & tenacem*; which was applicable to the condition he was then in, and to his courage; and which, for the sake of those who do not understand Latin, is thus translated:

*The man, in conscious virtue bold,
Who dares his secret purpose hold,
Unshaken hears the croud's tumultuous cries,
And the impetuous tyrant's angry brow defies.*

FRANCIS'S HORACE.

At last, (*d*) the unruly populace massacred the two brothers in the Hague: one of whom had governed the state for nineteen years with great integrity, and the other signally served it with his sword. All those violences were committed upon their bleeding bodies, of which the fury of an enraged multitude is capable. Such horrid actions are common to all nations; and the French, in particular, have been guilty of them, in regard to the marshal d'Encre, the admiral Coligny, etc. for the populace is nearly the same in all places. The friends of the pensionary were also pursued; and even Ruyter himself, the admiral of the republic, who was the only one that then fought for her with success, beheld himself surrounded with assassins in the city of Amsterdam.

In the midst of these disorders and devastations, the magistrates manifested virtues, which are seldom seen but in republics. Those of the inhabitants, who were possessed of bank-notes, ran in crowds to the bank of Amsterdam; and it was apprehended they would lay violent hands upon the public treasure. Every one was eager to get his money out of the little which it was supposed there still remained. The magistrates opened the cellars where this treasure was deposited; and it was found entire, just as it had been deposited sixty years before: and the silver was even still black from the effects of the fire, by which the stadthouse had been consumed long before. The bank-notes, till now, had constantly been negotiated, and this treasure never touched. But now, those, who insisted upon

(*d*) August 20. 1672.

having their money, were paid out of it. Such distinguished good faith, and such great resources, were then so much the more admirable, as Charles the second, king of England, to defray the expences of his pleasures, and his war against the Dutch, not being satisfied with the money he got from France, had, just at that time, become a bankrupt to his subjects. And it was as dishonourable to this king, thus to violate the public faith, as it was glorious in the magistrates of Amsterdam to preserve it, at a time when a failure might have appeared pardonable.

To this republican virtue they joined that courage of mind, which, for redress in irremediable misfortunes, flies to extremes. They caused the banks, which kept out the sea, to be cut; and the country-houses, which are innumerable about Amsterdam, the villages, and the neighbouring towns, such as Leyden and Delft, were laid under water. The country-people did not repine at seeing their herds of cattle drowned in the fields. Amsterdam appeared like a vast fortress in the midst of the sea, surrounded with ships of war, which had depth of water sufficient to make them be stationed round the city. There was the greatest scarcity among the inhabitants; especially of fresh water, which was sold for six-pence a pint: but they considered these necessities as more tolerable than slavery. It is worthy the observation of posterity, that Holland, when thus overwhelmed on land, and, as it were, no longer a state, yet continued formidable at sea; which, indeed, is the true element of this people.

While Lewis XIV. crossed the Rhine, and sub-

jected three provinces; admiral Ruyter, with about an hundred ships of war, and more than fifty fire-ships, went upon the coasts of England, in search of the fleet of the two kings; whose united force had not been able to put to sea a naval armament superior to that of the republic. The English and Dutch fought like nations accustomed to dispute the empire of the ocean. The battle, called the Solbay, lasted one intire day (*e*). Ruyter, who first gave the signal, attacked the ship of the English admiral, in which was the duke of York, the king's brother. The victory, in the engagement between these two admirals, was gained by Ruyter. The duke of York, being obliged to change his ship, did not again appear before the admiral of Holland. The thirty French ships had very little share in the action; and the consequence of this engagement was, that the coasts of Holland were rendered secure.

After this, Ruyter, notwithstanding the fears, and the opposition of his countrymen, brought the fleet of India merchantmen into the Texel; and thus, on one side, defended and enriched his country, while, on the other, it was destroyed. The Dutch even continued their commerce; and no flags but theirs were seen in the Indian seas. A consul of France one day telling the king of Persia, that Lewis XIV. had conquered almost all Holland; *How can that be?* replied the Persian monarch; *since for one French ship in the port of Ormus, there are always twenty Dutch.*

The prince of Orange, in the mean time, had the ambition of shewing himself a good citizen.

He offered the state the revenue of his posts, and his whole fortune for the defence of liberty. He covered with inundations all those passages through which the French might penetrate into the rest of the country. By the quickness and secrecy of his negotiations he roused the emperor, the empire, the council of Spain, and the governor of Flanders, from their lethargy; and even disposed England towards peace. To conclude, the king had entered Holland in the month of May, and, in July, all Europe began to conspire against him.

Monteroy, governor of Flanders, secretly caused some regiments to march to the relief of the United provinces. The council of the emperor Leopold sent Montecuculi, at the head of near twenty thousand men; and the elector of Brandenburg, who had twenty-five thousand soldiers in his pay, marched with them under his command.

As no more conquests could be made in a country overwhelmed with water, the king now quitted his army (*f*). The preservation of the conquered provinces was difficult, and Lewis was for keeping a certain glory. Satisfied with having taken so many towns in two months, he returned to St. Germain in the midst of summer; and leaving Turenne and Luxembourg to complete the war, he enjoyed the glory of his triumph. Monuments of his conquests were erected, while the powers of Europe were labouring to deprive him of them.

(*f*) July 1672.

CHAPTER X.

The evacuation of Holland; and the second conquest of Franche-Comte.

WE think it necessary here to remind those who may read this work, that it is not merely a narrative of campaigns, but rather an history of the manners of men. There are books enough which contain all the minute particulars of martial exploits, and relations of human madness and misery. The design of this essay is to paint the principal characters in these revolutions, and to exclude the multitude of little facts, in order to shew only those which are considerable, and (if that can be done) the spirit by which they are conducted.

France was then at the height of its glory. The name of its generals imprinted veneration. Its ministers were regarded as geniuses superior to the counsellors of other princes; and Lewis seemed to be the sole king in Europe. In reality, the emperor Leopold never appeared personally in his armies. Charles II. king of Spain, son of Philip IV. was as yet in his infancy; and the king of England never shewed any activity but in his pleasures.

All these princes, and their ministers, were guilty of great faults. England acted contrary to the true maxims of state-policy, in uniting with France

for the elevation of a power, which it was rather her interest to humble.

The emperor, the empire, and the council of Spain, were yet more to blame, in not immediately opposing the torrent. But, however, Lewis XIV. was guilty of an error as great as all theirs, in not pursuing such easy conquests with sufficient rapidity. Conde and Turenne were for demolishing most of the Dutch towns; saying, that states were not subjected by garisons, but by armies; and that having preserved only one or two places for a retreat, the troops ought to march with the utmost rapidity, to complete the conquest. Louvois, on the contrary, was every-where for having fortifications and garisons. This was his humour; and it was also the king's. Louvois, by this means, had more employments in his gift, extended the power of his ministry, and took a pleasure in acting contrary to the opinions of the two greatest generals of the age. Lewis confided in him, and was deceived, as he afterwards confessed. He neglected the opportunity he had to enter the capital of Holland; weakened his army by distributing it into too many places; and gave his enemy time to take breath. The history of the greatest princes is frequently a relation of the universal faults of mankind.

After the king's departure, affairs began to put on a different aspect. Turenne was forced to march towards Westphalia, to oppose the Imperialists. Monterey, the governor of Flanders, without being authorized by the timid council of Spain, reinforced the prince of Orange's little army with about ten thousand men; which enabled this prince to resist the French till winter, and in a great measure to

balance the scale of fortune. Winter at last arrived, and the inundations of Holland were covered with ice. And now Luxembourg, who commanded in Utrecht, carried on a new kind of war, unknown to the French, and endangered Holland in as terrible a manner as before.

He, one night, assembled near twelve thousand foot soldiers from the neighbouring garisons, for whom skaits had been prepared; and, putting himself, at their head, he skaited with them over the ice towards Leyden and the Hague: but a thaw coming on, it preserved the Hague; and his army, being surrounded with water, unable to get off the ice, and destitute of provisions, was ready to perish. In order to get back to Utrecht, they were forced to march upon a narrow and muddy bank, which could scarce admit four to walk in front. Neither could they get at this bank but by attacking a fort, which, without artillery, seemed impregnable. Had this fort stopped the army only a single day, it would have been almost destroyed with hunger and fatigue. Luxembourg was without resource; but fortune, which had saved the Hague, saved his army by the cowardice of the commander of this fort, who abandoned his post without any reason. A thousand things are done in war, as well as in common life, which are incomprehensible: and this was certainly of the number. All the fruit of this enterprize was a cruelty which rendered the French completely odious in this country. Bodegrave and Swamerdam, two rich and populous towns, which might be compared to many of our cities of the middle kind, were abandoned to be plundered by the soldiers, as a reward for

their fatigues. They set these two towns on fire; and, by the light of the flames, committed all kinds of cruelty and debauchery. It is astonishing, that the French soldiers should shew themselves so barbarous, being commanded by a prodigious number of officers, who had very justly acquired the reputation of being truly courageous and humane. The excesses they committed were so exaggerated by the inhabitants, that I have seen Dutch books, above forty years afterwards, wherein children were learned to read, containing a relation of this action, and drawn up with a design to inspire succeeding generations with hatred and detestation of the French.

(a) In the mean time, the king, by his negotiations, influenced the councils of all the European princes. He gained the duke of Hanover. The elector of Brandenburg, in the beginning of the war, concluded a treaty; but it was soon after broken. There were none of the German courts wherein Lewis had not his pensioners. His emissaries in Hungary fomented the troubles of that province; which was severely treated by the council of Vienna. Money was lavished upon the king of England, to engage him to continue the war against Holland, notwithstanding the universal exclamations of the English nation, which was filled with indignation at being made to serve the ambition of Lewis XIV. which on the contrary it wanted to curb. The repose of Europe was disturbed by the arms and negotiations of Lewis; and, at last, he could not prevent the emperor, the empire, and Spain, from joining the Dutch, and solemnly declaring war against him. He had changed the course of affairs

so intirely, that the Dutch, who were his natural allies, were become the friends of Spain. The emperor Leopold sent tardy succours; but he shewed great animosity. It is said, that when he went to see the troops at Egra, which he had caused to be assembled there, he received the communion upon the road, and immediately after took a crucifix in his hand, and called upon God to bear witness to the justice of his cause. There might have been propriety in such an action in the time of the croisades: but Leopold's prayer did not now prevent the progress of the king of France's arms.

It immediately appeared how greatly his marine was improved. Instead of thirty ships, which had been joined the year before to the English fleet, now forty were joined, without including the fire-ships. The officers had learned the excellent rules of fighting practised by the English, by which they had combated those of their enemies the Dutch. The duke of York, afterwards James the second, was the first who invented the art of giving orders at sea, by means of the various movements of flags. Before that time, the French did not know how to draw up a fleet in order of battle. The whole of their experience consisted in fighting one ship against another: they were unskilled to make many move in concert, and imitate at sea the evolutions of land-armies, whose several divisions mutually succour and support each other. They did what the Romans had done before them, who, in one year's time, learned of the Carthaginians the art of naval combats, and equalled their masters.

The vice-admiral d'Etrees, and Martel his lieu-

tenant, did honour to the military industry of the French nation, in three successive naval engagements, which happened in the month of June between the Dutch fleet and that of France and England (*b*). Admiral Ruyter was more admired than ever in these three actions. D'Etrees, in his letter to Colbert, had these words: "I would have lost my life to have obtained the glory which Ruyter has acquired." And d'Etrees deserved to be thus spoken of by Ruyter. The courage and conduct on both sides were so equal, that the victory always remained undecided.

Lewis, who, by the endeavours of Colbert, made his people seamen, by the industry of Vauban, rendered the art of war by land still more perfect. He went in person to besiege Maestricht, at the same time when these three naval engagements happened at sea. Maestricht was to him a key to the Low Countries, and the United Provinces. The place was strong, and defended by an intrepid governor, named Farjaux, who was a Frenchman, and had entered into the service of Spain, and afterwards into that of Holland. The garison was composed of five thousand men. Vauban, who conducted the siege, for the first time used those parallels, invented by the Italian engineers in the service of the Turks at the siege of Candy: and he added to them the places of arms, which are made in the trenches, to draw up the troops in order of battle, and the better to rally them, in case of sallies from the besieged. Lewis, in this siege, shewed himself more exact and laborious than he had been before. By his example he

(*b*) The 7. 14. and 21. of June 1673.

inured his troops, till then accused of a hasty courage, which was soon dissipated by fatigue, to patience in labour. Maestricht surrendered at the end of eight days (*c*).

He shewed a severity which appeared even too great, in order to strengthen and improve his military discipline. The prince of Orange, who, to oppose his rapid conquests, had only officers without emulation, and soldiers without courage, made them better by the rigour of his punishments; for he caused all those who abandoned their posts to be hanged. The king also used chastisements. A very brave officer, named Dupas, surrendered Naerdin to the prince of Orange, which was the first time the king lost a town (*d*). Indeed, the prince kept it only four days; but the king did not regain it till after an engagement which lasted five hours; which was fought to avoid a general assault upon bad fortifications, which a weak and fatigued garison would not have been able to sustain. The king, being incensed at the first affront which his arms had received, condemned Dupas to be led through Utrecht, with a shovel in his hand, and his sword to be broken. This was an ignominy, which, perhaps, is unnecessary with regard to the French officers, who are sensible enough of glory, not to be governed by the fear of shame. The governors of fortified towns are indeed obliged, by their rules, to sustain three assaults; but this is of the number of those laws which are seldom observed.

The endeavours of the king, the genius of Vau-

(*c*) June 24. 1673.

(*d*) Sept. 14. 1673.

ban, the strict vigilance of Louvois, the experience and the great skill of Turenne, and the intrepid activity of the prince of Conde, could not all repair the error which had been committed in keeping too many towns, weakening the army, and neglecting the opportunity of entering Amsterdam.

The prince of Conde in vain endeavoured to penetrate into the heart of Holland, when overwhelmed with waters. Turenne could neither prevent the junction of Montecuculi and the prince of Orange, nor hinder the prince of Orange from taking Bonn. The bishop of Munster, who had sworn the destruction of the States general, was himself attacked by the Dutch (*e*).

The parliament of England forced its king to enter seriously into negotiations of peace, and cease to be the mercenary instrument of the grandeur of France. And now it became necessary to abandon the three provinces of Holland, with as much expedition as they had been conquered. But this, however, was not done without their being ransomed. The intendant Robert drew out of the single province of Utrecht sixteen hundred and sixty-eight thousand florins in one year. The French were in such a hurry to evacuate the country which they had taken with such rapidity, that twenty-eight thousand Dutch prisoners were released at a crown a man. The triumphal arch of the gate of St. Denis, and the other monuments of these conquests, were scarce finished, when the conquests themselves were abandoned. The Hollanders, in the course of this invasion, had the glory to dispute the empire of the sea, and the address to transport the theatre of the

(*e*) Nov. 1673.

war by land out of their own country. Lewis XIV. was regarded, in Europe, as having been too precipitate and presumptuous in the splendor of his transitory triumph. The fruits of this enterprizé were a bloody war to maintain against Spain, the Empire, and Holland, united; the being abandoned by England, and at last by Munster, and even Cologne; and the leaving more hatred than admiration of him, in those territories, the conquest of which he was forced to relinquish.

The king alone sustained the efforts of all the enemies which he had raised against himself. His power, and the wisdom of his government, were yet more conspicuous, when it became necessary for him to defend himself against so many united powers, and the greatest generals, than when he had forced French Flanders, Franche-Comte, and one half of Holland, out of the hands of defenceless enemies.

The advantage which an absolute monarch, whose finances are well managed, has over other kings, was more particularly remarkable: he, at one and the same time, caused an army of about twenty-three thousand men, to march, under Turenne, against the Imperialists; and another of forty thousand, under Conde, against the prince of Orange: a considerable body of troops was also assembled upon the frontiers of Roussillon; and a fleet, filled with soldiers, was sent to carry the war against the Spaniards, even as far as Messina. He marched himself a second time to make himself master of Franche-Comte; and he every-where defended himself, and attacked others at the same time.

In this enterprize upon Franche-Comte, the superiority of his government appeared. It was necessary for him to gain to his interest, or at least to render neuter, the Switzers; a people who are as formidable as they are poor, who are always armed, jealous to the last degree of their liberty, invincible upon their own frontiers, and who had begun already to take umbrage at seeing Lewis XIV. again in their neighbourhood. The emperor and Spain solicited the thirteen cantons to grant, at least, a free passage to their troops, for the relief of Franche-Comte; which, through the negligence of the Spanish ministry, had been left without defence. The king, on his side, pressed the Switzers to refuse this passage. But the Empire and Spain using nothing more than arguments and entreaties, the king with a million of money paid down, and a promise of six hundred thousand livres, determined the Switzers to do as he desired; and the passage was refused. Lewis, accompanied by his brother, and the son of the great Conde, besieged Besancon. The king loved sieges, understood them perfectly well, and therefore committed the care of the army in the field to Conde and Turenne. But, indeed, he never besieged a town without being morally certain to take it. Louvois prepared all things so effectually, the troops were so well furnished, and Vauban, who conducted almost all the sieges, was so great a master in the art of taking towns, that the king's glory was in perfect security. Vauban directed the attacks at Besancon, which was taken in nine days (*f*); and, at the end of six weeks, all Franche-Comte was subjected to the

(*f*) May 15. 1674.

king: after which it hath continued under the dominion of France, seems to be for ever annexed to it, and remains as a monument of the weakness of the Austrian-Spanish ministry, and the strength of that of Lewis XIV.

CHAPTER XI.

The fine campaign, and death of Marshal de Turenne.

WHILE the king made a rapid conquest of Franche-Comte, with that facility and éclat which still attended upon his fortune; Turenne, who only defended the frontiers on the side of the Rhine, displayed every thing that is greatest, and most consummate, in the art of war. Men shew their abilities by the difficulties they surmount; and it was this which gained Turenne so high a reputation in this campaign.

He, at first, made a long and rapid march, passed the Rhine at Philippsbourg (*a*), marched all night to Sintzheim, forced that place, and, at the same time, attacked and defeated Caprara, the emperor's general, and the old duke of Lorraine, Charles IV. who had spent all his life in losing his territories, and raising troops, and who had lately united his little army with part of the emperor's. Turenne, after having defeated him, pursued him, and again defeated his cavalry at Ladimbourg (*b*); from whence he hastened to the prince de Bournonville,

(*a*) June 1674.

(*b*) July 1674.

another general of the Imperialists, who only waited for fresh troops to open himself a passage into Alsace. Turenne prevented the junction of these troops, attacked Bournonville, and forced him to quit the field of battle (*c*).

The empire assembled all its forces against him: seventy thousand Germans entered Alsace, where they besieged Brissac and Philipsbourg. Turenne had not more than twenty thousand effective men at most. The prince of Conde sent him a small body of cavalry from Flanders; after which he traversed vast mountains covered with snow, and, on a sudden, appeared in upper Alsace, in the midst of the enemy's quarters, who imagined he was quiet in Lorraine, and thought the campaign was at an end. He defeated those troops which opposed him at Mulhausen (*d*), and took two thousand prisoners. He then marched to Colmar, where the elector of Brandenburg, who was called the grand elector, and was then general of the Imperial armies, had his quarters. He arrived just at the time when this prince and the other generals were sitting down to table; so that they had only just time to escape, and the field became covered with fugitives.

Turenne, who thought he had done nothing, so long as there remained any thing to do, posted himself near Turkheim (*e*), in order to attack a part of the enemy's infantry. The advantageous situation of the post which he had chosen rendered his victory certain: he defeated this infantry; and, at last, this whole army of seventy thousand men was vanquished and dispersed even without any considerable engagement. Alsace remained to the king,

(*c*) October 1674. (*d*) Dec. 1674. (*e*) Jan. 5. 1675

and the Imperial generals were compelled to repass the Rhine.

All these successive actions, pursued with such perseverance, conducted with so much art, and executed with so great expedition, were equally admired by the French and the enemy. The glory of Turenne was even increased, when it was known, that every thing he had done, in this campaign, had been against the will of the court, and contrary to the repeated orders sent by Louvois in the king's name. To resist the all-powerful Louvois, and be answerable for the consequence, notwithstanding the exclamations of the court, the orders of the king, and the hatred of the minister, was not the least instance of the courage of Turenne, nor the least exploit of the campaign.

It must be confessed, that those, whose humanity was superior to their esteem of military exploits, lamented the glory of this campaign. It was celebrated as much through the miseries of the people, as the expeditions of Turenne. After the battle of Sintzheim, he put the Palatinate, which was a fine and fertile country, full of populous towns and villages, to fire and sword. The elector Palatine, from the top of his castle at Manheim, beheld two towns, and five-and-twenty villages in flames; a spectacle which at once excited in him both rage and despair, and made him challenge Turenne to single combat, by a letter which he sent to him, filled with reproaches. Turenne having sent this letter to the king, who commanded him not to accept the challenge, he answered the elector's complaints and defiance, only by a vague and insignificant compliment. It was the stile and manner of

Turenne always to express himself with moderation and ambiguity.

He, with the same indifference, destroyed the ovens, and laid waste part of the country of Alsace, to prevent the enemy from subsisting. He afterwards permitted his cavalry to ravage Lorraine, where they committed such disorders, that the intendant, who, on his side, ruined Lorraine with his pen, frequently wrote and sent to him to put a stop to these excesses. Turenne always coldly replied; *I will send him an answer at a proper time.* He rather chose to be called the father of the soldiers, who were entrusted to him, than of the people; who, according to the laws of war, are always sacrificed to them. All the mischief done by him appeared necessary: his glory covered every thing: and, besides, the seventy thousand Germans, which he had prevented from penetrating into France, would have committed a great deal more mischief there than he had done in Alsace, Lorraine, and the Palatinate.

The prince of Conde, on his side, fought a battle in Flanders, which was much more bloody than all these actions of the viscount de Turenne, but was less successful, and less decisive; either because the situation of the places was less favourable to him, or because he had not taken his measures so well; or rather, because he had abler generals, and better troops, to oppose. This battle was that of Senef. The marquis de Feuquieres is for having it called only a combat; because the action was not between two armies regularly drawn up, and because all the corps did not act. Nevertheless, people are unanimous in calling this sharp and bloody action a *battle*.

An engagement between three thousand men, regularly drawn up, all the little corps of which should act, would be only a combat. It is the importance of an action which always determines its name.

The prince of Conde was to keep the field with about forty-five thousand men, against the prince of Orange, who had sixty thousand. He waited for the enemy's army to pass a defile at Senef, near Mons; attacked part of the rear, composed of Spaniards; and gained a great advantage. The prince of Orange was blamed for not having taken a sufficient precaution in the passage of the defile; but the manner in which he remedied the disorder was admired; and Conde was blamed for renewing the combat afterwards, against enemies who were too securely intrenched. The engagement was renewed three several times. The two generals, in this confusion of errors, and great actions, equally signalized their courage, and their presence of mind. Of all the battles fought by the great Conde, he exposed his own life and the lives of his soldiers more upon this occasion than any other. He had three horses killed under him; and was desirous, after three bloody attacks, to hazard a fourth. It seemed, says an officer who was present, as if the prince of Conde alone was desirous of fighting. What is most extraordinary in this action is, that the troops on both sides after the bloodiest and most obstinate contests, being seized with a panic terror, took to flight in the night; and the next day the two armies retired, each on its own side, neither of them having gained the field of battle, or the victory, and both equally weakened and vanquished. There were near seven thousand killed, and five thousand taken pri-

soners, on the side of the French; and the loss of the enemy was nearly the same. So much bloodshed, without any advantage, prevented both armies from undertaking any thing considerable: yet it was of such consequence for the prince of Orange, to give reputation to his arms, that, to make it believed he had gained the victory, he besieged Oudenarde: but the prince of Conde proved he had not lost the battle, by causing the siege to be immediately raised, and by pursuing the prince of Orange.

Both France and the allies, upon this occasion, observed the vain ceremony of thanksgiving to heaven for a victory which neither of them had obtained. This practice has been introduced, to encourage the people, whom it is always necessary to deceive.

Turenne, in Germany, with a small army, continued those progresses which were the effect of his genius. The council of Vienna, no longer daring to trust the fortune of the empire to princes who had but ill defended it, again placed, at the head of its armies, Montecuculi, who had defeated the Turks in the battle of St. Gothard; and who, in spite of Turenne and Conde, had joined the prince of Orange, and stopped the successes of Lewis XIV. after his conquest of three provinces of Holland.

It has been remarked, that the greatest generals of the empire have frequently been Italians. Italy, in its declension and slavery, still produces men, who frequently revive the remembrance of what she was of old. Montecuculi was the only man worthy to be opposed against Turenne. They had both reduced war into an art. They spent four months in following and observing each other in their marches

and encampments; which were more applauded than victories both by the officers of France and the Empire. Each of them penetrated the other's designs, by what he would himself have done in the same situation; and they were never deceived. They opposed each other with patience, stratagem, and activity; and were at last upon the point of coming to an engagement and staking their reputations upon the hazard of a battle, near the village of Saltzbach; when Turenne, in going to choose a place whereon to erect a battery, was killed by a cannon-shot (*f*). No one is ignorant of the circumstances of his death: but we cannot here refrain a review of the principal of them, for the same reason that they are still talked of every day. It seems as if one could not too often repeat, that the same bullet which killed him, having shot off the arm of Saint Hilaire, lieutenant-general of the artillery, his son came and bewailed his misfortune with many tears: but the father looking towards Turenne, said; *It is not I, but that great man who should be lamented.* These words may be compared with the most heroic sayings recorded in all history; and are the best eulogy that could be bestowed upon Turenne. It is uncommon under a despotic government, where people are actuated only by their private interests, for those who have served their country, to die regretted by the public. Nevertheless, Turenne was lamented both by the soldiers and people; and Louvois was the only one who rejoiced at his death. The honours which the king ordered to be paid to his memory, are known to every one; and that he was interred

(*f*) July 27. 1675.

at Saint Denis, in the same manner as the constable du Guesclin, above whom he was elevated by the voice of the public, as much as the age of Turenne was superior to the age of the constable.

Turenne had not always been successful in his wars: he had been defeated at Mariendal, Retel, and Cambray: he had also committed errors, and was himself so great a man as to confess them. He never made great and celebrated conquests, nor ever gained those great and important victories, by which nations are subjected: but having always repaired his defeats, and done a great deal with a little, he was regarded as the greatest general in Europe, at a time when the art of war was more studied and better understood than ever. Moreover, though he was reproached for his infidelity in the wars of the Fronde; though at the age of near sixty years, love made him reveal the secrets of the state; and though he had exercised cruelties in the Palatinate, which did not appear necessary; yet he had always the happiness to preserve the reputation of an honest, wise, and moderate man; because his virtues, and his great abilities, which were peculiar to himself, made those errors and weaknesses pardonable in him, which he had in common with the rest of mankind. If he could be compared to any one, we presume, that, among all the generals of preceding ages, Gonzalvo de Cordova, surnamed the great general, is the man whom he most resembled.

He was born a Calvinist, and changed that religion for the catholic, in 1668. no protestant, or even no philosopher imagined, that persuasion alone had made that change in a warrior, or in a politician

of fifty years of age, who, at that very time, had his mistresses. It was well known that Lewis XIV. on making him marshal-general of his armies, used this expression mentioned in the letters of Pellisson and elsewhere; *I wish you would oblige me to do something more for you.* These words (according to them) might in time work a conversion, and the office of constable might tempt an ambitious mind. It is possible, however, that this conversion was sincere. It frequently happens, that policy, ambition, the weaknesses of love, and religious sentiments, meet together in the human heart. The Catholics, who triumphed on this change, did not believe the great soul of Turenne capable of dissimulation.

What happened in Alsace, immediately after his death, rendered the loss of him still more sensibly felt. Montecuculi, who, by the skill of the French general, had been kept three whole months on the other side of the Rhine, passed that river the moment he was informed he had no longer Turenne to fear. He fell upon a part of the army, which had not yet recovered its consternation on the loss of Turenne, under the command of Lorges and Vauban, two lieutenant-generals, who were at variance with each other; and though the troops made a vigorous defence, they could not prevent the Imperialists from penetrating into Alsace; which Turenne had always hindered them from entering. The army not only wanted a general to command it, but one also who might repair the recent defeat of the marshal de Crequi, a man of an enterprising courage, capable of the greatest and the rashest enterprizes, and dangerous to his coun-

try, as well as to the enemy. He had been vanquished, through his own misconduct, at Con-sarbruck. A body of twenty thousand Germans, who laid siege to Treves, defeated, and cut to pieces, the little army of Crequi; and he with difficulty escaped (*g*) the fourth time: after which, he hastened through new perils, to throw himself into Treves; which he defended with his courage, when he ought rather to have succoured it by his prudence. He was for burying himself under the ruins of the place; for after the breach was practicable, he still persisted in its defence. But the garison mutinied, and captain Bois-jourdan, at the head of them, went to capitulate at the breach. A base action was never before so audaciously committed. He threatened the marshal with death, if he refused to sign the treaty: but Crequi, with some officers who continued faithful to him, retired into the church, and rather chose to be taken at discretion, than to capitulate.

To replace the men which France had lost in so many sieges and battles, Lewis XIV. was advised not to rely, as usual, upon the recruits out of the militia, but to cause the ban and arriere-ban to march.

By an ancient custom, which is now disused, the possessors of fiefs were obliged to go to the wars, at their own expence, for the service of their sovereign lord, and to continue in arms a certain number of days. In this service consisted the greatest part of the laws of the nations of Europe, when in a state of barbarity: but now all things are changed; and the most inconsiderable state raises troops, which

are constantly kept in pay, and are formed into regular disciplined corps.

Lewis XIII. once convoked the noblesse of his kingdom; and Lewis XIV. now followed his example. The noblesse, being assembled into a corps, marched under the command of the marquis, afterwards the marshal de Rochefort, to the frontiers of Flanders, and afterwards upon those of Germany: but this corps was neither considerable nor useful, nor could be rendered so. Those gentlemen, who loved war, and were capable of the service, were already officers in the army: those whom age or disgust confined, never quitted their abodes; and the others, whose ordinary occupation was the cultivation of their estates, went, against their inclination, to the number of about four thousand. Nothing could less resemble a military corps: being all mounted and armed differently, without experience, and without discipline, unable and unwilling to do regular service, they only caused confusion, and we were disgusted with them for ever. These were the last traces we have seen in our regular troops, of that ancient chivalry, which formerly composed these troops, who, with the courage natural to the nation, never made war in a right manner.

Turenne being dead, Crequi defeated, and a prisoner, Treves taken, and Montecuculi raising contributions in Alsace; the king concluded the prince of Conde could alone reanimate the troops, which were discouraged by the death of Turenne. Conde therefore left the marshal de Luxembourg in Flanders, there to support the fortune of France, and

went to stop the progress of Montecuculi; and his patience now appeared as great as his impetuosity had done at Senef. His genius, which was equal to every thing, displayed the same art as Turenne's. By two encampments he stopped the progress of the German troops, and forced Montecuculi to raise the sieges of Hanau and Saverne. After this campaign, which was less brilliant than that of Senef, but more esteemed, the prince of Conde ceased to appear in the wars. He was desirous to have his son command, and offered to be his counsellor; but the king did not choose to have either young men or princes to be his generals: and had, even with difficulty, prevailed on himself to accept the service of Conde himself. Louvois's jealousy of Turenne had contributed as much as the name of Conde, to place him at the head of the armies.

The prince retired to Chantilli, from whence he very rarely came to Versailles, to behold his glory eclipsed, in a place where the courtier never regards any thing but favour. He passed the remainder of his days, tormented with the gout, relieving the severity of his pains, and employing the leisure of his retreat, in the conversation of men of genius of all kinds, with which France then abounded. He was worthy of their conversation; as he was not unacquainted with any of those arts or sciences in which they shined. He continued to be admired even in his retreat: but, at last, that devouring fire, which, in his youth, had made him an hero, impetuous and full of passions, having consumed the strength of his body, which was naturally rather agile than robust, he declined before his time; and the strength of his mind de-

caying with that of his body, there remained nothing of the great Conde, during the two last years of his life: he died in 1680. and Montecuculi retired from the service of the emperor, at the same time when the prince of Conde ceased to command the armies of France.

CHAPTER XII.

From the death of Turenne to the peace of Nimegen, in 1678.

AFTER the death of Turenne, and the retreat of the prince of Conde, the king continued the war against the Empire, Spain, and Holland, with as much success as before. He was served by officers, who had formed themselves under these two great men. He had Louvois, who was of greater service to him than a general; because his foresight enabled the generals to undertake whatever they had a mind. The troops, which had long been victorious, continued to be animated by the same spirit, which the presence of a king, who was constantly successful, always inspires.

In the course of this war, he, in person, took Conde (*a*), Bouchain, (*b*) Valenciennes, (*c*) and Cambray (*d*). He was accused at the siege of Bouchain, of being afraid to give battle to the prince of Orange, who appeared at the head of fifty thousand men, and attempted to throw succours into the place: and

(*a*) April 26. 1676. (*b*) May 11. 1676. (*c*) Mar. 17. 1677. (*d*) April 5. 1677.

the prince of Orange was also reproached for not giving battle to Lewis XIV. when he might have done it: for such is the fate of kings, and of generals, that they are always blamed both for what they do, and for what they do not do: but neither the king nor the prince of Orange were blameable. The prince did not give battle though he wished to do it, because Monterey, governor of the Low Countries, who was in the army, would not expose his government to the hazard of a decisive event: and as the king did whatever he desired, and took a town in presence of his enemy, the glory of the campaign certainly remained with him.

In regard to Valenciennes, it was taken by assault, through one of those singular events which characterize the impetuous courage of the French nation.

The king, in the carrying on of this siege, had with him his brother, and five marshals of France; which were d'Humieres, Schomberg, la Feuillade, Luxembourg, and de Lorges. The marshals had each of them their day of command by turns. All the operations were directed by Vauban.

They had not as yet taken any of the outworks of the place. The first thing necessary to be done, was to attack two half-moons; behind which there was also a great crown-work, palisaded, strengthened with a row of pointed stakes, and surrounded by a ditch, with several cross-ways. In this crown-work there was also another work, surrounded by another ditch. After the taking of all these intrenchments, there was a branch of the Scheld to get over, and then another work, called a pate; behind which ran the great stream of the Scheld,

which was deep and rapid, and served as a ditch to the wall. Finally, the wall itself was defended by large ramparts; the works in general covered with cannon; and the garison consisting of three thousand men, who were prepared with every thing necessary to make a long defence.

The king held a council of war for the attack of the outworks. It was usual always to make these attacks in the night, in order to approach the enemy without being perceived, and to spare the blood of the soldiers. Vauban proposed to make this attack in the day-time: but all the marshals of France disapproved this proposal; and Louvois condemned it also: nevertheless, Vauban persisted in it, with the confidence of a man who is certain of the reasonableness of what he advances. “ You are desirous, said he, “ to spare the blood of the soldiers: you “ will do this most effectually by making the attack “ in the day-time, when they may fight without “ confusion and disorder, and without any danger “ of their firing upon one another; which happens “ but too often in the night. You desire also to “ surprise the enemy, who always expect, and are “ prepared for, our attacks in the night: we should “ therefore effectually surprise them by making “ the attack in the morning with our fresh troops, “ after theirs have been fatigued by watching in “ the night. And, besides, if, among our troops, “ there should chance to be some whose courage is “ but inconsiderable, the night favours their timidity; but, in the day, the eye of the monarch “ will inspire courage, and raise them above themselves.”

The king was persuaded by these arguments of

Vauban, though they were contrary to the opinions of Louvois, and five marshals of France.

At nine in the morning, the two companies of musqueteers, one hundred grenadeers, a battalion of the guards, and one of the regiment of Picardy, mounted, on all sides, upon this great crown-work. Their orders were only to lodge themselves in it; to do which was considered as a great deal: but some of the black musqueteers having found means to penetrate by a small by-path as far as the interior intrenchment within this work, they immediately made themselves masters of it. The grey musqueteers got into it at the same time another way, and were followed by the battalions of the guards. The besieged were pursued, and several of them killed; and the musqueteers letting down the draw-bridge, which joined this work to the others, they followed the enemy from one intrenchment to another, both over the little branch and grand stream of the Scheld; so that the musqueteers were got into the city, and the guards very near being so, before the king knew whether they had taken the first work they had been ordered to attack.

But this is not what appears the most extraordinary in this action. It was to be apprehended, that a company of young musqueteers, flushed with the ardour of success, would fall indiscriminately upon the garison and inhabitants, which they might meet in the streets; and that either they would themselves be overpowered, or the city be plundered by them: but these young men, being commanded by a cornet, named Moissac, ranged themselves in order behind some carts; and while the other troops were coming up, and forming themselves without pre-

cipitation or disorder, others of the musqueteers seized upon the neighbouring houses, from whence by their fire, they protected those who were in the streets: and thus every thing was done with great regularity: hostages were given on both sides; the town-council assembled; and deputies were sent to the king: and all this was done without plundering, confusion, or faults of any kind. The king made the garison prisoners of war; and entered Valenciennes, astonished at being the master of it. The singularity of this action is what has engaged us in this detail.

He had also the glory of taking Ghent (e) in four days, and Ypres (f) in seven. These were the actions which he atchieved himself; and his successes by his generals were still greater.

Indeed, the marshal duke de Luxembourg, at first, suffered Philipsbourg to be taken in his sight; endeavouring in vain to succour it with an army of fifty thousand men. The general, who took Philipsbourg, was Charles V. the new duke of Lorrain, the heir of his uncle Charles IV. and, like him, divested of his territories. He had all the good qualities of his unfortunate uncle, without his faults. He long commanded the Imperial armies with glory; but, notwithstanding the taking of Philipsbourg, and though he was at the head of sixty thousand men, he was never able to regain possession of his territories. He, in vain, displayed upon his standards the words, *Aut nunc, aut nunquam; now, or never*: for the marshal de Crequi, being released from his imprisonment, and become more prudent by his defeat at Consarbruck, con-

(e) March 9. 1678

(f) March 25. 1678.

stantly baffled all his attempts to enter Lorraine. He defeated him in the little combat of Kokersberg in Alsace (*g*). He harrassed and fatigued him continually; took Fribourg (*h*) in his sight, and, some time after, again defeated a detachment of his army at Rheinfeld (*i*). He passed the river Kim in his presence, pursued him towards Offembourg, and attacked him in his retreat; and, having immediately after taken the fort of Kehl, sword in hand, he went to burn the bridge of Straßbourg, by which that city, which was still free, had so often given a passage to the Imperial arms. Thus the marshal de Crequi repaired the temerity of one day, by a long course of success, due only to his prudence; and, if he had lived, would, perhaps, have acquired a reputation equal to that of Turenne.

The prince of Orange was not more fortunate than the duke of Lorraine: he was not only forced to raise the siege of Maestricht and Charleroi, but, after having seen Conde, Bouchain, and Valenciennes, subjected to the power of Lewis XIV. he, in endeavouring to succour St. Omer, lost the battle of Montcassel, against Monsieur. The marshals de Luxembourg and d'Humieres commanded the army under Monsieur; and it is said, that an error, committed by the prince of Orange, joined to a judicious movement made by Luxembourg, were what gained the victory. Monsieur began the attack with a courage and presence of mind, which were not in the least expected in a prince so effeminate as he was. A greater example was never given, to prove that courage is not incompatible with delicacy and softness: for the prince, who was almost

(*g*) Oct. 7. 1677. (*h*) Nov. 14. 1677. (*i*) July 1678.

always dressed like a woman, who had the inclinations of that sex, who lay in the same night-caps which they wear, and who painted and patched as they do; upon this occasion, behaved like a general, and a soldier. It is said, the king his brother was somewhat jealous of his glory. It is certain, he said but little to him on occasion of his victory; and even did not go to look at the field of battle, though he was just by it (*k*). Some of Monsieur's servants, who were more penetrating than the others, upon this occasion, told him, that he would never more command the army: and they were not mistaken in their prediction.

The taking of so many towns, and the gaining of so many battles in Flanders, and in Germany, were not the only successes of Lewis XIV. in this war. The marshal de Navailles defeated the Spaniards in the Lampourdan; at the foot of the Pyrene, and they were attacked even in Sicily.

Sicily, ever since the time of the tyrants of Syracuse, under whom it had at least been considered as something in the world, has always been under the dominion of foreigners: they have been successively subjected to the Romans, the Vandals, the Arabs, the Normans under vassalage to the popes, the French, the Germans, and the Spaniards; and they have almost always hated their masters; revolted from them, without making any laudable efforts to regain their liberty; and continually excited seditions only to exchange their fetters.

The magistrates of Messina had lighted up the flames of civil war against their governors, and had

(*k*) March 11. 1677.

called France to their assistance. Their port was blocked up by a Spanish fleet; and they were reduced to the extremities of famine.

The chevalier de Valbelle came first to their relief with a few frigates; with which he ventured through the Spanish fleet, and brought provisions, troops, and arms, into Messina. After him the duke de Vivonne arrived, with seven men of war of sixty guns, two of eighty, and several fireships; with which he defeated the enemy's fleet, and entered Messina in triumph (*l*).

Spain, for the defence of Sicily, was now forced to implore the assistance of her ancient enemies the Dutch, who were always regarded as the masters of the sea. Ruyter sailed with succours from the Zuyderzee, through the streights; and, to twenty Spanish vessels, joined twenty-three large ships of war.

And now the French, who formerly, in conjunction with the English, had not been able to defeat the fleets of Holland alone, gained alone the victory over the united fleets of Spain and the republic (*m*). The duke de Vivonne being obliged to continue in Messina, to pacify the people, who were already dissatisfied with their defenders, suffered this battle to be fought by Duquene, lieutenant general of the naval forces: he was a man as singular as Ruyter, and who, like him, had obtained command by force of merit; but he had not as yet commanded a fleet, and had hitherto signalized himself more as a commander of a privateer than an admiral. But whoever once gets the command, having the genius requisite in his art, will pass with rapidity, and without difficulty, from the most inconsiderable to the

(*l*) February 9. 1675.

(*m*) Jan. 8. 1676.

greatest things. Duquene appeared a great commander even against Ruyter: for it was certainly shewing himself such to gain only an inconsiderable advantage over this Hollander. He gave battle a second time to the two fleets of the enemy near Agousta; wherein Ruyter received a wound, which put an end to his glorious life (*n*). He is one of those men, whose memory is still held in the greatest veneration in Holland. He had, at first, been nothing more than a common ship or cabin-boy; and for this he was the more to be respected: nor is the name of the princes of Nassau held in greater estimation than his. The council of Spain conferred upon him the title and patent of a duke; a dignity which was foreign and frivolous to a republican. But these patents did not arrive till after his death; and the children of Ruyter, who were worthy of their father, refused that title; the acquisition of which is so ardently desired in monarchies, but which is not preferable to the title of a good citizen.

Duquene, the Ruyter of France, attacked the two fleets a third time after the death of the Dutch admiral, and sunk, burnt, and took, several of their ships. The marshal duke de Vivonne had the command in chief in this engagement; but it was Duquene, nevertheless, who obtained the victory. Europe, with astonishment, beheld France become, on a sudden, as formidable by sea as at land. But, indeed, these armaments, and these victories, only served to alarm the nations round. The king of England, who had commenced the war for the interests of France, was at last upon the point of en-

(*n*) March 12. 1676.

tering into a league with the prince of Orange, who had espoused his niece. The glory, acquired in Sicily, was the price of too great treasures; and the French, at last, evacuated Messina at the very time when it was generally believed they would make themselves masters of the whole island. Lewis XIV. was highly blamed for having commenced enterprises in this war, without carrying them through; and for having abandoned Messina, as well as Holland, after the acquisition of useless victories.

However, to have no other misfortune than that of not preserving all his conquests, was certainly to be very formidable. His enemies, in every part of Europe, felt the extent of his power. The war in Sicily had cost him much less than it had cost Spain, which was exhausted and defeated in all places. He raised new enemies against the house of Austria: he fomented the troubles in Hungary; and his ambassadors at the Ottoman Port were earnest in their endeavours to make the Turks carry the war into Germany, notwithstanding he should himself, to save appearances, send some succours against the Turks, whom policy excited him to draw into the empire. He was alone superior to all his enemies: for Sweden, which was his only ally, was engaged in nothing but an unsuccessful war against the elector of Brandenburg. This elector, who was the father of the first king of Prussia, began to give to his country a power and weight, which has since been greatly increased; and he, at that time, deprived the Swedes of Pomerania. It is remarkable, that, in the course of this war, conferences for a peace were almost always open; at first at Cologne, by the ineffectual mediation of

Sweden; and afterwards at Nimegen, by that of England. But the English mediation was a ceremony almost as vain as the pope's arbitration in the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; for Lewis XIV. was the only real arbitrator. He made his proposals on the 9th of April 1678. in the midst of his conquests, and gave his enemies till the tenth of May, to accept of them. He also granted a farther time of six weeks to the States general, who submissively begged it of him.

His ambition was no longer turned towards Holland. This republic had been so fortunate, or so cunning, as no longer to appear but as an auxiliary in a war, which had been commenced for her destruction. The empire and Spain, who at first had only been auxiliaries, at last became the principal parties concerned.

The king, in the conditions which he imposed, favoured the commerce of the Dutch: he restored to them Maestricht, and also gave up some towns to the Spaniards, which were to serve as a barrier to the United Provinces; such as Charleroi, Courtrai, Oudenarde, Ath, Ghent and Limbourg; but he reserved Bouchain, Condé, Ypres, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Maubeuge, Aire, Saint Omer, Cassel, Charlemont, Popering, Bailleul, &c. which, all together, made a considerable part of Flanders: and to which he also added Franche-Comté, which he conquered twice; and these might be considered as a sufficient compensation for the toil and expence of the war.

From the Empire he only desired Fribourg or Philipsbourg, and left the choice to the emperor.

He caused the two brothers Furstemberg to be reinstated in their estates, and the bishopric of Strasbourg, of which they had been deprived by the emperor, and one of them imprisoned. Sweden, which had always continued firmly attached to France, was to reap great advantages by this treaty; in particular, a part of Pomerania, which she had lost, was to be ceded by the elector of Brandenburg to the king of Sweden.

In regard to Lorraine, he offered to re-establish the new duke Charles V. therein: but he insisted on remaining master of Nancy, and all the great roads.

These conditions, though prescribed with the haughtiness of a conqueror, were not however, so unreasonable as to make his enemies desperate, and compel them, as a last effort, to reunite against him: he dictated to Europe as a master; but, at the same time, he acted with prudence and good policy.

In the conferences at Nimegen, he found means to excite jealousy among the allies. The Dutch were extremely desirous to sign the treaty, notwithstanding the prince of Orange, who was for continuing the war at any rate. The Dutch alleged, that in case they did not sign, the Spaniards were too weak to assist them.

When the Spaniards saw the Dutch had accepted the conditions of peace, they accepted them also; declaring, that the Empire did not exert itself sufficiently in the common cause.

Finally, the Germans, being abandoned by Holland and Spain, signed the treaty last; relinquishing Fribourg to the king, and confirming the treaties of Westphalia.

No alterations were made in the conditions pre-

scribed by Lewis XIV. and Europe received both its laws and its peace from his hands; except only the duke of Lorraine, who rejected a treaty, which he considered as odious and dishonourable to himself; and rather chose to be a fugitive prince in the Empire, than a sovereign in his own dominions, without honour or power. He hoped for a better fortune from the event of time, and the effect of his own courage and constancy.

During the conferences at Nimegen, and four days after the plenipotentiaries of France and Holland had signed the peace, the prince of Orange shewed Lewis XIV. what a dangerous enemy he had in him. The marshal de Luxembourg, who had invested Mons, received information of the signing of this treaty; after which he went in perfect security to the village of St. Denis, and there dined with the intendant of the army. The prince of Orange, with all his forces, attacked the marshal's quarters; which he forced, and a long, obstinate, and bloody engagement ensued; from which the prince, with reason, expected to gain a distinguished victory: for he not only made the attack, which is itself an advantage, but he attacked troops, who confided in the security of the treaty. The marshal de Luxembourg, with great difficulty, resisted: and whatever advantage was gained in this engagement was in favour of the prince of Orange; for his infantry remained masters of the field of battle.

Did the ambitious set a value upon the blood of others, the prince of Orange would not have made this attack. He undoubtedly knew, that the peace was signed, or soon would be; and he knew, that

this peace was advantageous to his country: nevertheless, he endangered his own life, and the lives of many thousand men, as the first fruits of a general peace, which was so far advanced, that he could not have prevented it, even by defeating the French. This action, which appeared great, but was certainly very inhuman, and was more admired than blamed at that time, produced no new article of peace, and cost the lives of two thousand French, and as many of the enemy, in vain. In this peace it appeared how intirely projects are disconcerted by events. Holland, against whom only the war had been undertaken, and which was to have been destroyed, lost nothing by it; and, on the contrary, gained a barrier: but all the other powers, who had protected it from destruction, were losers.

The king was now at the height of glory and greatness. He had been victorious ever since he began to reign; had never besieged any place without taking it; had shewed himself superior, upon all occasions, to his enemies united; had been the terror to Europe for six years together; was at last its arbitrator and peace-maker; and therein added Franche-Comte, Dunkirk, and half of Flanders, to his own dominions: but what should be considered as the greatest of his honours, is, that he was king over a people who were happy at that time, and were the model of other nations. The hotel-de-ville of Paris, in 1680. which was some time after the conclusion of this peace, applied the title of *Great* to him, in the most solemn manner; and ordered, that, for the future, that title only should be used in all public monuments. Soon after

the year 1673. some medals had been cast with this surname; and Europe, though jealous, did not refuse to acknowledge the honour. Nevertheless, the name of Lewis XIV. has prevailed in the world over that of *Great*. All things are governed by custom. Henry, who was so justly surnamed the *Great* after his death, is now commonly called Henry IV. and this sufficiently distinguishes him. The prince of Conde is always called the *great Conde*, not only upon account of his heroic actions, but from the ease of distinguishing him by his surname from the other princes of Conde. If he had been called Conde *the great*, he would not have preserved the title. We say the *great* Corneille, to distinguish him from his brother: but we never say the *great* Virgil, the *great* Homer, nor the *great* Tasso. Alexander the Great is no longer known but by the name of Alexander. Charles V. whose successes were more distinguished than those of Lewis XIV. never had the title of *great*. Charlemagne is now only considered as a proper name. Titles are of no consequence to posterity; and the bare name of a man, who has done great things, carries more respect than all the epithets that can be added to it.

CHAPTER XIII.

The taking of Strásbourg; the bombarding of Algiers; the submission of the Genoese; the embassy from Siam; the pope humbled; and the electorate of Cologne disputed.

THE ambition of Lewis XIV. was in no way restrained by this general peace. The Empire, Spain, and Holland, disbanded their extraordinary troops: but Lewis kept all his; and made the season of peace a time for conquests. He was then so certain of his power, that he established jurisdictions in Metz and Brissac, to reunite all those territories to his crown, which might formerly have depended upon Alsace, or the three bishoprics; but which, from time immemorial, had been under other masters. Many princes of the Empire, the elector Palatine, and the king of Spain himself, who were possessed of some bailiwicks in this country, were cited to appear before the chambers which were established to render homage to the king of France, or to behold the confiscation of their possessions. No prince, since the time of Charlemagne, had acted so much like a master, and a judge among sovereigns, nor conquered countries by arrets, like Lewis XIV.

The elector Palatine, and the elector of Treves, were divested of the seignories of Falkembourg,

Germarshheim, Valdentz, etc. and it was in vain they made complaints to the empire, in the assembly at Ratisbon: for that assembly contented itself with making protestations.

It was not sufficient for the king to have the prefecture of ten free cities of Alsace, under the same title by which the emperor had held them: for now they no longer dared to talk of liberty in any of these cities. Strasbourg still preserved its freedom: it was a large and rich city, was mistress of the Rhine by means of its bridge over that river, and, of itself, formed a powerful republic, famous for its arsenal, which contained nine hundred pieces of cannon.

Louvois had long conceived a design to subject this place to his master. Money, intrigue and terror, by which he had opened the gates of so many towns, prepared Louvois an entrance into Strasbourg. The magistrates were corrupted; and the people were astonished to behold their ramparts at once surrounded by 20,000 French troops; their forts, which defended them upon the Rhine, insulted and taken in an instant; Louvois at their gates, and their burgomasters talking of a surrender. The prayers, tears, and despair of the citizens, who were enamoured of their liberties, did not prevent a treaty for a surrender from being proposed by the magistrates, nor Louvois from entering their city the same day (*a*). Vauban, by the fortifications with which he afterwards surrounded it, rendered it the strongest barrier of France.

The king did not behave with more ceremony towards Spain; in the Low Countries he demanded

(*a*) September 30. 1681.

the town of Alost, and all its bailiwick; which, the ministers had forgot, as they said, to insert in the conditions of peace: and Spain being dilatory in its compliance with this demand, he caused the city of Luxembourg to be invested.

He, at the same time, purchased the strong town of Casal of the duke of Mantua; a petty prince; who, to defray the expences of his pleasures, would have sold all his territories.

The alarm in Europe was revived, when she beheld Lewis XIV. thus extending his power on all sides, and gaining more in a time of peace than ten of his predecessors had acquired in all their wars. The Empire, Holland, and even Sweden, having taken umbrage at the king, entered into an alliance. The English menaced, the Spaniards seemed disposed for war, and the prince of Orange did his utmost to get it declared: but none of these powers, at that time, dared to strike the first blow.

The king, who was already feared in all places, (*b*) thought of nothing but making himself still more dreaded. He, at last, raised his marine to a degree of force, which exceeded the hopes of France, and increased the fears of Europe. He had sixty thousand sailors; and his regulations for their discipline, which were as severe as those for the land-army, kept all these rough and untractable people within the bounds of their duty. Even the maritime powers, England and Holland, had neither so many sailors, nor such excellent laws. Companies of cadets in the frontier-towns, and marine guards in the ports, were instituted, and composed of young men, who were instructed in all the arts ne-

(*b*) 1680, 1681, 162.

cessary in their profession, by masters who were paid at the public expence.

The port of Toulon, upon the Mediterranean, was constructed at an immense expence, in such a manner as to contain one hundred men of war, together with an arsenal, and very large and magnificent magazines. The port of Brest, upon the ocean, was formed upon as extensive a plan. Dunkirk and Havre-de-Grace, were filled with ships; and Rochefort, in spite of nature, was made a place of trade, and naval force.

In short, the king had upwards of one hundred ships of the line, several of which carried an hundred guns, and some even more: nor did they remain unactive in the ports; for squadrons were sent out under the command of Duquenc, which cleared the seas, infested by the corsairs of Tripoli and Algiers. He was revenged upon Algiers by means of a new art; the discovery of which was owing to that care which he took to excite the efforts of all the geniuses of his age. This admirable, but terrible art, was that of bomb-vessels, by means of which maritime towns may be reduced to ashes. There was a young man, named Bernard Renaud, generally known by the name of Little Renaud, who, without having ever been in the service, was an excellent mariner, through the strength of genius. Colbert, who distinguished merit, though in obscurity, had frequently called him to the council of the marine, even in the king's presence: and it was by the skill and care of Renaud, that a new, more regular, and easy method in the building of ships, was soon after practised. He ventured in council,

to propose to bombard Algiers with a fleet. We had then no idea how it was possible to fix mortars for the casting of bombs in any manner but upon solid ground: his proposal was therefore rejected; and he experienced all that raillery and contradiction which every inventor must expect; but his continuing to persist in his opinion, joined to that eloquence which men generally have, who are strongly prepossessed in favour of their own inventions, determined the king to permit this new experiment to be made.

Renaud directed five vessels to be built, smaller than the ordinary size, but stronger in wood, without decks, and with a false deck in the hold, upon which hollow places were made, in which the mortars were put. With this equipage he set sail, under the command of old Duquene, to whom the conduct of the enterprize was committed, and who did not expect any success from it: but Duquene and the Algerines were astonished at the effect of the bombs. Part of the town was demolished (c), and consumed: but the art, which was afterwards carried into other nations, only served to multiply human calamities; and, more than once, became terrible to France where it had been invented.

The marine, which was brought to this degree of perfection in a very few years, was the fruit of Colbert's care. Louvois, through a spirit of emulation, caused more than one hundred citadels to be fortified. The fortresses of Huningen, Sar-Lewis, Mont-oyal, Stralbourg, etc. were built under his direction; and while the kingdom gained such great exterior strength, all the fine arts flourished at home, and the nation abounded in riches and pleasures.

(c) October 28. 1681.

Foreigners came in crouds to admire the court of Lewis XIV. and his name was known in all the nations of the world.

His power and his glory were still more increased by the weakness of most of the other potentates, and by the misfortunes of their people. The emperor Leopold was at that time under apprehensions from the Hungarian rebels, but more particularly from the Turks; who, being called by the Hungarians to their assistance, were on the point of entering Germany. The policy of Lewis made him persecute the Protestants in France, because he thought he ought to render them incapable to hurt him; but he secretly supported the Protestants in Hungary, because he thought they might be of service to him. His embassador at the Porte had pressed the armament of the Turks; and the Ottoman troops, to the number of two hundred thousand men, augmented also by the Hungarian forces, in their passage, found neither fortified towns, such as are in France, nor any number of troops capable to oppose their passage: so that they penetrated even to the gates of Vienna, after having ruined every thing in their passage.

The emperor Leopold, upon the approach of the Turks, quitted Vienna with precipitation, and retired to Lintz; and when he was informed, that they had invested Vienna, he fled still farther off, even as far as Passau, leaving the duke of Lorraine at the head of a little army, which had been already defeated by the Turks, to support the fortunes of the empire as he might.

It was universally believed, the grand visier Cara-

Mustapha, who commanded the Ottoman troops, would soon make himself master of the weak and petty capital of Germany, which is regarded by the Imperialists as the capital of the Christian world. They were indeed upon the brink of the most terrible revolution.

Lewis XIV. with reason, expected that Germany, being ravaged by the Turks, and having a chief, whose flight had increased the general consternation, would be obliged to have recourse to the protection of France. He had an army upon the frontiers of the empire, ready to defend it against these very Turks, whom he had brought thither by his negotiations: and thus he hoped to become the protector of the empire, and to make his son king of the Romans.

It was the master-piece of his politics to appear generous in the conduct of these great interests. When the Turks approached Vienna, he raised the blockade of Luxembourg. "I desire only to promote the happiness of Christendom," said he to the Spaniards; "and I will never attack a Christian prince when the Turks are in the empire, nor prevent Spain from succouring the emperor." Thus he reconciled his politics with his glory: but, contrary to the universal expectation, Vienna was relieved. The presumption of the grand visier, and his brutal contempt of the Christians, proved his ruin. His not pressing the siege as he ought gave time for the arrival of John Sobieski; who, being joined by the duke of Lorraine, had only to present himself before the Ottoman multitude, to put them in confusion (*d*). The emperor returned into his ca-

(*d*) September 12. 1683.

pital, under the shame of having quitted it; and made his entrance at the time when his deliverer was coming out of the church, where they had been singing *Te Deum*; and where the preacher, for his text, had taken these words: *There was a man sent from God, whose name was John*. No monarch was ever more happy, or more humbled, than Leopold.

And now the king of France, having no longer any measures to observe, renewed his pretensions, and recommenced his hostilities. He bombarded, besieged, and took Luxembourg, Courtrai, and Dixmude, in Flanders. He seized upon Treves, and demolished its fortifications; and all this, it was said, was to execute the treaties of Nimegen. The Imperialists and Spaniards negotiated with him at Ratisbon, while he was taking their towns; and the violated peace of Nimegen was changed into a truce for twenty years; by which the king kept Luxembourg, and all its principality.

He was still more formidable upon the coasts of Africa; where the French, till then, had been known only from such of them as these barbarians had made slaves.

Algiers, which was twice bombarded, sent deputies to beg pardon, and receive peace (*e*). They released all the Christian slaves, and also paid a sum of money; which is the severest punishment that can be inflicted on these corsairs.

Tunis and Tripoli made the same submissions. It may not be amiss here to take notice, that when Damfreville, captain of the ships, came into Algiers to deliver all the Christian slaves in the name

(*e*) April 1684.

of the king of France, a great number of English was found among them; who, being got on board his ships, insisted to Damfreville, that it was in consideration of the king of England that they had been set at liberty. Upon this, the French captain sent for the Algerines; and causing the English to be again set on shore; *These men, said he, pretend they have gained their freedom only in the name of their king: mine, therefore, will not take the liberty to offer them his protection: I put them again into your hands, and you may now shew what regard you have for the king of England.* All these English were again put in irons: and this action at once declared the pride of the English, the weakness of the government of Charles II. and the respect which all nations paid to Lewis XIV.

So great was this universal respect, that new honours were granted to his ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, such as those shewn to the sophy of Persia; though at the same time, he was humbling the people of Africa, who are under the protection of the grand signor.

The republic of Genoa humbled itself before him still more than that of Algiers. The Genoese had sold bombs and gunpowder to the Algerines; and were building four gallies for the service of Spain. The king, by his envoy, Saint-Olon, who was a private gentleman, commanded them not to launch those gallies, and threatened them with a speedy chastisement, in case of disobedience to his will. The Genoese, being incensed at this outrage upon their liberties, and depending too much upon the assistance of Spain, neglected to do what Lewis XIV. had ordered. Fourteen large ships, twenty

gallies, ten bomb-vessels, and several frigates, immediately sailed out of the port of Toulon. Seignelai, the new secretary of the marine, which employment his father, the famous Colbert, had made him exercise before his death, was himself on board this fleet. This young man was full of ambition, courage, spirit, and activity; was desirous to be at once both a general, and a minister; was anxious for every kind of glory; sanguine in all his pursuits; and mixed pleasures with his business in such a manner as not to injure or neglect it. Old Duquene commanded the men of war, and the duke de Mortemar the gallies; but they were both obedient to the secretary of state. They arrived before Genoa (*f*); the ten galliots threw fourteen thousand bombs into the city, and reduced to an heap of ruins part of those marble edifices, which have gained Genoa the name of *the Superb*. Four thousand soldiers, being landed, advanced up to the gates of the city, and burnt the suburbs of St. Peter d'Arena. And now it became necessary for the Genoese to humble themselves, in order to prevent a total ruin. The king insisted, that the doge of Genoa, and four of the principal senators, should come and implore his clemency in his palace at Versailles: and, to prevent the Genoese from eluding this satisfaction, or depriving him of any part of his glory, he declared, that the doge, who should be sent to beg his pardon, should be continued in his dignity, notwithstanding that perpetual law of Genoa, by which the doges are deprived of that dignity, whenever they absent themselves a moment from the city.

(*f*) March 17. 1684.

Imperialo Lescaro, doge of Genoa, with the senators Lomelino, Garebardi, Durazzo, and Salvago, came to Versailles to make the king such satisfaction as he should require of them. The doge, in his ceremonial habit, spoke, covered with a cap of red velvet, which he frequently pulled off. His speech, and his marks of submission, were dictated by Seignelai. The king gave him audience, seated and covered: but as, in all the actions of his life he joined politeness with dignity, he treated Lescaro, and the senators with as much goodness as grandeur. The ministers Louvois, Croissi, and Seignelai, behaved towards them with more pride and haughtiness: and this difference of behaviour made the doge say; *The king, by his manner of receiving us deprives us of our liberty; but his ministers restore it.* This doge was a man of great wit: and what he said, when the marquis de Seignelai asked him what he thought most extraordinary at Versailles, is generally known: he answered, *it is to see myself here.*

The extreme passion which Lewis XIV. had for every thing which appeared with an éclat, was still more flattered by the embassy which he received from Siam; a country where, till that time, they were ignorant that such a kingdom as France existed. It had happened, through one of those singular incidents which prove the superiority of the Europeans over other nations, that a Greek, the son of an innkeeper of Cephalonia, named Phalk Constance, was become *Barcalon*, that is, prime minister, or grand visier, of the kingdom of Siam. This man, in the design which he had conceived to make himself king, and in his want of foreign

assistance, had not dared to confide either in the English or Dutch; they are too dangerous neighbours in the Indies. The French had established factories upon the coasts of Coromandel, and had carried their king's reputation into these distant regions of Asia. Constance regarded Lewis XIV. as a person whose vanity he might flatter, by paying him an unexpected homage from so distant a place. Religion, which is made the universal tool of politics from Siam even to Paris, served Constance upon this occasion. He sent a solemn embassy (*e*), in the name of this master the king of Siam; with very great presents, to Lewis XIV. and to give him to understand, that this Indian monarch, admiring the glory and splendor of his reign, would conclude no treaty but with the French nation; and even that he intended soon to become a Christian. The king's glory being flattered, and his religion deceived, he was prevailed on to send two ambassadors, and six Jesuits, to the king of Siam; and to these he afterwards added some officers, with eight hundred soldiers. But the eclat of the Siamese embassy was the only fruit of it. Constance fell a victim to his ambition, and the few French which remained about him were massacred; others were obliged to fly; and his widow, after having been on the point of becoming queen, was condemned by the successor of the king of Siam, to serve in his kitchen; for which employment she was born.

This thirst of glory, which excited Lewis XIV. to distinguish himself in every thing from other monarchs, again appeared in the haughty behaviour which he affected towards the court of Rome.

Odescalchi, the son of a banker in the Milanese, at that time possessed the papal dignity, under the name of Innocent XI. He was a man of virtue, and a good pope, though he knew little of theology: and he was a courageous, firm, and magnificent prince. He succoured the empire and Poland against the Turks with his money, and the Venetians with his gallies. He very highly condemned the conduct of Lewis XIV. for uniting with the Turks against the Christians. People were astonished to behold a pope with such earnestness espouse the cause of the emperors, who call themselves kings of the Romans, and would, if they could, reign in Rome. But Odescalchi was born under the Austrian dominion; and had made two campaigns in the troops of the Milanese. Custom and disposition govern mankind. His pride was piqued at the king; who, on his side, mortified him in every thing that a king of France is capable of towards a pope, without breaking communion with him (*f*). An abuse had long reigned in Rome, which was difficult to correct, because it was founded upon a point of honour, whereon all the catholic kings piqued themselves. Their ambassadors at Rome extended their right of freedom and asylum, affected by all their masters, to a very great distance, which was called their *quarters*. These pretensions, which were constantly maintained, rendered one half of Rome a certain asylum to all sorts of criminals. And, by another abuse, whatever entered Rome under the name of the ambassadors, never paid any duty. By this custom the commerce of the city suffered, and the state was impoverished.

At last, Innocent XI. prevailed on the emperor, the kings of Spain, Poland, and the new king of England, James II. who was a catholic prince, to renounce these odious rights. The nuncio Ranucci proposed to Lewis XIV. to concur with the other kings in promoting tranquillity and good order in Rome. But Lewis, being greatly dissatisfied with the pope, replied, "that he had never made the conduct of others an example to himself; but, on the contrary, would make himself an example to others." After this he sent the marquis de Lavardin as his ambassador to Rome, to brave the pope. Lavardin entered Rome, notwithstanding the pope's prohibition, escorted by four hundred marine guards, four hundred volunteer officers, and two hundred servants, all armed. He took possession of his palace, his quarters, and the church of Saint Lewis, round which he posted centinels, who did regular duty, and were relieved in the same manner as in a fortified place. The pope is the only sovereign to whom such an embassy can be sent: for the superiority which he affects over crowned heads, always makes them desirous to humble him; and, through the weakness of his state, he is always insulted with impunity. All that Innoceat XI. could do in opposition to the marquis de Lavardin, was to employ his excommunications; a sort of arms which are, indeed, as little regarded at Rome as elsewhere; but which, nevertheless, through ancient custom, are employed like the pope's soldiers, who bear arms only for the sake of form.

The cardinal d'Etrees, who was a man of wit, but was frequently an unsuccessful negotiator, was, at

that time, charged with the affairs of France at Rome. D'Etrees, having been obliged frequently to see the marquis de Lavardin, could not afterwards be admitted to an audience of the pope, without first receiving absolution: and it was in vain that he opposed it; for Innocent XI. persisted in giving it to him, that he might still continue to preserve that imaginary power, by continuing to practise those customs on which it is founded.

Lewis, in the same authoritative manner, but always supported by the arts of policy, endeavoured to direct the choice of an elector of Cologne. His sole design being to oppose or divide the Empire, he endeavoured to raise to his electorate the cardinal de Furstemberg, bishop of Strasbourg, who was his creature, had suffered for serving his interests, and was an irreconcilable enemy to the emperor, who in the last war had made him a prisoner, as a German who had sold himself to the service of France.

The chapter of Cologne, like all the other chapters of Germany, has a right to nominate its bishop, who, by that means, becomes elector. The person, who filled this see, was Ferdinand of Bavaria, who, like many other princes, had formerly been an ally, but was now an enemy to the king. He was very dangerously ill: and, at that juncture, the king distributing his money very liberally among the canons, and using promises and intrigues at the same time, he got the cardinal de Furstemberg to be elected as coadjutor; and, after the death of Ferdinand, he was elected a second time, by a plurality of suffrages. The pope, by the German concordat, has a right to confer the bishopric upon the person

electd, and the emperor has that of confirming him in the electorate. The emperor and Innocent XI. being persuaded that to let Furstemberg possess the electoral dignity, would, in a manner, be letting Lewis XIV. possess it, they united to bestow this principality upon the young prince of Bavaria, brother of the deceased elector. The king was revenged upon the pope, by depriving him of Avignon (*g*); and he prepared for war against the emperor. At the same time he disturbed the repose of the elector Palatine, upon occasion of the rights of *Madame*, the princess Palatine, and second wife to *Monsieur*; which rights, by her marriage-contract, she had renounced. The war carried on against Spain, in 1667. in favour of the rights of Maria-Theresa, notwithstanding a parallel renuntiation, sufficiently proves, that contracts are designed only for private persons. Thus the king, at the height of his glory and greatness, offended, despoiled or humbled, almost all the princes round him; but, at the same time, he also made almost all of them unite and conspire against him.

CHAPTER XIV.

King James dethroned by his son-in-law William III. and protected by Lewis XIV.

THE prince of Orange, more ambitious than Lewis XIV. had formed vast designs, and

(*g*) October 1688.

such as might appear chimerical in a stadtholder of Holland; yet these he carried into execution by his dexterity and courage. He was bent upon humbling the French king, and intended to dethrone the king of England. Without great difficulty he, by degrees, formed a league in Europe against France. The emperor, part of the Empire, Holland, and the duke of Lorrain, were the first who secretly joined themselves at Augsbourg; and this alliance was soon after strengthened by the accession of Spain and Savoy. The pope, though he did not avow himself one of the confederates, yet, by his intrigues he animated the whole. Venice favoured them also, though she had not declared openly; and all the Italian princes were likewise in their interest. In the north, Sweden was then attached to the Imperialists; and Denmark, though an ally of France, incapable of doing her any service. There were, at this juncture, too, above six hundred thousand Protestants, who had been obliged to flee from the persecution of Lewis. These, having left their native country, carried along with them their riches, their industry, and an implacable hatred against their king: wherever they settled, they became an addition to the enemies of France, and greatly inflamed those powers already inclined to war. We shall speak of this flight of the Protestants, in the chapter concerning Religion. Thus the king was on all sides beset with enemies; James being his only friend.

James succeeded his brother Charles II. as king of England. They were both Roman Catholics; but Charles never declared himself till towards the end of his life, and even then intirely out of complaisance to his mistresses and brother; for, in rea-

lity, his only religion was deism. He had always shewn the utmost indifference in those controverted points of religion, which are apt to divide mankind; and this contributed not a little to that peaceable reign which he enjoyed. James, on the other hand, had been attached to the Romish church from his early years from principle; and he espoused her cause with the most extravagant zeal. Had he been a Mahometan, or had he followed the doctrine of Confucius, the English would never have disturbed his reign: but he designed to establish, in his kingdoms, the Roman Catholic religion; than which nothing could be more detestable in the eyes of those republican royalists, who account it the religion of slaves. It is sometimes, indeed, a matter of no great difficulty to change the religion of a country. Constantine, Clovis, Gustavus Vasa, and queen Elizabeth, each by different methods, accomplished this. But, in order to affect such alterations, two things are absolutely requisite; deep policy, and a concurrence of lucky circumstances: by neither of which was James favoured.

It nettled him not a little to see so many princes in Europe reigning with a despotic sway: those of Sweden and Denmark had lately too become absolute; in short, England and Poland were now the only remaining kingdoms where the liberty of the people and monarchy subsisted together. Lewis XIV. encouraged him to aim at absolute power; and the Jesuits pushed him on to re-establish their religion and their credit. He accordingly endeavoured to carry these points; but every step he took was so unfortunate or unpolitic, that he only inflam-

ed the whole nation. At his first setting out, he acted as if he had already accomplished his purposes; entertaining publicly at his court the pope's nuncio, the Jesuits and Capuchin friars; putting in prison seven English bishops, whom he should rather, if possible, have gained over to his interest; taking away the privileges of the city of London, which he ought rather to have encreased; and, in an arbitrary manner, trampling upon the laws, which he should rather have secretly undermined: in short, his whole conduct was so indiscreet, that the cardinals of Rome humorously said, " that they ought to excommunicate " him as a man who was going to destroy that little " of the Catholic religion which remained in Eng- " land." Pope Innocent XI. had not the least hopes from James's projects; and constantly refused him a cardinal's cap, which he solicited for father Peters, his confessor. This Jesuit was a man of a forward and impetuous disposition; he had strongly flattered himself with the thoughts of being a cardinal, and primate of England; and, in order to gratify his ambition, pushed on his master to the utmost extremities. The heads of the nation, being resolved to defeat the king's designs, formed themselves into a secret confederacy: they sent a deputation to the prince of Orange; and all their measures were conducted with so much discretion and secrecy, that the court had not the least suspicion.

A fleet, sufficient to contain fourteen or fifteen thousand men, was accordingly fitted out by the prince of Orange; who, at this juncture, could be considered only as a private person, of an illustrious rank; for his yearly income was scarce five hundred thousand livres; yet such were the effects of his po-

licy, that the states general were devoted to his interest, and their navy and treasure at his command. He became, indeed, a king in Holland, by his skilful address; whilst James, by a precipitate conduct, ceased to be so in England. It was at first given out, that this fleet was designed against France; and the secret was kept by above two hundred persons. Barillon, the French ambassador then at London, a man of pleasure, and better versed in the intrigues of James's mistresses than the affairs of Europe, was first deceived. Lewis, however, was not: he offered succour to his ally, who at first refused it, from a notion of his security. James soon after solicited his assistance; but it proved then too late, the prince of Orange's fleet being under sail: every thing failed him at once, as he was wanting to himself. His ships allowed those of the enemy to pass them; so that now his only resource was to defend himself by land. His army consisted of twenty thousand men; had he led them immediately to battle, without giving time for reflection, in all probability they would have fought; but he left them leisure to determine themselves; and, accordingly most of the chief officers deserted him (a). Amongst these was the famous Churchill, as fatal afterwards to Lewis as James; who became so illustrious under the title of duke of Marlborough. He had been a particular favourite of James; and owed to him all his promotion: his own sister was the king's mistress, and he himself was his lieutenant-general; yet notwithstanding all this, he left him, and joined the prince of Orange. The prince of

(a) 1688.

Denmark, James's son-in-law, nay even his own daughter the princess Anne, forsook him also.

Being thus attacked and persecuted by one son-in-law, and abandoned by the other, his two daughters, as well as his intimate friends, having become his enemies, and being hated by his subjects, he fell into the utmost despair, and betook himself to flight; the last resource of a prince when conquered; but he had recourse thereto without fighting. He was stopt, however, in his flight by the populace, who behaved to him very disrespectfully, and conducted him back to London. In short, after having received the orders of the prince of Orange in his own palace, after having seen his own guards turned out to make room for those of another, being driven from his own house, and made a prisoner at Rochester, he made use of the liberty which was given him to quit his kingdom, and went to seek refuge in France.

This was the true æra of English liberty: the nation, represented by its parliament, now fixed the so long contested bounds betwixt the prerogative of the crown, and the rights of the people: they prescribed the terms of reigning to the prince of Orange, and chose him for their sovereign, in conjunction with his consort Mary, James's daughter. Henceforth this prince was acknowledged in the greatest part of Europe, as William III. lawful king of England, and accounted the deliverer of the nation; but, in France, he was only stiled prince of Orange, and looked upon as the usurper of his father-in-law's dominions.

The fugitive prince, with his queen, the duke of Modena's daughter, and the prince of Wales, as

yet an infant, accordingly implored the protection of Lewis XIV. The queen of England, who arrived before her husband (*b*), was astonished at the splendor of the French court, and that magnificent profusion which she beheld at Versailles: above all, she was struck with the grandeur of her own reception. Lewis himself conducted her to Chatou, thus expressing himself on the occasion: "The office I perform at present, Madam, is a sorrowful one; but I hope soon to do you others more important and agreeable." He went with her to the castle of St. Germain, where she was entertained with as much grandeur as if she had been queen of France; being supplied with every thing which convenience or luxury could require; and having many noble presents given her in gold and silver plate, jewels, and the richest stuffs: she found likewise upon her toilet a purse of ten thousand Lewis-d'ors.

James, who arrived next day after his queen, was treated also with the same respect and magnificence: he had six hundred thousand livres settled for the expence of his household, besides the innumerable presents he received, and was attended by the king's officers and guards. All this pomp appeared however but inconsiderable, compared with the preparations made to re-establish him in his kingdom. Lewis never appeared so great; but James made a sorry figure, his reputation being very low, both at court, and in the city, amongst those who settle the characters of others. He saw nobody almost but Jesuits, and often alighted at their houses in the Street of St. Anthony. He told them he was a Jesuit himself: and what was extraordinary, it was

(*b*) January 1689.

certainly a fact; for, by his own command, when he was duke of York, he had been initiated with certain ceremonies into this order by four English Jesuits. Such meanness of soul in a prince, and the manner in which he had lost his crown, made him appear in so contemptible a light, that the courtiers often amused themselves with making songs at his expence. Chaced from England, he became the subject of ridicule in France: nor did his being a Roman Catholic stand him in any stead: the archbishop of Rheims, brother of Louvois, said aloud, in his drawing-room at St. Germain, "There's a simpleton, who has thrown away three kingdoms for a mass." From Rome he received nothing but indulgencies and pasquils. His religion, in short, was of so little service to him, that when the prince of Orange, the head of the Calvinists, set sail in order to dethrone his father-in-law, the Spanish ambassador at the Hague ordered mass to be performed for his success.

Amidst these distresses of this exiled prince, and the many kindnesses conferred on him by Lewis XIV. it may not be unworthy of our attention to see James touching for the king's-evil at the little English convent; the king's of England either assuming this wonderful power from a right they pretend to the crown of France, or that it had been a ceremony established since the reign of Edward I.

Lewis made all possible dispatch to send James over to Ireland, where there were a formidable body of Roman Catholics in his interest. A fleet of thirteen ships of the first rate was in the road at Brest, and all the officers, courtiers, and even priests,

who had come to attend him at St. Germain's, were conducted thither at Lewis's expence. Mr. d'Avaux, being named ambassador to the dethroned prince, followed him with great pomp. The fleet was furnished with plenty of arms and ammunition; and there was likewise put on board ordinary and rich furniture of all sorts: Lewis himself went to take his leave of James at St. Germain's; and, having given him his coat of mail as his last present, he embraced him with these words: "The best thing I can wish you, is, that I may never see you more." No sooner had James landed in Ireland, with these forces, than he was followed by another fleet of three-and-twenty men of war, with a considerable number of transport-ships, under the command of Chateau Renaud (*d*). This Squadron having, in the passage, met with an English fleet, forced it to sheer off, and then landed all the forces in safety. In their return, they took seven merchant-ships, belonging to the Dutch; and thus arrived again at Brest, victorious over the English, and loaded with the spoils of Holland.

Soon after, there was a third embarkation at Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort (*e*). The ports of Ireland, and the Channel, were now covered with French ships. Tourville, the French vice-admiral, having under his command seventy-two ships, fell in with a Dutch and English fleet of sixty sail; and a desperate fight ensued, which lasted ten hours (*f*). Tourville, Chateau Renaud, d'Etrees, and Nemond, greatly distinguished themselves on this occasion: by their courage and skill France procured an honour to which she had not been accustomed: for the Eng-

(*d*) May 12. 1689. (*e*) March 1690. (*f*) July 1690.

lish and Dutch, hitherto lords of the ocean, and from whom the French had but lately learned the method of fighting at sea in line of battle, were utterly defeated; seventeen of their ships, being disabled, were partly stranded, and partly burnt, by themselves: the remainder of the fleet took refuge in the Thames, or amongst the banks of Holland. Thus what Lewis XIV. had so ardently desired for twenty years, and what appeared so improbable, now happened; the late victory, which had not cost the French one ship, having procured him the empire of the sea; an empire, however, which proved but of short duration. It must be owned, indeed, that the enemy's ships at present fled before his triumphant fleets. Soon after, Seignelai, a bold enterprising minister, ordered to sea a number of gallies from Marseilles: and this was the first time the English coasts were visited by these vessels; by means of which the French made a descent at Tinmouth, and destroyed, in the bay, above thirty merchant-ships. The privateers of St. Malo's and Dunkirk were continually taking prizes; doing great service thereby to the public, and enriching themselves. In short, for two years, the French were sole masters at sea.

But though Lewis had been so prosperous in his undertakings, James could not boast of success in Ireland. He had with him about six thousand French, and fifteen thousand Irish; the Boyne running betwixt his army and that of king William. This river was fordable, being under the height of a man's shoulders: but, after passing this, the enemy must also have marched over a morass, next to which there was a rising-ground, which formed a natural

intrenchment. King William, having forded the river with his army in three different places, gave battle (g). The Irish, who shew themselves the bravest soldiers in France and Spain, have always behaved at home shamefully. Amongst nations, some seem, as it were, formed to be under the subjection of others: the English have always had a superiority over the Irish in genius, as well as arms and riches; nor has Ireland ever been able to shake off the yoke, since she was first subdued by an English baron. The French fought at the battle of the Boyne; the Irish fled; and James, their sovereign, without once heading them, or the French, was the first who quitted the field. This monarch hitherto had always given proofs of the highest valour; but there are certain occasions when a kind of tremor seizes the spirits, and enervates the whole man. King William, who had had his shoulder grazed by a cannon-bullet before the engagement, was reported, in France, to be dead. This false news was received at Paris with a shameful and unbecoming transport. The populace and citizens, at the instigation of some inferior magistrates, made illuminations; they rung their bells; they burnt the prince of Orange in effigy, in several parts of the city, in the same manner as the pope is often burnt in London; nay, they even fired the Bastille guns on the occasion. This, however, was not done by the king's orders; but was owing to the inconsiderate zeal of an inferior officer. One may be apt to infer, from these demonstrations of joy, and from the authority of so many writers, that this extravagant transport, at the pretended death of an enemy,

(g) July 1690.

proceeded from that excessive fear which he had excited; for all the French, as well as foreign historians, have considered these rejoicings as the highest encomium on king William: yet, if we consider attentively the circumstances and character of those times, we shall find that it was not fear which produced those extravagancies: the citizens, and lower people, have no notion of dreading an enemy till he threatens their city: nay, so far were they from being terrified at the name of William, that they unjustly held him in the utmost contempt. He had been almost always worsted by the French generals: nor were the common people sensible of the glory this prince had acquired even in his defeat; and though he had conquered James in Ireland, yet, in the eyes of the French, he did not appear an enemy worthy of Lewis XIV. Paris adored her prince, and believed him invincible; so that these rejoicings were not the effects of fear, but hatred. The Parisians, having most of them been born under the reign of Lewis, and inured to the yoke of absolute monarchy, esteemed a king as a divinity, and looked upon an usurper as a sacrilegious villain. The lower class of people, who had often seen James go to mass, conceived an affection for him as a pious prince, whilst they detested William as an heretic. The idea of a son-in-law and daughter, who had driven their father into exile, of a Protestant reigning in the room of a Catholic, and, in short, of an enemy of Lewis XIV. had transported the Parisians to a pitch of phrensy; but wise people were more moderate in their sentiments.

James, having returned to France, left his rival to gain new victories in Ireland, and to establish

himself more firmly on his throne. Lewis's fleets were now employed in bringing over the French, who had fought to no purpose, as well as great numbers of Irish catholic families, who, living but poorly in their own country, chose rather to go over to France to live on the king's bounty.

We may easily perceive, that fortune had but little share in the beginning or end of this revolution; since every part of it may be accounted for from the different characters of James and William. Those who discover the causes of events, in the different conduct of men, will here observe, that king William, after his victory, proclaimed a general pardon; and that James, after his defeat, passing through the little town of Galloway, ordered some of the inhabitants to be hanged, because they had been for shutting the gates against him. Of two men, whose conduct was so different, it is easy to see which would prevail.

James had yet some towns remaining in Ireland; amongst others was Limerick, where he had above twelve thousand soldiers. The French king, who was still resolved to support James, embarked three thousand regular troops for Limerick: nor did he stop here; for he sent over a large supply of all necessaries for the inhabitants as well as soldiers. Forty transport-ships sailed for Ireland, under the convoy of twelve men of war; containing all kinds of succours, in men, arms, and all other requisites; engineers, gunners, bombardiers, and two hundred masons; saddles, bridles, and housings, for above twenty thousand horse; a great number of cannon, with their carriages; fuses, pistols, and swords, sufficient to arm

twenty-six thousand men; provisions, cloaths, and twenty-six thousand pair of shoes. Limerick was soon afterwards besieged; and, as the place was so strongly reinforced, the inhabitants expected the king would appear in their defence. James, however, not coming, the town surrendered. The French fleet returned to France, bringing over with them no less than twenty thousand Irish, soldiers as well as other refugees.

It is not a little astonishing, that, notwithstanding all these rebuffs, Lewis was not yet discouraged; for though he at that time maintained a heavy war against almost all Europe, yet he resolved to make another grand effort in favour of James, by making a descent on England with twenty thousand men. They were accordingly assembled betwixt Cherbourg and La Hogue; and three hundred transport-ships were got ready at Brest. Tourville, with forty-four men-of-war, waited for them on the coasts of Normandy; and d'Etrees was on his way from Toulon with another squadron of thirty sail. As there are misfortunes which arise from bad conduct, so there are likewise others which can be imputed only to ill-fortune. The wind, which was at first favourable to d'Etrees's squadron, chopped about; which prevented his joining Tourville, who was attacked by the united fleets of England and Holland, of near an hundred sail. Superiority of number obtained the victory; and the French were obliged to sheer off, after an obstinate fight of ten hours. Ruffel, the English admiral, pursued them two days: fourteen of their largest ships, two of which mounted an hundred and four guns, stranded on the coast; and the captains, knowing they

must be destroyed by the enemy, with their own hands fired them. King James, who was himself a spectator of this calamity from the shore, lost all hope.

This was the first check which the maritime power of Lewis received. Seignelai, who, following the steps of his father Colbert, had greatly improved the marine of France, died about the end of the year 1690. Pontchartain, president of Brittany, succeeded him as secretary of naval affairs: he likewise kept up the maritime power with equal vigilance; and the whole French ministry promoted it with the same spirit; so that the very year after the defeat at La Hogue, the French navy was as numerous as ever. Tourville was soon at the head of sixty ships of the line, and d'Etrees had thirty under his command, exclusive of those which lay in the harbours: nay, about four years after, the king equipped a squadron more numerous than any of the former, to convoy James to England, with twenty thousand French. But this fleet only shewed itself; the measures, pursued by James's friends, being as ill conducted at London, as they had been well concerted in France by his protector.

The dethroned prince's party, having no other resource, had now at last recourse to forming plots against his rival's life. Almost all those, who were concerned in these conspiracies, suffered death: and though they had even succeeded, it is not likely that James would ever have recovered his kingdom. He spent the remainder of his days at St. Germain, where he lived upon the bounty of Lewis, and a yearly pension of seventy-two thou-

land livres, which he was so mean as to receive secretly from his daughter Mary, by whom he had been dethroned. He died at St. Germain, in the year 1700.; and it was pretended by some Irish Jesuits, that there were miracles wrought at his tomb: there was even a report, that Rome intended to canonize this prince after his death, whom she had intirely forsaken during his life.

Few princes had been more unfortunate than James; nor have we any instance in history of a family so unhappy for such a number of years. The first of his ancestors, who reigned over Scotland, and was likewise named James, after having been eighteen years a prisoner in England, was, together with his queen, murdered by his own subjects. James II. his son, was killed in a battle against the English, at the age of nineteen. James III. being first imprisoned by his people, was afterwards killed in the field by the rebels. James IV. likewise lost his life in an unsuccessful battle. Mary Stuart, his grand daughter, having been driven from her throne, took refuge in England; where, after languishing in prison eighteen years, she was condemned to death by English judges, and accordingly beheaded. Charles I. her grandson, king of Scotland, as well as England, being sold by the Scots, was sentenced to death by the English, and suffered on a scaffold. James his son, the seventh of the name, and second of England, the subject of this part of our history, was driven out of his three kingdoms; and, as a further aggravation of his misfortunes, even the legitimacy of his son was disputed. This son likewise made efforts to regain the throne of his ancestors; but

they proved fruitless, and were only the occasion of many of his friends suffering death by the hands of public executioners. We have also lately seen Prince Charles-Edward exerting the virtues of his royal ancestors, and the courage of his mother's father king John Sobieski: forming great exploits, and undergoing the most incredible hardships; but all to no purpose. If any thing can justify the opinion of those who believe in a fatality, from which nothing can escape, it is this continued series of misfortunes, which has persecuted the Stuart family for above three hundred years.

CHAPTER XV.

What passed on the continent, whilst William took possession of Scotland, England, and Ireland, to the year 1697.

SO far I have been unwilling to break the thread of the affairs in England; I now return to those on the continent.

The king had certainly increased his naval strength to such a degree, as no nation ever exceeded: he had to encounter with the emperor, the Empire, Spain, the two maritime powers of England and Holland, become now more formidable by being under one head, besides Savoy, and almost all Italy. One only of these enemies, such as England or Spain, would have been sufficient formerly to crush France; and now, altogether, could

hardly struggle with her. Lewis had generally five armies in the course of this war; sometimes six, and never less than four. Those in Germany and Flanders often amounted to an hundred thousand soldiers, besides garisons kept up in the frontier towns. The French monarch had at one time, including his naval forces, four hundred and fifty thousand men in pay. Neither the Turkish empire, so powerful in Europe, Asia, and Africa, nor the Roman, still greater, had ever more, nor so many wars to support at one and the same time. Even those who blamed Lewis XIV. for drawing upon himself so many enemies, could not help admiring the measures he took to oppose, or rather to prevent them.

His enemies were not yet intirely declared, nor were they all united. The prince of Orange had not yet sailed out of the Texel in order to drive his father-in-law from his dominions; and France had already armies on the frontiers of Holland, and on the Rhine. Lewis had sent his son the Dauphin who was called Monseigneur, into Germany, with an army of an hundred thousand men. This young prince greatly resembled the queen his mother, in the sweetness of his disposition, and modesty of his behaviour. He was then twenty-seven years of age; and this was the first time of his being entrusted with the command; which was not done, till he had established such a character as shewed him highly worthy of this honour. The king said to him in public, at his departure (*a*); “My son, in sending you to command my armies, I give you an opportunity to display your merit:

(*a*) September 22. 1688.

“ go and shew it to all Europe; so that when I
“ shall come to die, I may appear to be still living
“ in you.”

The prince had a special commission made out for his command in the same manner as if he had been any other general whom the king had chosen. His father directed to him thus: “ To my son the
“ Dauphin, my lieutenant-general, and commander
“ of my armies in Germany.”

Every thing was settled and disposed with the utmost carefulness, for the campaign in Germany, that the son of Lewis, who honoured it with his name and presence, might not meet with any disgrace. The marshal de Duras, in reality, commanded the army. Boufflers headed a body of troops on this side the Rhine; and marshal d’Humières was posted with another towards Cologne, to observe the motions of the enemy. Heidelberg and Mentz were taken: the siege of Philipsbourg was likewise begun; an undertaking always thought first necessary, when France carried on a war in Germany. Vauban conducted the siege; and all the scenes of action, which fell not to him, devolved upon Catinat, the lieutenant-general; a man who had courage and abilities equal to any enterprize. His royal highness the Dauphin arrived six days after the trenches were opened: he imitated the conduct of his father, exposing himself to danger, when necessary, with great intrepidity, though without rashness; affable to every body, and liberal to the soldiers. The king felt a sincere joy in having a son, who imitated without eclipsing him, and who, without raising the jealousy of his father, made himself universally beloved.

Philipsbourg was taken in nineteen days (*b*), Mannheim in three, and Frankendal in two; Spîres, Treves, Worms, and Oppenheim, surrendered as soon as the French appeared before their gates (*c*).

The king had resolved to make a perfect desert of the Palatinate, as soon as the towns should be taken: his design in this was rather to cut off all subsistence from his enemies, than to revenge himself of the elector Palatine, who had indeed done nothing but his duty, in entering into a league with the rest of Germany against France. There came an order from Lewis, signed Louvois, to reduce all to ashes. The French generals, being obliged to obey, accordingly gave notice to the citizens of those towns, but lately repaired, and then so flourishing, to the inhabitants of the villages, and to the owners of above fifty castles, that they must immediately quit their habitations, though it happened then to be the dead of winter; for that all was to be destroyed by fire and sword (*d*). Men and women, old and young, accordingly moved off in the utmost trepidation: some wandering about in the fields, and others took refuge in the neighbouring countries, whilst the soldiery, who generally exceed the orders of severity, and come short of those of clemency, burnt and sacked the country of this wretched people. They begun with Mannheim, the residence of the electors: their houses and palaces were rased to the ground; nay, the very graves were ransacked by the rapacious soldiery; who, imagining they should find treasures there, disturbed the ashes of the dead. This was the second time that beautiful country was laid waste under Lewis

(*b*) Nov. 2. 1688. (*c*) Nov. 15. 1688. (*d*) Feb. 1689.

XIV. but the flames, with which Turenne had destroyed two towns and twenty villages of the Palatinate, were but sparks in comparison of this last terrible destruction, which all Europe looked upon with horror. The officers themselves, who executed these orders, were ashamed at being the instruments of such severity. They highly reflected on the marquis de Louvois, who, from a long ministry, had contracted an inhumanity and hardness of heart: he it was, indeed, who advised these cruel measures; but Lewis had it in his power not to follow them. Had the king beheld this tragical scene, with his own hands he would have extinguished the flames: but when he signed the destruction of a whole country, he was seated in his own palace at Versailles, surrounded with pleasures; and it appeared there only a lawful act of power, and the unfortunate right of war. Had he viewed the affair itself, it must have filled him with the utmost horror. Nations, who had hitherto only blamed, whilst they admired his ambition, now exclaimed aloud against his barbarity, and highly condemned his policy; for if his enemies could have penetrated into his dominions, after his own example, they would have reduced his towns to ashes.

This danger was to be feared; for Lewis, by covering his frontiers with an hundred thousand soldiers, had taught Germany to make the like efforts. This country, being more populous than France, was able to furnish greater armies: these, indeed, are raised, assembled, and paid, with more difficulty; it requires likewise more time before they are able to make a figure in the field; but their discipline, and patience of fatigue, renders them, towards

the end of the campaign, as formidable as the French are at the beginning. Charles V. duke of Lorraine, then commanded them: this prince, always stripped of his dominions by Lewis XIV. and never able to regain them, had preserved the empire to the emperor Leopold, and gained several victories over the Turks and Hungarians. He came now, together with the elector of Brandenburg, to oppose the French power: he retook Bonn and Mentz, two inconsiderable, though regularly fortified, places. Bonn held out three months and fourteen days, and then surrendered (*e*); when the chief commander, baron d'Asfeld, was mortally wounded, in a general assault.

The marquis d'Uxelles, afterwards a marshal of France, a man of the utmost sagacity and foresight, made such excellent dispositions for the defence of Mentz, that his garison was but slightly fatigued, notwithstanding the long duty they had performed: nor was his activity confined within the town; for he made one-and-twenty sallies, and killed above five thousand of the enemy; he sometimes made two sallies in broad day: in fine, he at last surrendered at the end of seven weeks; and this he was obliged to do for want of powder. The defence of this town merits a place in history, not only upon its own account, but because of the unjust censure of the public on this occasion. Paris, that vast city, so full of idle persons, who pretend to judge of every transaction, that city, which, with so many tongues, and so many ears, has so few eyes, condemned d'Uxelles as a man who had neither courage nor judgment. This gentleman, who was

(*e*) October 12. 1689.

justly praised by all the most able officers, at his return from the campaign, happening to go to the theatre, was hooted and hissed by the house, who called aloud *Mentz!* He was obliged to withdraw; despising, as all sensible persons must, a people who shewed themselves such bad judges of merit, and of whom, nevertheless, every one almost is ambitious of receiving the applauses.

About this time (*f*), the marshal d'Humieres was defeated by prince Waldeck in the Netherlands, at Valencour on the Sambre: but this overthrow, though it hurt the marshal's reputation, yet it detracted but little from the glory of the French arms. Louvois, his friend and patron, was obliged to take from him the command of that army. Neither the king nor Louvois had any affection for Luxembourg; but as both had the honour of France at heart, they invested him with the command, contrary to their natural inclination. He was accordingly appointed general in the Low Countries; for Louvois either at first made a proper choice, or, when mistaken, rectified his error by a speedy alteration. Catinat had the command in Italy. The marshal de Lorges made a good defence in Germany; and the duke de Noailles had some success in Catalonia; but the army in Flanders, commanded by Luxembourg, and that in Italy under Catinat, had a continued flow of success. These two generals were, at that time, the most renowned in Europe.

The marshal duke de Luxembourg had, in his character, some resemblance of the great Conde, under whom he had learned the art of war: he was

(*f*) June 1689.

of a forward enterprising spirit, and quick in discerning and executing, of a genius eager after knowledge; but unbounded and irregular; of an amorous disposition, which continually engaged him in intrigues; and, though of a deformed person, as well as disagreeable countenance, yet he often met with a return of love from the fair sex: in short, his qualities were rather those of an hero than a sage.

Catinat was a person of such application and activity, that he was equal to the most arduous enterprises, yet never piqued himself on any of his actions. He would have made a good minister, or chancellor, as well as an excellent general. He had been at first a counsellor, but had quitted his profession twenty-three years ago, from a disgust he conceived at the loss of a cause, which had been unjustly determined. He then went into the army, and served at first as an ensign in the French guards. In the year 1667. at the attack of the counterscarp of Lisle, in sight of the king, he performed an exploit, which required both courage and conduct. His majesty remarked him particularly; and his fortune commenced from that time; for he was raised by degrees, without the least solicitation. He was a perfect philosopher in the midst of grandeur and war, the two most dangerous rocks to moderation; and free from all prejudices, without affecting too much to despise them. In regard to gallantry, and other courtly intrigues, he was utterly ignorant; but he cultivated friendship with great sincerity, and always behaved with the strictest honour. As he was intirely free from pride, so was he likewise from all narrow selfishness: in short, he shewed himself a re-

real philosopher throughout all his life, as well as at his death.

Catinat commanded then in Italy. He was opposed by Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy; a prince equally famous for his wisdom, policy, and misfortunes: he was a courageous general, headed his own armies, exposed himself as a common soldier, and was perfectly acquainted with that sort of war generally carried on in confined and mountainous countries, such as his was: he was a person of great activity as well as vigilance, and a remarkable lover of order; but, with all his qualifications, he was often guilty of misconduct both as a prince and as a general. It is said, he was guilty of an error in the disposition of his army against that of Catinat. The French general took advantage of this, and gained a complete victory, in sight of Saluces, near the abbey of Stafarde, from whence the battle was named. When there happens to be a great number slain on one side, and but a few on the other, this is an incontestable proof, that the vanquished army fought in a situation wherein they must unavoidably be defeated. The French army lost only three hundred men, though that of the allies, under the duke of Savoy, had four thousand killed on the spot. After this battle, all Savoy, except Monmelian, was subjected. Catinat then marched into Piedmont; forced the enemy's trenches near Susa; took that place, Villafranca, Montalban, Nice, which was reckoned impregnable, Veillane, Carmagnole (g), and returned again to Monmelian, which he took, after an obstinate siege.

After this great success, the French minister

(g) 1691.

thought proper to diminish the army under his command, whilst the duke of Savoy augmented his. Catinat, now weaker than his vanquished enemy, was obliged, for a considerable time, to act only on the defensive; but, having at last received a reinforcement, he descended from the Alps to Marseilles, and there gained a second pitched battle (*b*); which was the more glorious, as prince Eugene of Savoy was one of the enemy's commanders.

On the other side of France towards the Low Countries, marshal Luxembourg gained the battle of Fleurus. This victory, as all the officers acknowledged was chiefly owing to the superior genius of the French commander over the prince of Waldeck, then general of the allied army. In this action, eight thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, and six thousand killed; two hundred of their standards, with all their artillery and baggage, were likewise taken, and their whole army, in short, completely routed, and put to flight (*i*).

King William, having vanquished his father-in-law, was returned to the continent: he had a genius so fruitful in resources, that he often drew more advantage from a defeat, than the French did from their victories: and though he was obliged to have recourse to all manner of intrigues and negotiations, to raise money and forces to carry on a war against a prince, whose word was a law; yet, soon after the defeat of Fleurus, he appeared at the head of an army as strong as the French, to oppose Luxembourg (*k*).

The two armies consisted each of about eighty thousand Men. Mons was invested by Luxem-

(*b*) Oct. 4. 1691. (*i*) June 30. 1690. (*k*) Sept. 19. 1690.

bourg (*l*), before king William believed the French had moved out of their winter-quarters. Lewis himself was present at the siege; and entered the town on the ninth day after the trenches were opened, in sight of the allied army. Immediately after, he departed for Versailles, leaving Luxembourg to carry on that campaign, which was finished by the battle of Leuses(*m*); a most extraordinary action, in which eighteen squadrons of the household troops of France, and the gendarmery, defeated seventy-five squadrons of the enemy.

Lewis again appeared at the siege of Namur, the strongest place in the Netherlands, by its situation at the confluence of the Sambre and Maese, and the strength of its citadel built upon the rocks. He took this city in about a week, and the forts in twenty-two days (*n*); whilst the duke of Luxembourg was posted near the Mehaigne with twenty-four thousand men, to hinder the passage of William, who had eighty thousand, and prevent his attempting to raise the siege. After this conquest the king again returned to Versailles, and left Luxembourg to oppose the confederate army. About this time happened the battle of Steenkirk, famous for stratagem and valour. The enemy having discovered a French spy in their army obliged him, before they put him to death, to write false advice to marshal Luxembourg; in consequence of which, the French general took such measures as promised success; but as the intelligence was false they had a contrary effect: his army was attacked by day-break, before the troops were awake: a whole brigade was put to flight be-

(*l*) April 9. 1691. (*m*) Sept. 1691. (*n*) June 1692.

fore the marshal scarce knew of the enemy's arrival: and all would have been utterly destroyed, if not prevented by the most unparalleled diligence and valour.

To be a great general is not sufficient to prevent a defeat, without disciplined troops capable of rallying, and general officers both able and willing to retrieve the distress; for one superior officer alone, who had been willing to take advantage of this confusion, in order to bring about his general's defeat, might have done it easily without being discovered.

Luxembourg was at this time (o) indisposed; an unfortunate circumstance at a juncture which required new strength and vigour. The sense of the present danger, however, roused his strength. To prevent a defeat, he must perform wonders; and he did so: he changed his ground, in order to give his army another and more convenient situation for an engagement; he recovered the right brigade, which was in the utmost disorder; he thrice rallied his forces, and thrice charged the enemy at the head of the household troops; and all this in less than two hours. He had then in his army the duke de Charters, afterwards regent of the kingdom, a grandson of France, not above fifteen years of age: it was not to be expected, that such a youth could be of service in any decisive stroke; the sight, however, of a grandson of France, at such an age, charging at the head of the household troops, wounded in battle, and, notwithstanding that, yet continuing in the combat, greatly animated the soldiery.

(o) August 3. 1692.

There were likewise a grandson and a grand-nephew of the great Conde, who both served as lieutenant-generals: one was Lewis duke de Bourbon, the other Armand prince of Conti, rivals to each other in courage, spirit, ambition, and reputation: the duke was of a temper more reserved than the other, and had, perhaps, more solid qualities, whilst the prince had more shining ones: they had been both called upon by the public voice to the command of armies, and both had a passionate desire for such a glory; but neither of them ever arrived at it; for Lewis, who knew their ambition to be as great as their merit, always remembered that the prince of Conde had declared war against him.

The prince of Conti was the first who contributed to retrieve the disorder, by rallying the brigades, and making others advance to their succour. The duke performed his duty with the same spirit, not even requiring emulation to spur him on. The duke de Vendome, grandson of Henry IV. was also a lieutenant-general in this army: he had served from the age of twelve years; and, though then in his fortieth, yet he had never commanded in chief: he was accompanied by his brother the grand-prior.

All these princes were obliged to head the household troops, in order to dislodge a body of English, posted in an advantageous place; and on this the success of the battle depended. The household troops, and the English, were then the best in the world. A most dreadful slaughter ensued: the French, however, animated by the presence of so many princes and nobles, who fought round the general, at last gained the advantage; and the

English being defeated, the rest of the confederate army were forced to give ground.

Boufflers, afterwards a marshal of France, who happened to be some miles from the field of battle during the action, came up, at this juncture, with his dragoons, and completed the victory. King William, having lost seven thousand men, retired with as much order as he had attacked; and, though defeated, yet always to be feared, he still kept the field. This victory, won by the valour of these young princes, and the very flower of the French nobility, produced such an effect at court, at Paris, and in the provinces, as no other had ever done before.

The duke de Bourbon, the prince of Conti, the duke de Vendome, with his brother and all their friends at their return, found the roads lined with the populace, who received them with loud acclamations, and a joy that proceeded almost to madness: all the women pressed forward, with the utmost eagerness, to see and be seen by these heroes. It was at that time the fashion amongst the men to wear laced cravats, which they generally took some pains and time to put on properly: the princes, having dressed themselves in a hurry for the battle, had thrown them carelessly about their necks: the ladies, upon this, wore handkerchiefs in that taste, which they called *steenkirks*; all the new trinkets were made *a la steenkerque*; and any young fellow, who had been at the late battle, was received everywhere with the highest favour. The people crowded from all parts about the princes, who were universally beloved; and the more, because their favour at court was far from being equal to their glory.

The same general, with the same princes, and the

same troops, which had been surpris'd, and yet came off victorious, at Steenkirk, the following campaign, attacked king William, after a march of one-and-twenty miles, and defeated him at Nerwinde, a village near the Guette, some leagues from Brussels. William had just time to draw up his army in order of battle. Luxembourg, and the princes, twice carried the village sword in hand; but the enemy as often retook it, as soon as Luxembourg turned to another quarter: the French, however, at last gained it a third time, and the battle ended in their favour (*p*). Few battles were ever more bloody: there were killed on the spot, in all, twenty thousand men; twelve thousand of the allies, and eight thousand French. On this occasion it was said, they ought rather to have sung *De profundis* than *Te Deum*.

All these victories procured great glory, but little advantage. The allies, though defeated at Fleurus, Steenkirk, and Nerwinde, had not yet been effectually worsted. King William always made excellent retreats; and, about fifteen days after one battle, another generally followed, in order to determine who should keep the field. The cathedral of Paris was hung round with the enemy's colours; which gave occasion to the prince of Conti to call Luxembourg *the upholsterer of Notre-Dame*. There was nothing now talked of but victories. Lewis XIV. had formerly conquered the half of Holland and Flanders, and all Franche-Comte, without fighting a single battle: but now, after so many grand efforts, and bloody victories, he could not penetrate into the united provinces, nor lay siege to Brussels.

(*p*) July 29. 1693.

The marshal de Lorges had also gained a considerable victory near Spierbach (*q*): he had even taken prisoner the old duke de Wittemberg, and penetrated into the heart of his country; but, after all this success, he had been forced to retire. The Dauphin had twice taken and sacked Heidelberg, which the enemy as often retook: so that his highness was at last obliged to act only on the defensive against the Imperialists.

Marshal de Catinat, after the victory at Stafarda, and the conquest of all Savoy, could not even save Dauphine from an irruption of the duke of Savoy; neither was he able, after his victory at Marseilles, to preserve the important town of Casal.

In Spain the marshal de Noailles also gained a battle near the banks of the river Ter (*r*). He took Girona, and some other inconsiderable places: but he had only a weak army, and was obliged after his victory, to retire from before Barcelona. The French, victorious on all sides, and weakened with success, found the allies to be an hydra, always springing up afresh. It began now to be somewhat difficult to muster up recruits in France, and more so to raise money. The severity of the season (*s*), having destroyed the fruits of the earth, brought on a famine also at this time; so that, in the midst of their *Te Deums* and rejoicings, the French were perishing with want and misery. Their wonted spirit, and notion of superiority, the very soul of the French troops, began likewise to sink apace. Lewis had ceased to command them; Louvois was dead (*t*), and they were highly dissatisfied with his son Bar-

(*q*) Sept. 1. & 2. 1692. (*r*) May 27. 1694. (*s*) 1694.
(*t*) 1691.

besieux: finally, the death of marshal Luxembourg (*u*), under whom the soldiers thought themselves invincible, seemed to put an end to the rapid course of France's victories.

The art of bombarding maritime towns with ships, was now used against its inventors: that infernal machine, with which the English attempted to destroy St. Malo, and which blew up too soon to do execution, did not owe its original to the ingenuity of France: these fire-ships had been used in Europe a considerable time before; but it is the art of throwing bombs with as much certainty from a moving vessel as from the solid ground, which the French claim as their invention: and it was by this art that Dieppe, Havre-de-grace, St. Malo, Dunkirk, and Calais, were bombarded by the English fleets (*x*). Dieppe, being the most accessible, was the only one which suffered considerable damage. This town now so agreeable by the regularity of its buildings, which owes its present beauty to its former destruction, was almost intirely reduced to ashes. In Havre-de-grace there were only about twenty houses destroyed; but the fortifications of the harbour were utterly demolished. In this sense then, the medal struck in Holland is founded on truth, though the French historians have exclaimed against its falsity. The exergue is in Latin, to this purpose; *The harbour of Havre burnt and demolished, &c.* This inscription does not say the town was destroyed, which would have been false; but that the harbour was destroyed, which was the real truth.

Soon after, we again lost Namur. In France

(*u*) January 1695.

(*x*) July 1694. & 1695.

they had bestowed the highest encomiums on Lewis XIV. for taking this place ; nor had they been less profuse of their raillery, and indecent reflections, against William, for not being able to relieve it with an army of eighty thousand men.

William made himself master of the place, in the same manner he had seen it taken. He attacked it in sight of an army much stronger than that he commanded, when Lewis besieged Namur. He found there many new fortifications, raised by Vauban : the French garison, which defended it, was a real army ; for, during his preparations to invest the place, marshal Boufflers had thrown himself into the town with seven regiments of dragoons : thus, Namur was defended with sixteen thousand men, and every moment expecting to be relieved by an hundred thousand more. Marshal de Boufflers was an active and indefatigable general, and a true patriot ; employing his whole thoughts for the service of his country, which he loved as much as life itself.

The marquis de Feuquieres, in his Memoirs, blames Boufflers for many pieces of misconduct in his defence of the town and citadel of Namur ; nay, he even reflects upon him for his defence of Lille, which redounded so much to his honour. The writers of Lewis XIV.'s reign have all servilely copied the marquis for affairs of war, as they have the abbe de Choisi for private histories. They did not, or, perhaps had not an opportunity to know, that Feuquieres, though an excellent officer, who knew the practice and theory of war, was a man of no less chagrin than brightness of genius, the Aristarchus of generals, and sometimes the Zoilus. He misrepresents facts, in order to have the plea-

sure of censuring faults : he reproached every body almost, and, in his turn, was also universally reproached ; thence he was said to be the bravest man in Europe, because he slept every night amidst an hundred thousand enemies. His merit not having been distinguished with a marshal's staff, he therefore employed, against all the officers of state, his whole wit and talents ; which might have been of great service to the public, had he been as happy in his temper as he was active, discerning and bold.

He reproaches marshal de Villeroi with more and greater misconduct than Boufflers. Villeroi, at the head of eighty thousand men, was to have succoured Namur : but, had even the two marshals done all in their power, the situation of the ground was such, that Namur could not have been relieved, and must have surrendered sooner or later : and the army posted on the banks of the Mehaigne, in the same manner as that which had before obstructed William, now necessarily proved the like hindrance to marshal de Villeroi's army.

Marshal de Boufflers, the count de Guiscard, governor of Namur, the count de Laumont de Chatelet, commander of the infantry, together with all the officers and soldiers, defended the town with wonderful obstinacy and valour ; but all did not retard its being taken above two days. When a town is besieged by a superior army, the works properly conducted, and the season favourable, one may guess pretty nearly in what time it will be taken, though the defence be ever so vigorous. King William carried the city and citadel of Namur ; but this exploit cost him a little more time than it had done Lewis XIV.

The king, at the time when he lost Namur,

ordered Brussels to be bombarded (y): a fruitless revenge which he took on the king of Spain, for those towns lately bombarded by the English. It was equally ruinous and fatal to both parties.

It is now two centuries since the restless spirit of the Europeans, not contented to confine their fury within their own continent, have carried the desolations of war to the most distant countries. We now drain ourselves of money and men, to go to destroy one another in the remotest parts of Asia and America. The Indians, whom we have obliged, by force or artifice, to receive our settlements, and the Americans, of whom we have butchered such numbers, and driven from their possessions, look upon us as enemies of the human race, who come from the farthest parts of the world to cut their throats, and then to plunge our swords into each other's bosoms.

The French had, at this time, no other colony in the East Indies but Ponticherry, which Colbert had established at an immense expence; but no advantage could be reaped from it for several years. The Dutch easily took it; and thus ruined the commerce of France in India, when in its infancy.

The English destroyed the French settlement at St. Domingo (z). A privateer from Brest ravaged the English colony at the isle of Gambia in Afric (a). The privateers of St. Malo had likewise carried fire and sword into their possessions in the east side of Newfoundland, which they possessed. Their island of Jamaica had been also harassed by our squadrons, their vessels taken and burnt, and their coasts plundered.

Pointis (b), the commander of the Squadron, with
 (y) Sept. 1695. (z) 1695. (a) 1696. (b) 1695.

a considerable number of the king's ships, and some American corsairs, went beyond the line to surprise the town of Carthagena (*c*), the magazine of all the treasure which Spain brings from Mexico. The damage he did there, was computed at twenty millions of livres, and his gain at ten millions: but somewhat is always to be abated in these calculations; though nothing in those extreme calamities arising from such glorious expeditions.

The Dutch and English merchantmen were daily made prizes by the French privateers, but especially by Dugue-Trouin, a man of a singular genius, who wanted only the command of fleets to gain him the reputation of a Dragut, or a Barberossé. The enemy did not take so many of the French merchant-ships; for they had fewer to take; their commerce being greatly declined by the war, and the death of Colbert.

The result of these sea and land expeditions was universal calamity. Those who have more humanity than policy will certainly take notice, that, in this war, Lewis was in arms against the king of Spain, his own nephew; against the elector of Bavaria, whose sister had been married to the Dauphin; and against the elector Palatine, whose dominions he laid waste by fire and sword, after he had married monsieur to the princess Palatine. King James was dethroned by his own son-in-law and daughter. We even afterwards saw the duke of Savoy joining in a league against France, where one of his daughters was dauphiness, and against Spain, where another was queen. In short, most of the

(*c*) May 1697.

wars amongst Christian princes, are a kind of civil wars.

The most criminal undertaking in all this war, was the most successful one; for William succeeded in every thing in England and Ireland; on the continent the successes were pretty equally balanced. When I call this undertaking criminal, I do not pretend to examine, whether the English nation, after having spilt the father's blood, was in the right or in the wrong to proscribe the son, and to defend their religion and liberty; I say only, if there is any such thing as justice upon earth, surely it was repugnant thereto, for the son-in-law and daughter of James to drive him from his dwelling house.

CHAPTER XVI.

The peace of Ryswick; the state of Europe, and of France in particular; the death and testament of Charles II. king of Spain.

FRANCE still preserved the superiority over all her enemies. She had intirely crushed some of them, as Savoy and the Palatinate; and had commenced hostilities on the frontiers of others: she was a strong and powerful body, but fatigued by a long resistance, and exhausted by her victories. One blow, struck properly, would have made her stagger. Whoever has a number of enemies at once, cannot, in the end, be safe, but by a peace, or by their division; both which Lewis XIV. soon after brought about.

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, of all the allied princes, knew best what measures to take, when he found it conducive to his interest to break his engagements: it was to him then that the court of France first applied. The count de Tessé, afterwards marshal of France, a nobleman of an amiable disposition, as well as great abilities, and remarkable for his affability, a talent highly requisite in carrying on negotiations, was accordingly sent to Turin, to sound matters privately: and marshal Catinat, a man equally formed for the affairs of peace or war, brought the matter to a conclusion. There was no necessity, indeed, for two such able statesmen to determine the duke of Savoy to accept of offers so advantageous. They restored him his dominions; they gave him money, and proposed a marriage betwixt the young duke of Burgundy, the Dauphin's son, heir to the crown of France, and his daughter. In short, the affair was soon agreed upon: the duke and Catinat concluded the treaty at Notre Dame de Loretto (*a*), whither they went under pretence of a religious pilgrimage; but almost every body saw through their design. Innocent XII. the pope at that time, was extremely desirous of entering into this negotiation. His design was at once to deliver Italy from the invasions of the French, and the continual taxes exacted by the emperor for the payment of his armies: he wanted the Imperialists to leave Italy neuter; and the duke of Savoy accordingly engaged to procure him this neutrality by the treaty. The emperor at first stood out; for the court of Vienna seldom came to a determination till

(*a*) July 1696.

the last extremity. The duke of Savoy then joined his army to the French; and, in less than a month, this prince from being the generalissimo of the emperor became that of Lewis XIV. His daughter was carried into France, at eleven years of age, to be married to the duke of Burgundy, who was only thirteen. After the duke of Savoy had gone off from the league, it happened then, as before in the peace of Nimegen, that each of the allies began to treat separately. The emperor was the first, and accepted of the neutrality of Italy. The Dutch proposed the castle of Ryfwick, near the Hague, to hold the conferences in, for a general peace. The four armies, which Lewis had then in the field, hastened matters to a conclusion: he had twenty-four thousand men in Flanders, under Villeroi; marshal de Choiseul was at the head of forty thousand, on the banks of the Rhine; and Catinat commanded as many in Piedmont. The duke de Vendome, who, from a volunteer in the king's guards, had gone through all the different stations in the army, was now at last head general in Catalonia, where he had gained a victory, and taken Barcelona. These new and successful efforts were efficacious mediators for the peace. The court of Rome offered her mediation; but this was rejected, as before at Nimegen. Charles XI. king of Sweden, was pitched upon as mediator. The peace, in short, was at last concluded (*b*); but not with such loftiness, nor on such advantageous conditions, as had formerly distinguished the grandeur of Lewis XIV.; for, on the contrary, every thing came from his side with a remarkable moderation and condescension. This he considered as

(*b*) September, October 1679.

good policy, and as necessary to make him greater and more powerful than ever.

The king of Spain, having been worn out by a complication of distempers before his fortieth year, was now near his end: after his death, the posterity of Charles the fifth would be extinct; for he had no more children. Lewis XIV. had a natural right to the Spanish crown, as being grandson to Philip III. by Anne of Austria; and the Dauphin was equally intitled by Maria-Theresa, as grandson to Philip the fourth.

The great aim of Lewis, as it really ought to have been, was to prevent the succession of all that vast monarchy of his own, and his son's grandfather, from falling wholly into the other branch of the Austrian family. He hoped, that the house of Bourbon would be able, at least, to lay hold of some portion thereof; and that, at last, she might perhaps get the whole into her possession. The solemn renunciations of his mother and wife appeared to Lewis as formal trifles, that ought to be abolished when new circumstances arose. In this scheme for the aggrandizing of France, or the house of Bourbon, it was necessary, however, to put on an appearance of moderation to Europe, not to provoke so many jealous powers. The peace now gave him time to procure new allies, to re-establish his former finances, as well as to create others which seemed needful, and to train up a new soldiery. He thought proper, therefore, to make some concessions, in hopes of gaining thereby more considerable advantages.

The king restored to the Spaniards all he had taken near the Pyrenees, in the late war; as he did

also Luxembourg, Mons, Ath, and Courtrai, in Flanders. He acknowledged William as lawful king of England, hitherto stiled only prince of Orange, and accounted a tyrant and usurper: he promised likewise to give no assistance to his enemies. King James, who was not even mentioned in the treaty, remained at St. Germain, living on the empty title of king, and Lewis's pension. He sent nothing now against his rival but manifestoes: his protector was obliged to sacrifice him; and he was already forgotten in Europe.

The decrees passed by the parliaments of Brisac and Metz against so many sovereigns, and the reunions made near Alsace, those monuments of power, and dangerous tyranny, were abolished: and all the jurisdictions which had been seized, were also returned to the lawful proprietors.

Besides these concessions, Lewis restored Frisbourg, Brisac, Kheil, and Philipsbourg, to the Empire. He also agreed to demolish the fortifications of Strasbourg on the Rhine, Fort Lewis, Traerbach, and Mont-royal; works on which Vauban had exhausted his art, and the king his treasures. All Europe became astonished, and France was moved with indignation, that Lewis should agree to such a peace as if he had been conquered. Harlai, Creci, and Callieres, who had signed it, durst not shew themselves at court, nor in the city; every body loaded them with sarcasms and reproaches, as if they had taken a step not ordered by the ministry. The court bitterly reflected upon them for having betrayed the honour of France. The courtiers, having more zeal than penetration,

were ignorant, that, upon this treaty, so shameful in appearance, Lewis intended to found his grandeur.

It was by this treaty that France restored Lorrain to the family which had enjoyed it seven hundred years. Duke Charles V. who had been the support of the Empire, and had conquered the Turks, was dead; his son Leopold, at the peace of Ryswick, took possession of his sovereignty; though stripped, indeed of his just rights; for he was not permitted to fortify his capital: but they could not deprive him of a more glorious right, that of acting for the good of his subjects; a right which no prince ever used so worthily as Leopold.

It were to be wished, indeed, it could be remembered to latest posterity, that one of the pettiest princes of Europe was he who did most for the benefit of his people. He found Lorrain desolate and abandoned, which he repeopled and enriched: he preserved it always in peace, whilst all Europe was ravaged by war: his conduct was so prudent, that he was always on good terms with France, and was at the same time beloved in the Empire; happily keeping that just medium, which a petty prince is scarce ever able to preserve betwixt two formidable powers. He procured his people an abundance, which they had never known before; and the nobility of Lorrain, who had been reduced to extreme misery, were raised to a state of opulence by his acts of generosity. If he saw a gentleman's house in ruins, he immediately had it rebuilt at his own expence: he paid their debts, and took care to have their daughters properly married. He was profuse in his presents; and his manner of giving was even superior to his bounty; for he

shewed, in all his gifts, at once, the magnificence of a prince, and the politeness of a friend. The arts being honoured in his little province, produced a new circulation, which makes the riches of a state. His court was formed after the model of France; and one who had come from thence to Luneville, would almost imagine himself still at Versailles. After the example of Lewis, he made learning flourish: he established an university at Luneville for true literature, without pedantry; and thither the young nobility of Germany went to receive their education. There the true and useful sciences were taught; and the principles of natural philosophy ocularly demonstrated by the most curious machines. He searched for men of genius and talents, even in the lowest stations, and most obscure retreats; and, when he found such, he always encouraged and brought them to light. In short, during his whole reign, his only employment was the care of procuring to his people tranquillity, riches, knowlege, and pleasure. "I would quit my throne to-morrow, said he, if I could do no more good." Thus he enjoyed the pleasure of being universally beloved; and, long after his death, I myself have seen his subjects shed tears, when his name was mentioned. In short, he left an example to the greatest princes; and, by his behaviour, not a little paved the way for his son to the Imperial diadem.

About the time when Lewis was settling the peace of Ryswick, with a view to the succession of Spain, the crown of Poland became vacant. This crown was the only elective one in the world; and foreigners, as well as Polanders, might put in their claim. There were two ways to procure it, either

by merit that was conspicuous, and supported with interest, to carry the votes (as was the case of John Sobieski, the last king), or by treasure sufficient to purchase this kingdom, which is generally put up to a kind of auction.

The abbe de Polignac, afterwards cardinal, had, at first, address enough to carry the votes in favour of the prince de Conti, so well known for his gallant behaviour at Steenkirk and Nerwind: he had never, however, commanded in chief, nor been admitted into the king's privy-council: the duke of Bourbon, was reputed equal to him in warlike affairs; and the duke de Vendome was a man of greater renown for martial abilities. Nevertheless, his fame eclipsed that of the other two. This was owing to his art of pleasing, and displaying his talents to the best advantage; an art which no-body ever possessed to an higher degree than Conti. Polignac, who had that of persuading, first determined the electors in that prince's favour. By his eloquence and promises, he counterbalanced the treasure which Augustus, elector of Saxony, had lavished with such profusion. Conti was elected by a considerable majority (c); and accordingly proclaimed by the primate of the kingdom. Two hours after Augustus was likewise chosen, by another party, much less in number; but he was a powerful prince, and had troops in readiness on the frontiers of Poland. The prince of Conti was absent, without money, without troops, and without power: he had nothing but his name, and the cardinal de Polignac. Lewis ought certainly either to have prevented his accepting of the offer of the crown, or to have supplied him

with a sufficient force to carry it against his rival. The French ministry was thought to have done too much in sending the prince of Conti; and too little, in giving him only a small convoy, and a few bills of exchange, with which he came into the road of Dantzick. This method of beginning affairs, and dropping them, is a kind of policy frequently practised by the French ministry. The prince of Conti was not even admitted into Dantzick; and his bills were protested. The intrigues of the pope, those of the emperor, and the money and troops of Saxony, had already secured the crown to his rival. He returned with the glory only of having been elected; and France had the mortification to find, that she was unable to make a king of Poland.

The disgrace of the prince of Conti did not disturb the peace of the North amongst the Christians. The South of Europe was restored to quiet by the treaty of Ryfwick; so that there was now no other war remaining, but that which the Turks carried on with Germany, Poland, Venice, and Muscovy. The Christians, however, notwithstanding their ill-management, and divisions, had, in this war, the superiority. Soon after, happened the battle of Zanta (*d*), in which prince Eugene routed the grand signor at the head of his army. This defeat, made remarkable by the death of a grand vizier, seventeen bashaws, and twenty thousand Turks, humbled the Ottoman insolence, and brought on the peace of Carlowitz; in which the Turks were obliged to submit to the terms of their conquerors (*e*). The Venetians were to have Morea, the Muscovites Asoph, the Poles Caminieck, and the emperor Transilvania.

(*d*) 1697.(*e*) 1699.

All Christendom was blessed with perfect tranquillity, and war was not talked of either in Asia or Africa. The world, in general, seemed to be in peace during the last two years of the seventeenth century; a remarkable period, but of a short duration.

The public troubles soon began again. The North was disturbed, in the year 1700. by two men, the most extraordinary that ever appeared in the world; the czar Peter Alexiovitz, emperor of Russia, and young Charles XII. king of Sweden. The czar Peter, though born almost a savage, arrived to a pitch of true grandeur: by force of genius, and labour, he became the réformer, or rather founder, of his empire. Charles XII. more virtuous than Peter, and yet less serviceable to his subjects, being formed to command a soldiery, but not a people, was the first hero of his age: he died, however, with the character of an imprudent prince. That war, which continued eighteen years, and brought such desolation on the North, arose from the ambitious designs of the czar, and the kings of Poland and Denmark, who intended to take advantage of the youth of Charles XII. in order to strip him of some part of his dominions. Charles, when he was only sixteen years old, conquered these three princes, became the terror of the North, and was reputed an hero at an age when others have not finished their education. Nine years he was the most formidable prince in the world, and nine more the most unfortunate.

The fresh commotions in the South of Europe sprung from another cause. A great dispute arose about dividing the spoils of the Spanish monarch,

whose death was approaching. The powers, who already enjoyed in idea this vast succession, acted in the same manner as generally happens during the sickness of a rich old man without children: his wife, his relations, the priests, and the lawyers, placed to receive the last commands of the dying person, beset him on all sides to wrest from him a word in their favour. Some agree to share the spoils, whilst others prepare to dispute them.

Lewis XIV. and the emperor Leopold, were in the same degree of consanguinity: both were grandsons of Philip III. for both had married daughters of Philip IV. His royal highness the Dauphin, and Joseph king of the Romans, the emperor's son, had a double claim by the same proximity. The right of birth was in the house of Bourbon; for the king, and his son the Dauphin, had the eldest daughters for their mothers: but the emperor's family asserted for their rights, first and especially, the solemn and ratified renunciations of Lewis XIII. and XIV. to the crown of Spain; then the name of Austria; the blood of Maximilian, from whom Leopold and Charles II. were descended; the almost constant union of the two Austrian branches, and the still more constant hatred against the Bourbons; the aversion which the Spaniards had then to the French nation; and, as their last resource, a certain policy they had in their power to govern the Spanish councils.

These two rivals were not only afraid of each other, but had likewise all Europe to fear. The other powers, but especially those of England and Holland, whose interest it was to keep a balance, would never suffer the crown of Spain, with that

of the Empire, or of France, to be placed upon the same head. William had formed a design, even whilst Charles II. was living, to make a partition of the Spanish monarchy, and to give the principal part to a prince neither of the Bourbon nor Austrian family. This young prince, only eight years of age, was descended from a younger daughter of Philip IV. wife to the emperor Leopold: these had a daughter, married to Maximilian elector of Bavaria; and the youth, whom the English and Dutch had fixed upon, was the fruit of this marriage. The French monarch consented to this; he being to have by the partition, Sicily, Naples, the province of Guipuscoa, and several towns. The archduke Charles was to have Milan; and the remainder of it was to be given up to this young prince of Bavaria, whom it would be a considerable time before they would have any occasion to fear. England, France, and Holland, projected and made this treaty (*f*). * France expected to gain an addition to her territories; and the English and Dutch flattered themselves they should thereby effectually establish quiet in one part of Europe. All this policy, however, proved of no signification. The dying king, being told how his monarchy was divided before his death, was moved with the highest indignation; and, in consequence of it, every body expected, that he would declare the emperor, or the emperor's son, for his successor, as a recompence to Leopold for not being concerned in the partition; and, in

(*f*) October 11. 1698.

* Larrey and Limiers seem to have known nothing of this first partition-treaty.

short, that his testament would be intirely dictated by the power of the Austrian family, and wholly agreeable to its wishes. He made one, indeed; but, in this, he declared the same young prince of Bavaria, whom we have mentioned, heir to all his dominions. The Spanish nation, who feared nothing so much as the dismembering their monarchy, highly applauded this disposition; and they hoped, a general peace would be the effect of it. These hopes, however, were as vain as the partition-treaty; for the prince of Bavaria, the designed king, died at Brussels (*g*).

The house of Austria was unjustly accused, as being the cause of this sudden death; and this only upon the bare probability, that a crime is most likely to be committed by those to whom it seems most advantageous. The intrigues and cabals were renewed in the courts of Madrid, Vienna, Versailles, London, Rome, and the Hague.

Lewis XIV. king William, and the states general, made another imaginary division of the Spanish monarchy. They assigned to the archduke Charles, younger son of the emperor, what they had before given to the deceased youth (*b*).

They allotted Milan to the duke of Lorrain; and his duchy, which had been so often taken, and as often restored, by the French, was to be for ever annexed to the crown of France. This treaty, which put in motion the politics of all the princes, either to oppose or defend it, proved to as little purpose as the former. Europe was again disappointed in her expectation, as happens almost always.

(*g*) Feb. 1699.

(*b*) March 1700.

The emperor would not sign this treaty of partition; because he was in great hopes of having the whole succession. The French monarch, who had pressed the signing of it, waited the event in the utmost suspense.

The king of Spain, being sensible of his declining state though in the flower of his age, was inclined to settle his whole monarchy on the archduke Charles, nephew to his queen, and second son to the emperor Leopold: for so much was he convinced of the necessity of paying some regard to the balancing system, that he became afraid of naming the eldest son his successor; such a step he saw plainly would alarm the rest of Europe, and all the other powers would immediately have recourse to arms, when they saw Spain, with the Indies, the Empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardy, in the same hands. He therefore requested the Emperor Leopold to send his second son, Charles, to Madrid, with ten thousand men; but this would not then have been suffered by France, England, Holland, nor Italy; for all were solicitous to bring about the partition. The emperor would not venture his son alone to the mercy of the Spanish council; and he knew he could not march ten thousand men to that kingdom. His intention was only to send a sufficient body of troops into Italy, to secure himself in this part of the Spanish-Austrian monarchy. It happened, in the important affairs of these two grand princes, as we daily see amongst private persons about their little concerns; they disputed, and then grew out of temper: the German haughtiness raised the Castilian pride. The countess de Perlitz, who intirely go-

verned the queen of the dying monarch, contributed likewise to alienate the affections of many at Madrid, whom she ought rather to have gained; and the council of Vienna rendered things still more irreconcilable by their haughty procedure.

The young archduke, afterwards the emperor Charles VI. generally called the Spaniards by some reproachful names. But he learned from thence how cautious a prince ought to be in his expressions. The bishop of Lerida, embassador from Madrid at Vienna, being disgusted at the Germans, represented what Charles had said in the worst light, in his dispatches to Madrid; and he himself wrote against the house of Austria, in terms more reproachful than any which the archduke had thrown out against the Spaniards: "The minds of the ministers of Leopold," said he, "are like the goat-horns in my country, little, stubborn, and crooked." This letter became public: the bishop of Lerida was recalled; and, at his return to Madrid, he not a little heightened the antipathy of the Spaniards against the Austrians.

Many other little trifling incidents, which are generally connected with affairs of importance, contributed likewise to bring about that great change which happened in Europe, and prepared the way for that revolution, by which the house of Austria for ever lost Spain and the Indies. Cardinal Portocarero, and the most considerable of the Spanish grandees, having formed themselves into a party, to prevent the dismembering of their monarchy, persuaded Charles II. to prefer a younger grandson of Lewis XIV. to a prince so remote from them, and so incapable to defend them. This, they said, would be

no violation of the solemn renunciations of the mother and queen of Lewis XIV. to the crown of Spain: since these had been made on purpose to prevent the elder sons from coming into possession of the two kingdoms; and, for that reason, they had chosen a younger son. It would be likewise doing justice to the right of blood, at the same time that it would preserve the Spanish monarchy from a partition. The scrupulous king consulted divines upon this point; who were of the same opinion with his council. He then, notwithstanding his sickness, wrote with his own hand to the pope, desiring his opinion in the affair. The pope Innocent XII. who saw plainly, that the liberty of Italy depended greatly on the house of Austria's being weakened, wrote to Charles, " that the laws of Spain, and the " welfare of all Christendom, required him to give " the preference to the family of Bourbon." This letter was dated the 16th of July 1700. His holiness, we see, of a case of conscience made a state-affair; whilst his catholic majesty converted an important affair of state into a case of conscience.

Lewis XIV. was informed of these proceedings; but his council had not the least concern in this great event: at this juncture there was not even an ambassador at Madrid. Marshal d'Harcourt had been recalled six months before; the partition-treaty, which France was to support by her arms, having rendered her minister highly obnoxious at the Spanish court. The French had now only at Madrid one of the secretaries to Harcourt's embassy, who managed their affairs. This man has, indeed, been stiled envoy in all the gazettes, and histories gene-

rally copied from thence; but there is certainly a wide difference betwixt real titles and those that are only nominal.

All Europe imagined, that the will of Charles II. had been intirely dictated by the court of Versailles: but the dying prince had wholly consulted the interest of his kingdom, and the wishes, nay, even fears, of his subjects; for the French monarch had ordered a body of troops to march to the frontiers of Spain; and these were to be commanded by the marshal d'Harcourt. Nothing, indeed, is more true than this, that the reputation of Lewis, and the idea of his power, were the only negotiators which operated in this revolution. Charles of Austria, after having signed the ruin of his own house, and the grandeur of that of Bourbon, languished about a month longer, and then ended his obscure life, in the thirty-ninth year of his age (*i*). Perhaps, it may not be altogether useless, in order to shew somewhat of human nature, to mention, that this monarch, a few months before his death, ordered the graves to be opened in the Escorial, of his father, mother, and first queen, Maria-Louisa of Orleans, who was suspected to have been poisoned by his command; as may be seen in the chapter of Anecdotes; and he kissed the remains of their bodies. In this he either followed the example of some ancient kings of Spain; or he was desirous to accustom himself to the horror of death; or had, perhaps, some secret superstitious notion, that the opening of these tombs would retard his fatal hour.

The particulars of his will were kept so secret, that the count de Harrac, ambassador from his Im-

(*i*) October 1. 1700.

perial majesty, still flattered himself, that the archduke was nominated successor: he waited, for a considerable time, the issue of the grand council held immediately after the king's death; and the duke d'Abrantes at last approaching him with open arms, Harrac made then no doubt, that the archduke was king; when the duke, embracing him, said, *Vengo ad expedir me de la casa de Austria*; "I come to take my leave of the house of Austria."

Thus, after two hundred years spent in wars, and fruitless negotiations, for only a part of the Spanish frontiers, the house of Bourbon, by a dash of the pen, at last got the whole Spanish monarchy, without treaties, without cabals, and even without the least hope of such a succession. We thought ourselves obliged to bring to light a fact hitherto darkened and misrepresented by so many ministers and historians, blinded by prejudices, and outward appearances, which generally lead into error. All that has been published in so many volumes, in relation to money spent on the occasion by marshal d'Harcourt, and the Spanish ministers bribed to procure this will, must be ranked amongst political falsehoods, and popular errors. The marquis de Torci, minister in France at that time for foreign affairs, has given a convincing proof of this truth, by a paper which I have under his hand. The king of Spain, in choosing for his successor the grandson of a king who had been so long his enemy, had always his thoughts upon the effects of a general balance. The duke d'Anjou, grandson of Lewis XIV. was called to the Spanish succession, because he could have no expectation of inheriting the crown of France; and the same testament, which, in failure of a younger

son of the Bourbon family, nominated the archduke Charles, afterwards emperor Charles VI. expressly mentioned, that the Empire and Spain must never be united in the same sovereign.

Lewis XIV. might now either adhere to the treaty of partition, by which France would be a gainer, or accept of the will so advantageous to his family. It is certain, the matter was under deliberation. But, of all his privy-council, chancellor Ponchartrain was the only one who advised him to keep to the treaty: he saw the dangers which would ensue in having a new war to support. Lewis saw them also; but he was accustomed not to fear danger: he accepted therefore of the testament; and, at his coming out of the council, meeting the princesses de Conti, and madame the duchess; "Well," said he, smiling, "which course would you take, ladies?" Then without waiting their answer, "Which soever" "I follow," added he, "I know I shall be blamed."

The actions of kings, though they themselves may be flattered, always undergo many severe censures; insomuch that the king of England himself had several bitter reflections thrown out against him in parliament; and his ministers were persecuted for having made the treaty of partition. The English, who reason better than any people, but who sometimes suffer their reason to be extinguished by fury and party-spirit, at once exclaimed against William, who made the treaty, and against Lewis, who broke it.

Europe seemed at first to be struck with amazement, and unable to exert herself, when she saw the monarchy of Spain become subject to France, her rival for three hundred years. Lewis XIV. appeared to be the happiest and most powerful mon-

arch upon earth. He was now in his sixty-second year, furrounded with a numerous offspring; and one of his grandsons was going to take upon him the sovereignty of Spain, America, half of Italy, and the Netherlands. The emperor as yet could do nothing but complain.

King William, being become weak and infirm, though only in the fifty-second year of his age, did not now appear a dangerous enemy; besides, he must have the consent of his parliament to declare war. Lewis had sent over into England six millions of livres, by the strength of which he flattered himself he should be able to gain a majority of votes in his interest. William and the Dutch, not having a sufficient strength to declare themselves, wrote to Philip V. as lawful king of Spain. Lewis XIV. was secure of the elector of Bavaria, father to the deceased young prince, who had been nominated king of Spain. This elector, governor of the Netherlands in the name of the late king Charles II. at once secured to Philip V. the possession of Flanders, and opened a passage for the French troops through his electorate to Vienna, in case the emperor should declare war. The elector of Cologne, brother to the elector of Bavaria, was as strongly in the interest of France as his brother; and both seemed to be right in their judgments; for the house of Bourbon was then incomparably the strongest. The duke of Savoy had one daughter, who was duchess of Burgundy, and another now going to be queen of Spain: he himself was to command the French armies in Italy; so that it was not imagined he would ever declare war against such near relations.

The duke of Mantua, who had been sold by his

ministry to the French, now sold himself, and received a French garison into his dukedom. The Milanese acknowleged the grandson of Lewis without hesitating: even Portugal, the natural enemy of Spain, at first joined with her. In short, from Lisbon to Antwerp, and from the Danube to Naples, all was in the interest of the Bourbon family. The king became so haughty upon his prosperity, that, in speaking to the duke of Rochefaucault, about some propositions made to him by the emperor, he used the following expression: " You will find
 " them even more insolent than you were told
 " they were."

King William, who was an enemy to the grandeur of Lewis XIV. even to his grave, promised the emperor to arm England and Holland in his cause: and he likewise gained Denmark in his interest. In fine, he signed, at the Hague, a treaty which had been, for some time, concerted against the Bourbon family (*k*): but the French monarch was but little moved with this; and, reckoning upon the divisions which his money would make in the English parliament, and still more upon the united strength of France and Spain, he despised his enemies.

About this time, James died at St. Germain's (*l*). Upon his decease, Lewis immediately acknowleged the prince of Wales as lawful king of England. Had he not taken this step, it is very probable the parliament of England would not have intermeddled betwixt the houses of Bourbon and Austria; at least, several of the members of that parliament have so assured me: but thus to acknowlege for their king a prince who had been proscribed by them, appeared

(*k*) September 1700. - (*l*) September 16. 1701.

an insult to the nation, and an affecting to be arbitrary in Europe. This spirit of liberty, which then reigned in England, being heightened by their hatred of the power of Lewis XIV. disposed the nation to give William whatever subsidies he demanded.

The emperor Leopold first began the war in Italy, in the spring of the year 1701. Italy has been generally the country which has felt most from the ambition of the emperors: here it was that his arms could most easily penetrate by the way of Tirol and Venice; for this republic, though neutral in appearance, was more inclined to the house of Austria than Bourbon: besides, she was obliged by treaty to give a passage to the German troops; and she accordingly performed her engagements without the least reluctance.

The emperor waited till the Germanic body should come over to his interest, before he would attack Lewis on the side of Germany. He had a party in Spain, and a correspondence there: but no advantage could be reaped from thence, unless one of his sons were there in person. This could not be effected without the aid of the Dutch and English fleets. King William did all in his power to hasten the preparations: and though his body was weak, and almost lifeless, yet his understanding, being still lively and active, put every thing in motion; but all he did was not so much to serve the house of Austria, as to humble Lewis XIV.

He was to have headed the allied army in the beginning of the year 1702. Death, however, prevented him in this design: he received a fall from an horse, which proved mortal to his decayed body; for it brought on a slight fever, which carried him

off. He died without giving the least answer to what the English priests, who were at his bed-side, said to him on the subject of religion; and he shewed no other uneasiness but that which arose from the affairs of Europe.

He left the reputation of a great politician, though he had never been popular; and a formidable general, though he had lost many battles. His conduct was always discreet and moderate; and his spirits never appeared elevated but on a day of battle. He never aimed at absolute power in England; and to this it was owing that he reigned so peaceably. He was called stateholder of the English, and king of the Dutch. He was acquainted with most of the European languages, yet could not speak any one with elegance; for he was a man of more judgment and reflection than imagination. He affected to shun all praise and flattery; because, perhaps, Lewis appeared too fond of them. His glory was of a quite different kind from that of the French monarch. Those who are most pleased with the character of a prince who acquired a kingdom without a natural right; who maintained it without being beloved; who governed despotically, and yet did not enslave Holland; who was the soul and the chief of half of Europe; who had the genius of a general, and the valour of a common soldier; who never persecuted any one for religion; who despised all human superstition; and whose manners were simple and modest; such, no doubt, will give the name of Great to William rather than Lewis. Those, on the contrary, who are more charmed with the pleasures of a splendid court; with magnificence; with the protection given to

arts; with zeal for the public good; with a passion for glory, and a talent for reigning; who are more struck with the haughtiness with which the French ministers and generals, in obedience to their sovereign's will, added provinces to France; who are more affected with seeing a single kingdom withstand so many powers, in short, who admire more a monarch of France, who gives the kingdom of Spain to his grandson, than a son-in-law who de-thrones his father; such will certainly give the preference to Lewis XIV.

William was succeeded by the princess Anne, daughter of King James II. by a daughter of chancellor Hyde, one of the greatest men in England. She was married to the prince of Denmark, who was only her greatest subject. As soon as she ascended the throne, she entered into all the measures of king William, though she had had an open rupture with him when living. These measures were certainly the most agreeable to her people; and though a sovereign in any other kingdom may make his people blindly conform to his inclinations, yet, in England, a prince must comply with theirs.

The dispositions made by England and Holland, in order, if possible, to put the archduke Charles the emperor's son on the throne of Spain, or at least to oppose the Bourbons, deserve, perhaps, the attention of all ages. Holland was to maintain one hundred and two thousand troops, to be employed in the field, or to be kept in garisons. This was more than the vast monarchy of Spain could furnish at this juncture. A province of merchants, which had been almost totally subdued in two months, about

thirty years before, could now do more than the sovereigns of Spain, Naples, Flanders, Peru, and Mexico. England undertook to furnish forty thousand. In alliances it almost always happens, that the parties furnish at length less than they promised; England, on the contrary, in the second year of the war, sent fifty instead of forty thousand men; and towards the end of the war, she maintained, of her own troops, and those of her allies, upon the frontiers of France, in Spain, in Italy, in Ireland, in America, and in her fleets, two hundred and twenty thousand soldiers and sailors: an expence which will appear incredible to one who considers, that England, properly speaking, is but equal to a third of France, and has not half so much money in specie: but it will not surpass the belief of those who know what commerce and credit can do. The English bore always the greatest burden in this alliance. The Dutch lightened theirs by degrees: for, after all, the republic of the states general are only an illustrious company of merchants; but England is a rich and fertile kingdom, abounding in statesmen, merchants and warriors.

The emperor was to furnish ninety thousand men, exclusive of the assistance of the Empire, and those allies whom he expected to detach from the Bourbon family. Meanwhile the grandson of France reigned peaceably at Madrid; and in the beginning of the century Lewis was at the height of his power and glory. But those, who could penetrate into the secrets of the courts of Europe, especially that of France, began to apprehend a change. Spain, which had been greatly weakened under the late kings of the blood of Charles V. became more so in the be-

ginning of the reign of a son of the Bourbon family. The house of Austria had partisans in several provinces of this monarchy. Catalonia seemed ready to shake off the new yoke, and to declare for the archduke Charles. It was impossible to conceive, that Portugal would not, sooner or later, espouse the cause of the Austrian family. It appeared her interest to blow up, amongst the Spaniards, who were her natural enemies, a civil war, by which Lisbon must be a considerable gainer. The duke of Savoy, though but just become father-in-law to the king of Spain, and allied to the Bourbon family both by blood and treaties, yet appeared already dissatisfied with his sons-in-law. He had at first a monthly pension of fifty thousand crowns, which was augmented to two hundred thousand livres; but this did not appear to him sufficient to keep him in the Bourbon interest. He wanted at least to have Montserrat, and part of Milan, given up to him. The haughty treatment he experienced from the French generals, and the ministry of Versailles, gave him reason to suspect, that he would soon be disregarded by his sons-in-law, who surrounded his dominions on all sides. He had already suddenly quitted the Empire for France; and it was now highly probable, that, being also neglected by France, he would desert her the first opportunity.

In the court and kingdom of Lewis XIV. people of penetration already foresaw a revolution, which those of less discernment cannot perceive till the event itself happens. The king, now above sixty years of age, and being more retired, could not

now so well distinguish the characters of men. He saw things at too great a distance, with eyes less piercing than before, and bewitched by a long course of prosperity. Madam de Maintenon, with all the great qualities she possessed, had neither that vigour, that resolution, nor that greatness of soul, requisite to support the glory of a state. It was by her interest chiefly, that her favourite Chamillard was made superintendant of the finances, in 1698. and secretary at war, in 1701. He was more of the honest man than the minister; the modesty of his conduct, when he was governor of St. Cyr, had pleased the king: however, notwithstanding his outward modesty and diffidence, he was so unhappy as to think his strength sufficient to support a weight, which Colbert and Louvois both together had born with difficulty. The king, relying upon his own experience, believed he should be able himself to direct his ministers successfully. He had said to king James, upon the death of Louvois; "I have lost a good minister; but this shall not affect either your affairs or mine." When he chose Barbezieux to succeed Louvois as secretary at war, "I made your father a minister, said he; and I will make you one too." He said much the same to Chamillard. A king, indeed, who had laboured so long, and so successfully, seemed to have a right to speak in this manner.

In regard to the generals he employed, they were frequently too much confined by the strictness of their orders; as were likewise his ambassadors, who were not to deviate in the least from their instructions. He used to settle the operations of the campaign with Chamillard in madam

Maintenon's apartment; and if a commander intended any great enterprize, he must frequently send a courier for permission; and, before his return, the opportunity was lost, or the general defeated.

Honours and military rewards were lavished in the most inconsiderate manner, under the ministry of Chamillard. Permission was given to too many young men to purchase regiments, and even to some who had scarcely past their child-hood; whilst, among the enemy, a regiment was the reward of twenty years service. This difference was afterwards very sensibly felt, on several occasions, where an experienced colonel might have prevented a defeat. In the year 1693. the king first created knights of St. Lewis; an order which he instituted on purpose to raise an emulation in his officers, and as an honourable reward for military bravery; but the crosses of this order were sold as soon as Chamillard began his ministry: and they might be bought at the war-office for fifty crowns. Military discipline, which is the very soul of an army, and which had been so strictly preserved by Louvois, was now shamefully neglected. The proper number of soldiers was not kept up in the companies, nor that of the officers in the regiments. The easiness of having an understanding with the commissaries, and the remissness of the minister, produced this disorder. The inconveniences of which, had other circumstances concurred, must have occasioned the loss of battles: for, in order to have a front of as great extent as that of the enemy, they were obliged to oppose thin battalions to those that were numerous. The ma-

gazines were now neither sufficiently supplied, nor kept in readiness; and the arms were not properly tempered. Those persons, therefore, who saw these defects in the government, and who knew what generals France would have to encounter, were afraid for her, even amidst those first advantages, which seemed to promise her greater success than ever.

CHAPTER XVII.

The war in 1701. the conduct of prince Eugene, of marshal de Villeroy, the duke de Vendome, the duke of Marlborough, and marshal de Villars, to the year 1703.

THE first general who gave a check to the superiority of France, was a Frenchman; for so we must reckon prince Eugene, although a grandson of Charles-Emmanuel duke of Savoy. His father the count de Soissons, who settled in France, was a lieutenant-general, and governor of Champagne: he married Olimpia-Mancini, one of cardinal Mazarin's nieces. From this marriage, in other respects unfortunate, was born at Paris (*a*) this prince, so fatal afterwards to Lewis XIV. and so little known to him in his youth. He was at first stiled in France the chevalier de Carignan. He solicited the king for a single troop of horse; but he met with a refusal, because he happened to be so nearly related to the princes of Conti, then in disgrace at court. He then entered into holy orders, and assumed the title of abbot of Savoy: he petitioned for an abbey, and

(*a*) October 1663.

this was also denied him. In short, finding that Lewis XIV. would neither promote him in the church nor in the army, he went to serve the emperor against the Turks in Hungary, in the year 1684. in company with the princes of Conti, who had already made a glorious campaign in that service. The king sent orders to the princes of Conti, and those who accompanied them in this expedition, that they should return. The abbot of Savoy was the only person who did not obey: he continued his route, declaring that he renounced France for ever. When the king was informed of this, he said to his courtiers, smiling, " Do not you think I suffer a great loss?" All the courtiers, indeed, looked upon him as one of an unsettled mind, and who would never be capable of any great undertaking. But they framed their judgment on some sallies of youth, which ought never to fix our opinions of men. This prince, though held in such contempt at the French court, was born with the qualities requisite to make a great warrior, and an able statesman. His understanding was clear and elevated, and his resolution such as was necessary in the field, and the cabinet. He has committed mistakes, as all generals have done; but his oversights were effaced by the number of his great actions. He humbled the grandeur of Lewis XIV. and governed the Empire: and, in the whole course of his victories, and administration, he shewed an equal contempt of pride and riches. He even cultivated letters, and encouraged them as much as he could, at the court of Vienna. He was now in the thirty-seventh year of his age; having derived great experience from his victories over the Turks, and the mistakes of the

Imperialists in the late wars, wherein he had served against France. He made a descent upon Italy by the bishopric of Trent, and the territories of Venice, at the head of thirty thousand men; having a full power to pursue what measures he thought proper. The French court, at first, ordered marshal Catinat not to oppose the passage of prince Eugene; either not choosing to offer the first act of hostility, which was certainly bad policy, when they had an army in readiness; or to avoid giving offence to the Venetians, who were, however, not so much to be feared as the German army. This false step of the court made Catinat run into many others; for a general seldom succeeds, when obliged to follow a plan not his own. Besides, it must be allowed extremely difficult, in such a country, divided by so many rivers, and branches of rivers, to hinder the passage of a skilful enemy, such as prince Eugene was; who, to a profound depth of design, joined likewise a surprising quickness and activity in execution. The nature of the ground too, adjacent to the banks of the Adige, was such, that the imperialists were confined, whilst the French were scattered, and more extended. Catinat was for passing over to the enemy; but his lieutenant-generals started difficulties, and formed cabals against him: he had not resolution enough to force them to a compliance with his orders; and this omission, arising from the moderation of his temper, proved a fatal misconduct. Eugene first attacked the post of Carpi, near the canal Blane, defended by St. Fremont; who, not conforming exactly to the orders of his general, was defeated. After this success, the Germans became masters of all the country betwixt the Adige and

Adda; they even penetrated into the territory of Bresciano, and Catinat retired behind the Oglio. Most of the best officers approved of this retreat as extremely prudent; nay, we must likewise add, that the want of ammunition, which the government had promised but neglected to send, rendered it absolutely necessary. The courtiers, especially those who hoped to supplant Catinat in his command, exclaimed against his conduct, as a reproach to the French name. The marshal de Villeroi undertook to retrieve the honour of the nation. The confidence with which he spoke, and the affection the king had for him, accordingly procured this general the command in Italy; and the marshal de Catinat, notwithstanding his victories at Staffarda and Marseilles, was obliged to serve under him.

The marshal duke de Villeroi was son to the king's preceptor; and, having been brought up with him, was always highly in his favour. He had been a companion to him in all his campaigns, as well as pleasures. He was a man of an agreeable and charming person, courageous, honourable, friendly, sociable, and magnificent in every thing: but his enemies said, that at the head of an army, he was more taken up with the honour and pleasure of commanding, than busied in the designs of a great general. They likewise reproached him with such an obstinate attachment to his own opinions, that he never followed the advice of any other person.

He came into Italy to give orders to marshal de Catinat, and to add to the disgust of the duke of Savoy. His behaviour shewed, that he thought a favourite of Lewis XIV. at the head of a powerful army greatly above a prince. He called him only

Savoy; treating him as a general in the pay of France, and not as a sovereign who was lord of the barriers which nature had fixed betwixt France and Italy. The friendship of this prince was certainly not so regarded, as seemed necessary. The court imagined, that fear alone would be a sufficient tie to keep him in her interest; and that a French army, by which about six or seven thousand Piemontese troops were continually surrounded, would warrant his fidelity. Marshal Villeroi behaved to him as his superior in command, and his equal in other respects. The duke of Savoy had the empty title of generalissimo, and the marshal had the sole authority. His first order was, that they should attack prince Eugene, posted at Chiari near Oglio. The general officers were of opinion, that such a step would be contrary to all the rules of war, for very strong reasons: the post was in itself of no consequence, and the intrenchments inaccessible; so that they could gain nothing by carrying it, and, if they failed, would lose the reputation of the campaign. Villeroi peremptorily told the duke of Savoy, he must march; and he sent an aid-de-camp, in his name, to order marshal Catinat on the attack. Catinat made him repeat the order thrice; and then turning to the officers under his command, "Come then, gentlemen," said he, "we must obey." They accordingly marched up to the intrenchments (*b*). The duke of Savoy behaved, at the head of his troops, not like a man dissatisfied with France; Catinat fought as if he fought for death: he was wounded, and, in this condition, when he saw the king's troops repulsed, and Ville-

(*b*) September 11. 1701.

roi not giving orders, he made a retreat. After this he left the army, and came to Versailles, to give an account of his conduct to the king, without complaining of any person.

Prince Eugene always kept the superiority over marshal Villeroi. At last, in the midst of winter, in the year 1702. one night, when the marshal was asleep, in the utmost security, in Cremona, a town of great strength, and defended by a numerous garison, he was suddenly awaked by the noise of several vollies of musquet-shot: he rose in the utmost hurry, and mounted his horse. The first thing that presents itself to him, is a squadron of the enemy: he is instantly taken prisoner, and conducted out of the town not knowing what passed there, nor being able to imagine the cause of this surprising event. Prince Eugene was already in Cremona. A priest, named Bozzoli, provost of St. Maria Neuf, had let in the Germans by an aqueduct: four hundred foldiers, having by this means been conveyed into the priest's house, had killed the guards at the two gates; and these being opened, prince Eugene entered with four thousand men. All this had been done, before the governor, who was a Spaniard, could have the least suspicion, and before Villeroi awaked. The preparations for this enterprize had been carried on with the utmost secrecy, order, diligence, and precaution. The Spanish governor first appeared in the streets, with some foldiers; but was killed by a musquet-shot; and all the general officers shared the same fate, or were taken prisoners, except count de Revel, the lieutenant-general, and the marquis de Pralin. Chance, however, defeated all the prudence of prince Eugene.

The chevalier d'Entragues was that same day to have a review, in the town, of a regiment of marines, of which he was colonel: they had accordingly assembled by four of the clock in the morning, at one end of the town, precisely at the time when prince Eugene entered at the other. D'Entragues hurried into the streets with his men, and furiously attacked the Germans. By this means, the rest of the garison had some time to come together. The officers and soldiers thronged into the streets, and public places, in the utmost confusion; some half-armed, and others half naked, without a commander, and without order. They fought in the greatest distraction, running from street to street and from one square to another. Two Irish regiments, part of the garison, at last put a stop to the fury of the Imperialists. Never was any town surprised with greater art and stratagem, nor any defended with so much valour. The garison consisted of five thousand men: prince Eugene had yet brought into the town but four thousand; a considerable detachment of his army was to have come by a bridge over the Po. His measures had been concerted with great prudence; but another mischance intirely defeated them. This bridge, guarded only by about an hundred French soldiers, was to have been first seized by the German cuirassiers, who, as soon as prince Eugene entered the town, were accordingly ordered to go to make themselves masters of it. For this purpose, as they had come in at the south-gate, nearest the aqueduct, they must now go out by the north-side, through the Po-gate, to the field of Cremona, and run straightway to the bridge. They accordingly went thither; but the guide, who conducted them, happening to be kill-

ed by a musquet-shot from a window, the cuirassiers mistook one street for another; and thus the way was made longer. In this short interval, the Irish, having rushed to the Po-gate, furiously attacked and repulsed the cuirassiers. The marquis de Pralin seized this opportunity, and ordered the bridge to be cut down. Thus the reinforcement, which the enemy expected, could not advance, and the town was saved.

Prince Eugene, after having fought the whole day, and having been always master of the gate he had entered, at last retreated; carrying with him marshal Villeroi, and several general officers, prisoners; but failed in carrying Cremona, which his own activity and prudence, joined to the negligence of the governor, had put into his hands, and which fortune, and the bravery of the French and Irish, had taken from him.

Marshal Villeroi, who was extremely unfortunate on this occasion, was exclaimed against by the courtiers at Versailles with great bitterness; which is not to be wondered at, considering his character, his high station, and the share he had always had of the royal favour. The king, who blamed, but did not reproach him, was highly provoked that every one so much condemned his choice; and on this occasion, this saying escaped him, "They are thus outrageous against him, because he is my favourite;" an expression he never used towards any person, but this once, during his whole life. The duke de Vendome was now named to the command in Italy.

The duke de Vendome, grandson of Henry IV.

was, like him, bold and intrepid, affable in his temper, benevolent in his disposition, without pride, hatred, envy, or revenge. His behaviour was haughty only to princes, but easy and condescending to every body else. He was the only general, under whom the soldiers did not go to battle from a notion of duty, or prompted by that animal instinct, and mechanical enthusiasm, which leads them on to obey the commands of their officers: they fought for the duke of Vendome, and would have sacrificed their lives to retrieve any false step, which he was sometimes led into by the precipitancy of his temper. He was thought not to concert his designs with so much depth as prince Eugene; nor did he so well understand the art of providing subsistence for armies. He neglected all oeconomy, and allowed the military discipline to relax. His table and bed engrossed too much of his time; which was likewise the case of his brother. His effeminacy often brought him into danger of being surpris'd; but, on the day of action, he retrieved all by a presence of mind, and quickness of parts, which seemed to rise in proportion to the danger. He always distinguished himself most in action; and this he always sought for; being, as was said, not so well qualified as prince Eugene for a defensive war, but, in every respect, as well formed for an offensive one.

His disorder and negligence was not confined to the army; for it prevailed to a surprising excess in his house; nay, even in his person; and, from an aversion to pride and ostentation, he ran into such a cynical slovenliness as can hardly be paralleled. His disinterestedness, one of the most noble virtues, became in him a fault; for he kept no account of his

affairs; and, by this want of order, lost more than he had ever bestowed on acts of liberality: nay, by this means, he was often even pinched for common necessaries. His brother, the grand prior, who served under him in Italy, had all the same imperfections even to a greater excess, and for which he made amends by the same valour. It was certainly astonishing to see two generals often abed at four of the clock in the afternoon; and two princes grandsons of Henry IV. sunk into such a neglect of their persons, as even the meanest people would have been ashamed of.

But what is more surprising still, is that mixture of activity and indolence, with which Vendome carried on a war against Eugene, so full of stratagems, surprises, marches, passages of rivers, dangerous, though unserviceable skirmishes, and bloody engagements, where both sides claimed the victory: such was that of Luzara (*c*); upon the account of which *Te Deum* was sung at Vienna as well as Paris. Vendome generally came off victorious when he had not to do with Eugene in person; but when Eugene himself commanded, then France had little reason to boast.

Amidst these battles, and sieges of so many castles, and little towns (*d*), the court of Versailles received secret intelligence, that the duke of Savoy, grandson to a sister of Lewis XIII. and father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, and Philip V. had quitted the Bourbon interest, and was gone over to that of the emperor. They were astonished, and enraged, at his thus forsaking at once his two sons-in-law, and, as they imagined, his own interest. But the emperor

(*c*) August 15. 1702.

(*d*) January 1703.

promised all his sons-in-law had refused him; Montferrat, Mantua, Alexandria, Valencia, the country betwixt the Po and Tenaro, and more money also than France had allowed him. This money, however, was to be furnished by the English; for the emperor could not pay his own army but with great difficulty. England, the richest of the allies, contributed more than all of them to the public cause. Whether the duke of Savoy, by this step, violated the laws of nations, and those of nature, is a question in morality, which has but little effect on the conduct of princes. The event shewed, in the end, that, in this treaty, he had at least not failed in the laws of policy: but he failed in another essential point, in leaving his troops to the mercy of the French, while he was in treaty with the emperor. The duke de Vendome ordered them to be disarmed (*e*): they were not, indeed, above five thousand men; but this was no inconsiderable number for the duke of Savoy.

Scarce had the house of Bourbon lost this ally, when she was informed, that the king of Portugal had likewise declared against her. Don Pedro, the Portuguese monarch, acknowledged the archduke Charles king of Spain. The Imperial council in the name of the archduke, who had not one town in Spain, divided this monarchy in favour of Pedro II. giving up to him, by one of those treaties which were never put into execution, Vigo, Bayonne, Alcantara, Badajox, part of Estramadura, and all that country situated on the west of the Silver river in America: in a word, Charles gave away what he had not, in order that he might acquire what he could in Spain.

(*e*) August 19. 1703.

The king of Portugal, prince Darmstadt minister to the archduke, and the great admiral of Castille, his partisan, even solicited the assistance of the emperor of Morocco. They not only made treaties with these barbarians for horses and corn, but likewise petitioned for troops. Muley Ismael, emperor of Morocco, the most warlike and politic potentate then amongst the Mahometan nations, would not consent to send troops, but upon terms that would have been dangerous to Christendom, and shameful to the king of Portugal. He demanded this monarch's son as an hostage, and certain towns also. That treaty, therefore, did not take effect; and the Christians tore one another to pieces with their own hands, without the help of those barbarians. Such succours from Africa would have availed but little to the house of Austria, in comparison of that she received from England and Holland.

Churchill, earl, and afterwards duke, of Marlborough, who was declared general of the Dutch and English forces in 1702. proved the most fatal man to the grandeur of France, that had appeared for many ages. He was not as those generals, who receive from the ministry a plan of the campaign in writing, and who, after having executed their orders at the head of an army, return to solicit the honour of being continued in their command. He, at that time, governed the queen of England, by his being so necessary a person, and by the influence which his wife had over her majesty. He intirely led the parliament by his own power and interest, joined to that of Godolphin, the lord treasurer, whose son was married to his daughter. Thus,

master of the court, the parliament, and the exchequer, more a king than William had been, as great a politician, and a much greater captain, he did more than the allies could expect. He had, to a degree above all the generals of his time, that calm courage in the midst of tumult, that serenity of soul in danger, which the English call *a cool head*. And it was perhaps this quality, the greatest gift of nature for command, which formerly gave the English so many advantages over the French in the plains of Poitiers, Cressy, and Agincourt.

Marlborough, who was an indefatigable warrior during the campaign, in winter acted the part of an able negotiator. He went to the Hague, and all the courts in Germany. He persuaded the Dutch to exert their utmost to humble France. He roused the resentment of the elector Palatine. He went likewise to flatter the haughty elector of Brandenburg, when this prince wanted to be king: he served him at table, in order to procure of him a supply of seven or eight thousand men. Prince Eugene, on his part, no sooner finished one campaign than he went directly for Vienna, to make preparations for another: and it cannot but appear evident, how much better an army must subsist, when the general himself acts as the minister. These two great men, who sometimes jointly commanded, and sometimes separately, lived always in a good understanding: they had frequent conferences at the Hague with the grand pensionary Heinsius, the minister who governed Holland in conjunction with secretary Fagel, with as much sagacity as the Barnevelts and de Witts, and with

better fortune. These three statesmen so concerted measures, that they put the springs of half Europe in motion, against the house of Bourbon. The French ministry was then too weak to resist long such united force. They always kept the plan of the operations of the campaign a profound secret. They themselves concerted their designs, and never communicated them even to those whose assistance was necessary, till on the point of execution. Chamillard, on the contrary, being no politician, no warrior, nor even well versed in the public revenues, was greatly unequal to the part of a prime minister. His own incapacity to concert measures, made him therefore have recourse to the assistance of many inferior persons; so that, by this means, his secrets often transpired even before he had fully determined what particular course to take.

As soon as Marlborough commanded the allied army in Flanders, he made it appear, that he had learned the art of war from Turenne, under whom he had served his first campaign as a volunteer. He went, in the French army, by no other name but that of the *handsome Englishman*: but the viscount de Turenne had judged, that the *handsome Englishman* would one day come forth a very great man. He began his command with advancing from obscurity subaltern officers, in whom he discerned merit, without confining himself to the order of the military roll, which we call in France *l'ordre du tableau*. He knew, that when steps of advancement are only the consequence of seniority, emulation is extinguished; and that the oldest is far from being always the best officer. He formed men at once. When he came into the field, he gained

ground considerably on the French, even without fighting. The first month of the campaign, count d'Atlone, the Dutch general, disputed the command; but, on the second (*f*), was obliged to yield to him in every respect. The French monarch had sent against him his grandson the duke of Burgundy, a wise and just prince, born to make men happy. The marshal de Boufflers, a brave and indefatigable general, commanded under this young prince. But the duke, after having in vain attempted to take several places, and having been forced to retreat by the excellent marches of the English, returned to Versailles in the middle of the campaign. Boufflers now remained alone a spectator of the success of Marlborough, who took Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege, always advancing, and never for a moment quitting his superiority.

Marlborough, at his return to London after this campaign, received all the honours that could be conferred either by a monarchy or republic; he was created a duke by the queen, and, which was still more grateful, received the thanks of both houses of parliament, who sent a deputation of their number to wait upon him at his house for that purpose.

Nevertheless there still appeared a man who seemed designed to be a bulwark to the glory of France. This was marshal duke de Villars, then only a lieutenant-general, but afterwards generalissimo of the armies of France, Spain, and Sardinia, when in the eighty-second year of his age: he was resolute and bold, and raised himself by an obstinacy which he always shewed in acting beyond his commission.

He sometimes displeased Lewis, and, which was more dangerous, Louvois; for he spoke to them with the same boldness as he served. They reproached him, that he had not a modesty becoming his valour. But, however, perceiving he had a genius for war, and was formed for conducting a French army, after having neglected him a considerable number of years, they now promoted him in a short time.

There was hardly any man whose fortune occasioned more jealousy, and yet no one ever gave less occasion for it. He had, indeed, been created a marshal of France, a duke and peer of the realm, and governor of Provence: but then he had saved the state; while others, who had almost ruined it, or those who had been only mere courtiers, had received very near the same recompences. They even reproached him with his riches, which he had acquired by contributions levied in the enemy's country, the lawful, though inadequate reward of his valour and good conduct; whilst those, who had amassed fortunes ten times more considerable by the most scandalous practices, possessed them with universal approbation. He had not begun to enjoy his reputation before his eightieth year; and he was forced to outlive the whole court, to taste the full sweets of his glory.

It may not be unnecessary to give the reason of this injustice in the public. It was because the marshal de Villars had no art: he knew not how to gain friends with his good sense and honesty; nor to acquire esteem by speaking of himself so advantageously as he deserved to be spoken of by others.

One day, when he went to pay his respects to the

king, before he set out for his command, he told him, before all the court : “ Sir, I am going to fight your majesty’s enemies ; and I leave you furrounded with mine.” He said to the courtiers, who, in the regency of the duke of Orleans, had amassed riches by that confusion which was called the system : “ As for me, I have never gained any thing but from our enemies.” These expressions, wherein he shewed the same courage as in his actions, cast too great a contempt on others, who were already sufficiently irritated by his good fortune.

At the beginning of this war, he was one of those lieutenant-generals who commanded the detachments in Alsace. The prince of Baden was at the head of the Imperialists, and had taken Landau, after a defence of four months by Melac. This prince continued his progress, having the advantage in numbers, in the ground, and in a successful commencement of the campaign. His army was among those mountains of Brisgau adjoining to the Black Forest, which immense forest separated the Bavarian from the French troops. Catinat commanded then in Strasbourg ; but he was too cautious to attack the prince of Baden at such great disadvantage : for, had he proved unsuccessful, the French army would have been irrecoverably lost, and Alsace laid open. Villars, who had resolved to be a marshal of France, or to die in the attempt, ventured what Catinat had not dared to attempt. Having obtained permission from court, he marched against the Imperialists, with an army inferior to theirs, and engaged them near Friedlingen, which gave name to the battle.

The cavalry engaged in the plain ; and the French infantry, after having clambered up to the summit

of the mountains, attacked that of the Germans, intrenched in the woods.

I have heard the marshal de Villars say more than once, that, after the battle was gained, as he was marching at the head of his infantry, a voice called out, "We are undone." Upon hearing this, all his regiments fled. He ran after them, calling out, "Come back, my friends; the victory is ours: "Long live the king." The soldiers answered, "Long live the king," trembling; and still continued to fly. The greatest difficulty which the general had, was to rally the conquerors. Had only two of the enemy's regiments appeared during this panic, the French would have been defeated: so often does mere chance decide the fate of battles.

The prince of Baden lost three thousand men, with all his artillery; and, after being driven from the field, was pursued six miles across the woods and defiles. As a farther proof of his defeat, the fort of Friedlingen capitulated; yet, notwithstanding all this, he sent word to Vienna, that he had gained a victory; and a *Te Deum* was sung, more shameful to him than the defeat he had suffered.

The French soldiers, as soon as they had recovered from their panic, proclaimed Villars a marshal of France in the field of battle; and, about a fortnight after, the king confirmed what had been given him by the voice of the soldiers.

Marshal Villars, with his victorious troops, at last joined the elector of Bavaria (g); whom he found victorious on his side, having gained ground of the enemy, and being master of the Imperial city of

(g) April 1703.

Ratisbon, where the diet of the Empire had been laying schemes for his destruction.

Villars was rather formed to serve his country by following his genius, than by acting in concert with a prince. He led, or rather forced, the elector on the other side of the Danube: but, after they had passed the river, the elector repented it; perceiving, that the least misfortune would expose his dominions to the emperor's mercy. The count de Styrum, at the head of twenty thousand men, was then going to join the formidable army of the prince of Baden, near Donawert. "We must prevent this," said Villars to the prince; "we must march instantly, and attack Styrum." The elector hesitated, and answered, that he would confer with his generals and ministers. "I am your minister and general," replied Villars: "do you want any other counsel than mine, when the question is about giving battle?" The prince, being full of apprehensions for his dominions, was still averse to the French general's proposal, and not a little displeased with him. "Well then," said Villars, "if your electoral highness will not seize this opportunity with your Bavarians, I will engage with the French;" and accordingly he immediately gave orders for the attack. The elector, though he was moved with indignation*, and looked upon Villars as extremely rash, yet found himself under a kind of necessity to

* All these particulars are in the manuscript copy of Memoirs, written by marshal Villars, which I have read. The first printed volume of these Memoirs is certainly his own; but the two others are by some other hand; and are not like the first.

fight against his inclination. They engaged in the plains of Höchstet, near Donawert (*b*).

After the first charge, there was a remarkable instance of the power of fortune in battles. The French army, and that of the enemy, were both seized with a panic; both at once betook themselves to flight, and marshal Villars was left almost alone for some minutes in the field of battle: he, nevertheless, rallied his troops, led them again to the charge, and gained the victory. Three thousand of the Imperialists were killed, four thousand were taken prisoners, and they lost all their artillery and baggage. The elector got possession of Aulbourg; and the road of Vienna being now laid open, it was debated in the emperor's council, whether he should quit his capital.

The emperor's consternation was excusable; for he was then every-where worsted. The duke of Burgundy (*i*), with the marshals Tallard and Vauban under him, had made himself master of old Brisac. Tallard had not only retaken Landau, but had likewise defeated the prince of Hesse, (*k*) afterwards king of Sweden, near Spire, when he came to relieve that city. If we may believe the marquis de Feuquieres, that officer and judge so well skilled in the military art, but so severe in his opinions, marshal Tallard gained this battle by a mistake and oversight. In his letter from the field of battle to his majesty, he had these words: "Sir, your army
" has taken more standards and colours than it has
" lost common soldiers."

France having thus been successful in Germany,

(*b*) Sept. 20. 1703. (*i*) Sept. 6. (*k*) Nov. 14 1703.

It might be supposed Villars would push the success much farther, considering the impetuosity of his temper, so formed to disconcert the slowness of the Germans: but that particular quality, which made him so formidable a general, rendered him intolerable to the elector of Bavaria. The king desired his generals should behave haughtily to none but an enemy; and the elector of Bavaria was so unfortunate as to demand another marshal of France.

Thus, notwithstanding Villars was so necessary a man in Germany; where he had gained two battles, and in all probability, would have overpowered the emperor; yet he was sent into the Cevennes, to quell an insurrection amongst the country-people. We shall speak of these fanatics in the chapter upon religion. But Lewis XIV. had other enemies more terrible, more successful, and more irreconcilable, than the inhabitants of the Cevennes.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The defeat at Blenheim, or Hochstet; and its consequences.

THE duke of Marlborough returned to the Netherlands in the beginning of the year 1703. where his conduct and success were equally great. He had taken Bonn, the residence of the elector of Cologne; thence he proceeded to Huy, which he took, as also Limbourg; and made himself master of all the circle of the lower Rhine. The

marshal de Villeroi, as soon as he was set at liberty, commanded in Flanders; but he was not more fortunate against Marlborough, than he had been against prince Eugene. The marshal de Boufflers had, indeed, got a small advantage, with a detachment of the army, at the battle of Eckern, against Obdam the Dutch general; but a victory attended with no advantage afterwards is of no value.

Mean while, if the English general had not marched to the assistance of the emperor, it is probable the house of Austria would have been intirely ruined. The elector of Bavaria was master of Passau: thirty thousand French under marshal de Marsin, who had succeeded Villars, covered the country on the other side of the Danube; and parties made frequent incursions into Austria. Vienna was, on one side, threatened by the French and Bavarians, and, on the other, by prince Ragotski, at the head of the Hungarians, fighting for their liberty, and supported by the treasure of France, as well as Turkey. About this time, prince Eugene now hastened out of Italy to command the army in Germany; and he met the duke of Marlborough at Heilbron. The English general, being left intirely to his own judgment by his queen, as well as the Dutch, marched with succour into the heart of the Empire. He, at first, carried with him ten thousand English infantry, and twenty-three squadrons of horse. He hastened his march, and arrived upon the banks of the Danube, near Donawert, opposite to the elector of Bavaria's lines, wherein about eight thousand French, and as many Bavarians, intrenched, guarded the country they had conquered. After a contest of

two hours, Marlborough forced his way, at the head of three English battalions, and defeated the French and Bavarians. It is said, that he killed six thousand of the enemy, and lost near that number himself (*a*): but the number of the dead is but of little consequence to a general, provided he gains his point. Marlborough took Donawert, passed the Danube, and laid all Bavaria under contribution.

Marshal de Villeroi, who attempted to follow the English general when he began his march, presently lost sight of him; and did not learn where he was, till he heard of the victory at Donawert. Marshal Tallard, at the head of thirty thousand men, marched another way to oppose Marlborough, and joined the elector.

About the same time, prince Eugene arrived, and joined Marlborough. The two armies at last met near Donawert, and almost in the same plains where marshal Villars had gained a victory the year before. This general, who was then in the Cevennes, having received a letter from Tallard's army, dated the night before the battle, wherein the situation of the two armies was described, and the manner in which Tallard intended to engage; Villars wrote to the president de Maisons, his brother-in-law, that if marshal Tallard gave battle in that position, he would certainly be defeated. This letter was shewn to Lewis XIV.

The French army, including the Bavarians, consisted of eighty-two battalions, and an hundred and sixty squadrons, which amounted to almost sixty thousand men; for the companies were not complete. The enemy had sixty-four battalions and an

(*a*) July 2. 1704.

hundred and fifty-two squadrons; but we may reckon them only fifty-two thousand strong; for armies are generally given out to be more numerous than they really are. This bloody and decisive battle merits a particular attention. The French generals have been censured for many blunders; the principal of which was, the bringing their army under a necessity of fighting, instead of suffering the enemy to be consumed for want of forage, and giving marshal Villeroi time either to fall upon the unguarded Low Countries, or march into Germany. But, in answer to this reproach, we must consider, that the French being more numerous than the confederate army, they had some reason to expect the victory; and, had they obtained this, the emperor must have been dethroned. The marquis de Feuquieres reckons up twelve capital faults committed before and after the battle, by Marsin, Tallard, and the elector: the most palpable was, the not placing a strong body of infantry in their centre, and the separating their forces into two bodies. I have often heard marshal Villars say, that this disposition was inexcusable.

Marshal Tallard was with the right wing, and the elector, with Marsin, commanded the left. Tallard, in his courage, had all the ardour and vivacity so peculiar to the French: his genius was lively, penetrating, and abounding in expedients and resources. He was the person who had made the partition-treaties: in short, he had obtained glory and fortune by his capacity and courage. The battle of Spire had gained him immortal honour, notwithstanding all the censures of Feu-

quieres; for a victorious general is never guilty of any faults, in the public opinion, in the same manner as one who has been defeated, is always supposed to have acted ill, though his conduct has been never so discreet.

Tallard had one misfortune extremely dangerous for a general: he was so short-sighted, that he could not distinguish objects at the distance of twenty paces. Those, who have been well acquainted with him, have likewise assured me, that his ardent courage, quite contrary to that of Marlborough, was apt to be inflamed, in the heat of action, to such a degree, as to deprive him of the perfect use of his understanding. This defect proceeded from the dry and hot temperature of his blood. It is sufficiently known, that all the qualities of our souls are derived from the natural constitution of our bodies.

The marshal de Marsin had never before commanded in chief; and, with a great deal of spirit and good understanding, he was said to have rather the experience of a good officer than a general.

As for the elector of Bavaria, he was not so much considered as a general, as a courageous prince; amiable in his behaviour, beloved by his subjects, and one who had more magnanimity than application.

The battle began betwixt twelve and one of the clock. Marlborough, with his English, having passed a rivulet, immediately charged Tallard's cavalry: the marshal, a little before had passed over to the left wing, to observe its disposition. To be obliged to engage without their general, was, of itself, a great disadvantage to the marshal's army. The army, commanded by the elector and Marsin, was not yet attacked by prince Eugene. Marlborough

had fallen upon the right wing almost an hour before Eugene could advance to the elector on the left.

When marshal Tallard was told, that Marlborough had attacked his wing, he flew to it instantly, and found them in the heat of action: the French cavalry were thrice rallied, and as often repulsed. He went to the village of Blenheim, where he had posted twenty-seven battalions, and twelve squadrons. This little separate army made a continual fire on that of Marlborough. From this village, where he gave his orders, he flew again to the other quarter, where Marlborough, with his horse and his foot between the squadrons, was driving before him the French cavalry.

M. de Feuquieres is certainly mistaken in saying, that marshal Tallard was not there; and that he was taken prisoner upon his return from Marfin's wing to his own. All the accounts agree that he was present; and this he experienced to his cost; for there he was wounded, as was likewise his son mortally by his side. All his cavalry was routed in his presence. The victorious Marlborough, on one side, advanced betwixt the two French armies; as did his general officers on the other side, betwixt Blenheim and Tallard's army, still separated from the little army in the village of Blenheim.

Marshal Tallard, in this distressed situation, hastened to rally some squadrons. The weakness of his sight made him mistake a squadron of the enemy for a French one; and he was taken prisoner by the Hessian troops, then in the pay of England. At this very instant too, prince Eugene, after having been thrice repulsed, at last gained the advantage. Tallard's army was already completely

routed, and put to flight. The confusion and distraction in this whole right wing was so great, that the officers, as well as soldiers, threw themselves into the Danube, without considering what they did. None of the general officers gave orders for a retreat; nor did any one think of saving, or bringing to action, those twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons of the best troops of France, so unluckily cooped up in Blenheim. The marshal de Marfin now made a retreat. Count de Bourg, afterwards a marshal of France, saved a small part of the infantry, by retiring through the marshes of Hochstet; but neither he, nor Marfin, nor any other, thought of those forces remaining in Blenheim, waiting for their orders: they amounted to eleven thousand men, and were all veteran troops. There are many instances of lesser armies, who have defeated others fifty thousand strong; or who have made glorious retreats: but the situation of the place, where an army is posted, decides every thing. The French found it impossible to get out of the narrow streets of a village, to form themselves in order of battle, before a victorious enemy, which would instantly have overpowered them by a more extensive front, by its artillery, and even by the cannon of the vanquished army, which they had in their possession. Their general officer, the marquis de Clerambaut, son of marshal Clerambaut, hastened to demand orders of marshal Tallard: but when he found this general was taken prisoner, and saw all flying, he also took to flight, and ran to drown himself in the Danube. Brigadier Sivieres, who was posted in the village at this juncture, made a bold and desperate effort:

he called aloud to the officers of the Artois and Provence regiments to accompany him: these, accordingly, with the officers of some other regiments, instantly followed him. They rushed upon the enemy in the same manner as a sally is made from a besieged town; but, after this sally, it was necessary for them again to retire into the village; and immediately after, an officer named Desnonvilles, entered the village on horseback, with the earl of Orkney: "Is this an English prisoner you bring?" said the rest of the officers, crowding about him. "No, gentlemen," he replied, "I am the prisoner; and come to tell you, that you have no other course to take, but to surrender yourselves prisoners of war; and here is my lord Orkney, who offers you terms of capitulation." All these veterans expressed the utmost astonishment; the regiment of Navarre tore their colours, and buried them under-ground: but, at last, being obliged to yield to necessity, they surrendered without fighting. My lord Orkney has himself assured me, that they could not do otherwise, in such a situation. All Europe was astonished, that the best troops of France should, in a body, submit to such an ignominy. Their misfortune was imputed to cowardice; but, some years after, fourteen thousand Swedes surrendering themselves prisoners at discretion to the Muscovites in the open field, not a little justified the French.

Such was that celebrated battle, known in France by the name of Hochstet, of Plentheim in Germany, and, in England, by that of Blenheim. The conquerors lost near five thousand in the field, and had eight thousand wounded; the greatest part

in that wing commanded by prince Eugene. The French army was almost intirely destroyed; of sixty thousand men, who had been so long victorious, there remained not more than twenty thousand:

About twelve thousand of the French were killed, and about fourteen thousand made prisoners: all their artillery, a vast number of their standards and colours, their tents and field-equipages, were likewise taken by the enemy, together with the general of the French army, and twelve hundred officers of distinction. Those who had fled, were dispersed different ways: in less than a month, near three hundred miles of territory were lost. Bavaria, being now subjected to the emperor, felt at once all the enraged rigour of the Austrian government, and the rapacious barbarity of a victorious soldiery. The elector, in his flight to Brussels, met with his brother the elector of Cologne, who was likewise driven from his dominions: they embraced each other, and shed tears. Amazement and consternation now seized the court of Versailles, hitherto accustomed to prosperity. The news of the defeat came amidst grand rejoicings for the birth of a great grandson of Lewis XIV. Nobody dared to tell the king so cruel a truth. Madame Maintenon was at last obliged to take upon her the office to inform his majesty, that he was no longer invincible. It has been said, and affirmed in most histories, that the emperor caused a monument of this defeat to be raised in the plains of Blenheim, with an inscription extremely satirical upon Lewis. But such a monument never existed: nor was there one any-where but in England, which was erected in honour of the duke of Marlborough. The

queen and parliament built a spacious palace in one of the finest parts of the kingdom, which has the name of Blenheim. This battle is there represented in the pictures, and tapestry. The thanks of both houses of parliament, with those of the cities and boroughs, and the acclamations of all England, were the first rewards of his victory. The celebrated poem of Mr. Addison, a more lasting monument than the palace of Blenheim, is accounted, by that learned and warlike nation, amongst the most honourable recompences bestowed on the duke of Marlborough. The emperor created him a prince of the empire, and gave him the principality of Mindelheim, which was afterwards exchanged for another; but he has never been known by this title, the name of Marlborough having become the most illustrious he could have.

The French army being intirely dispersed, the allies had now a free communication betwixt the Danube and the Rhine, which they accordingly passed, and entered Alsace. Prince Lewis of Baden, a general famous for encampments and marches, invested Landau. Joseph, king of the Romans, eldest son of the emperor Leopold, was present at the siege. Landau was taken, and likewise Traerbach (*b*).

Though three hundred leagues of ground were lost, yet the frontiers of France still remained undiminished. Lewis XIV. supported his grandson in Spain, and was victorious in Italy. Great efforts were necessary to be made in Germany, to oppose the victorious Marlborough: and the utmost vigour was accordingly exerted. The broken remains of

(*b*) November 12. and 23.

the army were reassembled, the garisons were drained, and the militia ordered to take the field. The minister borrowed money from all hands. An army was at last mustered up, and marshal Villars was recalled from the remotest part of the Cevennes, to take upon him the command. Upon his arrival, he found himself near Treves, with an inferior force, opposite to the English general. Both were equally desirous to come to an engagement; but the prince of Baden not coming up in proper time to join the English troops, Villars had at least the honour to make the duke of Marlborough decamp (c); no inconsiderable thing at that time. The duke of Marlborough, who esteemed marshal Villars so much as to be desirous of his esteem, wrote to him, at decamping, in these terms: "Do me
" the justice to believe, that my retreat is owing
" to the prince of Baden; and that my esteem for
" you is greater than my anger against him.

The French had still barriers in Germany. Flanders, where marshal de Villeroi commanded, after being delivered from his confinement, was yet untouched. In Spain, Philip V. and the archduke Charles, equally expected to enjoy the crown: the former built his hopes on the power of his grandfather, and the favour of most of the Spaniards; the latter depended upon the assistance of the English, and the party he had in Catalonia and Arragon. This archduke, afterwards emperor, and then second son of the emperor Leopold, having nothing but his title, went to London, almost without attendants, to implore the assistance of queen Anne.

Then it was that the power of England fully displayed itself. This nation, so little interested in the quarrel, furnished the Austrian prince with two hundred transport-ships, thirty men of war, joined to ten Dutch vessels, nine thousand troops, and money, to conquer a kingdom. But, notwithstanding this superiority, arising from power and good offices, yet the emperor, in his letter to queen Anne, presented by the archduke, did not honour his benefactress with the title of majesty: he only gave her that of serene highness, according to the stile of the court of Vienna, which custom only can justify.

C H A P T E R X I X .

The defeats in Spain; at Ramillies and Turin; and their consequences.

ONE of the first exploits of those English troops, was the taking of Gibraltar; which, not without reason, had been accounted impregnable. The place is rendered secure from any approach, on the land-side, by a long chain of steep inaccessible rocks. The entrance by sea is impracticable to large ships. The bay being long, dangerous, and stormy, ships are exposed to tempests, and the cannon of the fortress and mole. The citizens alone, in this place, might defend it against a thousand ships, and an hundred thousand men. But even the strength of Gibraltar proved the cause of its being taken. The garison consisted only of an hundred soldiers; and this number was suffi-

cient: but they neglected a duty which they thought needless. The prince of Hesse had landed eighteen hundred soldiers on the isthmus, behind the northern side of the town: the steepness of the rock, however, made all attempts fruitless from that quarter. The fleet made fifteen thousand discharges of cannon; but all in vain. The sailors, at last, in one of their merry moods, rowed with their long-boats under the mole; the artillery of which might have blown them to pieces, but not a single gun was fired. They scaled the mole, and made themselves masters of it: the soldiers hastened after them; this impregnable place was obliged to surrender (*a*); and, to this day, remains in the possession of the English. Spain, become again a formidable power under the government of the princess of Parma, the second queen of Philip V. and who has been so successful in Africa, as well as Italy, with an impotent indignation still beholds Gibraltar in the hands of a northern nation, whose ships, two hundred years before, durst hardly venture into the Mediterranean.

Immediately after the taking of Gibraltar; the English, now masters of that sea, engaged count Toulouse, the French admiral, in sight of Malaga (*b*). This fight, though not decisive, was the final period of the maritime power of Lewis XIV. Count Toulouse, his natural son; and lord high admiral of France, had in this engagement, commanded fifty ships of the line, and twenty-four galleys. He retired with honour, and without damage. Soon after, the king sent thirteen ships to attack Gibraltar, whilst marshal Tesse besieged

(*a*) August 4. 1704.

(*b*) August 1704.

it by land (c); but this double rashness proved at once the ruin of the fleet and army. Part of the ships were cast away in a storm; part were boarded and taken by the English, after a very brave resistance; and part were burnt on the Spanish coast. From that day the French no longer made a figure with their numerous fleets on the ocean, nor in the Mediterranean. The marine now almost sunk again to that condition whence Lewis had raised it, in the same manner, as many other grand things, which had their rise and fall during his reign.

The same English, who had taken Gibraltar, in six weeks conquered the kingdom of Valencia and Catalonia for the archduke Charles. They carried Barcelona by a mere chance, which proceeded from the rashness of the besiegers.

The English were at that time commanded by one of the most extraordinary men that country, so fruitful in fierce, courageous, and whimsical geniuses, ever produced. This was the earl of Peterborough; a man in every respect resembling those imaginary heroes, whom the Spaniards have represented in their romances. At fifteen years of age, he left London, to go to the war against the Moors in Africa. When he was twenty years old, he began the revolution in England, and became the first man of distinction in Holland, next to the prince of Orange: but, lest the design of his voyage should be suspected, he embarked for America, and sailed from thence to the Hague, in a Dutch vessel. He more than once gave away all his fortune. He, at that time, carried on the war in Spain almost at

(c) March 1705.

his own expence, and maintained the archduke, with his whole family. He besieged Barcelona, with the prince de † Darmstadt. He proposed to him, sword in hand to force the intrenchments, which covered fort Mont-joie and the town. This enterprize was accordingly executed with success; but the prince of Darmstadt perished in the attempt. A bomb happening to burst in the fort, blew up the magazine of powder: the fort was then taken, and the town offered to capitulate. The governor came to a parley with Peterborough, at the gates of the town. The articles were not yet signed, when, on a sudden, there was heard a noise of shouts and huzzas: “ You betray
“ us,” said the governor to Peterborough, “ whilst
“ we are capitulating with honour and sincerity:
“ behold, your English have entered the town by
“ the ramparts; and are murdering, plundering,
“ and committing all manner of outrages.” “ You
“ are mistaken” replied Peterborough; “ these must
“ be the troops of the prince of Darmstadt: there
“ is only one expedient to save your town; allow
“ me to enter instantly with my English; I will
“ make all quiet, and then return to the gate to
“ finish the capitulation.” He spoke this with an air of greatness and sincerity, which, joined to a sense of the present danger, persuaded the governor; and Peterborough was accordingly admitted. He hastened, with some of his officers, into the streets, where he found the Germans and Catalans sacking the houses of the principal inhabit-

† In the history of Reboulet, this prince is called the head of the factious; as if he had been a Spaniard, who had revolted against Philip V.

ants. He drove them away, and obliged them to quit the booty they were carrying off. He luckily rescued the duchess of Popoli out of the hands of the soldiers, by whom she was on the point of being dishonoured; and restored her to her husband. In short, after having quieted all disturbances, he returned to the gate, and finished the terms of capitulation. The Spaniards were amazed at seeing such greatness of soul in the English, whom the generality had always looked upon as merciless barbarians, because they were heretics.

To the loss of Barcelona there was likewise added another mortification, by an attempt to retake it, which miscarried. Philip V. though he had the majority of Spain in his interest, yet had neither generals nor engineers, and but few soldiers. France furnished him all. The count de Toulouse returned, to block up the harbour with twenty-five ships, the remains of the French navy. Marshal Tesse formed the siege with thirty-one squadrons, and thirty-seven battalions. But as soon as the English fleet appeared, that of the French stood away, and marshal Tesse raised the siege in the utmost precipitation. He left, in his camp, a vast quantity of provisions, besides fifteen hundred wounded soldiers, who had nothing to trust to, but the humanity of the earl of Peterborough. These losses were considerable. It is doubtful whether it had before cost France more to conquer Spain, than it did now to support her. The grandson of Lewis, however, always maintained his right, by the affection of the Castilian nation, who persisted in their choice, and from a principle of pride, continued in their fidelity.

Things went on successfully enough in Italy. Lewis had sufficient revenge on the duke of Savoy. The duke de Vendome had at first honourably repulsed prince Eugene at the battle of Cassanò, near the Adda: a bloody action, and one of those undecisive battles, for which *Te Deums* are sung on both sides; but which only tend to the destruction of mankind, without advancing the interest of any party. After the battle of Cassano, Vendome gained a complete victory at Cassinato, in the absence of prince Eugene. The day after the battle, this prince arrived, and had the mortification to see a detachment of his troops intirely routed. The allies were at last obliged to quit the whole country to Vendome. There now only remained Turin to be taken, which was invested; and there appeared not the least possibility of its being succoured. Towards Germany, marshal Villars drove before him the prince of Baden. In Flanders, Villeroi commanded an army of eighty thousand men: he was desirous to engage Marlborough, and highly flattered himself he should retrieve the honour he had lost in the battle with prince Eugene. His too great confidence in himself, now proved more fatal than ever to France. Marshal Villeroi had encamped his army near the Mehaigne, towards the source of the Ghette. The centre was at Ramillies; a village which became as famous as Höchstet.

Villeroi had it in his power to avoid a battle; and all his general officers advised him to it: but he was hurried away by a passionate desire of glory. The disposition he made for the engagement is said to have been such, that every experienced officer foresaw the fatal consequences. The

new-raised troops, undisciplined and uncomplete, were placed in the centre: he placed the baggage betwixt the lines of his army: and posted his left wing behind a marsh, as if he intended to prevent its advancing to the enemy.

Marlborough perceived these oversights, and accordingly disposed his army so as to make the most advantage of them. He saw, that the left wing of the French army could not attack his right; he therefore immediately filed off a considerable part of it, in order to advance to Ramillies with a superior number. Mr. de Gassion, the lieutenant-general, seeing this movement of the enemy, called aloud to the marshal: "You are
" undone, if you do not instantly alter your order
" of battle: draw off a detachment from your
" left, that you may engage the enemy with an
" equal number: make your lines closer: if you
" delay one moment, all will be irretrievable." Many other officers joined in this salutary advice. The marshal, however, did not listen to them. Marlborough began the attack, his enemies being ranged in that very order of battle which he himself would have chosen to secure his victory. This is the account universally given in France of this affair; and history is only a relation of the opinions of mankind. But may we not likewise affirm, that the confederate troops were better disciplined; and that the confidence in their commanders, as well as their late successes, inspired them with greater courage? Did not several of the French regiments fail in their duty? And are they not the firm and unmoveable battalions, which determine the fate of kingdoms? The French army did not withstand the

shock half an hour. They fought almost eight hours at Hochstet, and killed near eight thousand of the conquerors; but, at this battle of Ramillies, they hardly destroyed two thousand five hundred of the enemy. The allies gained a complete victory: the French lost twenty thousand men, with the glory of their nation, and all hopes of retrieving it. The confederates had gained all Bavaria and Cologne by the battle of Hochstet; and by this of Ramillies, they now got into their possession all the Spanish Flanders. The victorious Marlborough entered Antwerp and Brussels: he took Ostend, and Menin surrendered to him.

Marshal Villeroi was in the utmost despair: he had not courage to write to the king an account of the defeat; and remained five days without sending any express: at last, however, he wrote a confirmation of that news, which had before alarmed the court of France. Nevertheless, when Villeroi again appeared before the king, this monarch, instead of reproaching him, only said, "Monsieur le Marechal, "one is not happy at our age."

The king immediately recalled the duke de Vendome from Italy, where he seemed no longer necessary, to send him into Flanders, in order, if possible, to repair the late misfortune. He hoped, at least, and with an appearance of reason, that the taking of Turin would afford some consolation for so many losses. Prince Eugene was in such a situation, that he could not advance to succour that city. He was on the other side of the Adige; and as the river on this side is fortified by a long chain of intrenchments, the passage seemed therefore impracticable. This great city was besieged with forty-six

squadrons, and an hundred battalions. The duke de Feuillade, who commanded, was one of the most shining and amiable characters in France; and, though a son-in-law of the minister, was greatly in the public favour. He was son to that Marshal Feuillade, who erected a statue of Lewis XIV. in the *Place de Victoires*. He inherited all the courage of his father, with the same ambition, the same splendour, and a better understanding. He flattered himself he should be able to take Turin; and, as a reward, he expected a marshal's staff. Chamillard, his father-in-law, who loved him tenderly, had spared nothing to make him succeed in the attempt. The very imagination must be startled at the detail of the preparations for this siege. The readers, who have not had an opportunity of being acquainted with such particulars, will, perhaps, not be displeased, if we here give some account of these vast and useless preparations.

There were an hundred and forty pieces of cannon; each of which, with their carriages, amounted to two thousand crowns. They had also one hundred and ten thousand bullets, one hundred and six thousand cartouches of one sort, and three hundred thousand of another, twenty-one thousand bombs, twenty-seven thousand seven hundred grenades, fifteen thousand bags of earth, thirty thousand instruments for pioneering, and twelve hundred thousand pounds of powder. There was, besides, a vast quantity of lead, iron, tin, ropes, sulphur, saltpetre, with every thing requisite for miners, and, in short, all sorts of implements necessary to carry on a siege. It is certain, that the expence of these preparations for destruction would have been

sufficient to settle one of the most numerous colonies, and to have put it in a flourishing condition.

The duke de Feuillade pushed this siege with the utmost precipitation, and contrary to all rules. He was a man of fire and activity, more capable than any one for such enterprizes as required only courage, but utterly incapable of those where art, deliberation, and time, were necessary. The marshal de Vauban, the only general, perhaps, who loved his country more than himself, had proposed to Feuillade, to come and direct the siege as an engineer, and to serve in his army as a volunteer; but the haughtiness of Feuillade made him construe this offer of Vauban into pride under the disguise of modesty; and he could not bear, that the best engineer in Europe should presume to give him advice. He told him in a letter which I have seen, "that he expected to take Turin after the method of Cohorn." This Cohorn was the Vauban of the allies; an excellent engineer, a good general, and he had several times taken towns fortified by the rules of Vauban. After the sending of such a letter, Feuillade looked upon himself as obliged to take Turin. But having begun the attack by the citadel, which was the strongest side, and not having surrounded the whole town, the inhabitants could send supplies both of men and provisions. The duke of Savoy could also march out: so that all the vehemence which Feuillade shewed in many repeated and fruitless assaults, only protracted the siege.

The duke of Savoy sallied out of the town with some cavalry, in order to draw off the duke de Feuillade. The French general accordingly quit-

ted the siege to pursue this prince; who, being better acquainted with the country, easily escaped. Thus Feuillade missed the duke of Savoy, and the siege suffered greatly.

All the inferior officers were so astonished at the proceedings of their general, that they believed he had no intention to take Turin. It was said, that Feuillade, who was reported to have a passion for the duchess of Burgundy, had sworn to that lady to favour her father's capital. This vulgar error became so prevalent, that I have hardly known one officer, but believed it, even twenty years after: nay, it was likewise given out, that the duchess of Burgundy, in order to save Turin, had procured madame Maintenon, to bring about those ill-conducted measures, which proved the safety of the city. These absurd reports gained credit; and many writers, to their dishonour, have inserted them in their histories†.

The duke de Vendome, in order to favour the operations of the siege, remained stationed on the borders of the Adige, from the thirteenth of May to the twentieth of June. He had with him seventy battalions, and sixty squadrons; and, with this strength, he did not doubt he should be able to block up all passes against prince Eugene.

The general of the Imperialists was in great want both of men and money. The mercers company of London lent him about six millions of our livres; and he at last got troops out of the circles of the Empire. These reinforcements, however, arrived so late, that all Italy might have been lost; but the siege of Turin was much more tedious.

† See Reboulet.

Vendome was already named to go to retrieve the losses in Flanders; but before his departure from Italy, he had allowed prince Eugene to pass the Adige; he suffered him also to cross the white canal, and at last the Po, a larger river, and, in some parts, more difficult to pass than the Rhone. Before the French general left the banks of the Po, prince Eugene had it in his power to penetrate even to Turin. Thus the affairs in Italy were in a critical situation, whilst those in Flanders, Germany, and Spain, appeared quite desperate.

The duke de Vendome went towards Mons to collect the broken remains of Villeroi's army; and the duke of Orleans, nephew to Lewis XIV. set out to take upon him the command of the duke of Vendome's forces near the Po. These troops were in disorder, as if they had been routed. Eugene had passed the Po, in sight of Vendome: he crossed the Tenaro likewise in sight of the duke of Orleans, and took Carpi, Corregio, and Reggio; and, having stole a march upon the French, he at last joined the duke of Savoy near Asti. All that the duke of Orleans could do was to join the duke de Feuillade at the camp before Turin. Prince Eugene followed him with all expedition. They had now one of two courses to follow, either to wait for prince Eugene in their lines of circumvallation, or march out to meet him near Veillane. The duke of Orleans called a council of war, which consisted of the marshal de Marfin, who had lost the battle of Hochstet, the duke de la Feuillade, Albergoti, Saint-Fremont, and other lieutenant-generals; "Gentlemen," said the duke of Orleans, "if we remain in our lines, we shall certainly be defeated; for our intrenchments

“ are five leagues in extent, and we are not able
“ to line them. Our regiment of marines is only
“ two men deep; and there are many places, you
“ see, almost without defence. The Doria, which
“ runs through our camp, will hinder our troops
“ from bringing quick succour to each other.
“ Besides, in waiting for an attack, the French lose
“ one of their greatest advantages; that vehemence,
“ and those first moments of ardour, which so
“ often determine the fate of battles. Believe me
“ then, we ought to march against the enemy.” All
the lieutenant-generals, with one voice, replied,
“ Let us march :” but upon this, the marshal de
Marfin pulled out of his pocket an order signed
by the king, commanding all to submit to his opi-
nion, in regard to an action; and he was for re-
maining in the lines.

The duke of Orleans now perceived, with indig-
nation, that he was sent to the army only as a prince
of the blood, and not as a general; and, being
obliged to acquiesce with the marshal de Marfin, he
prepared to engage in this disadvantageous situation.

The enemy made a feint to form several attacks
at once. Their motions threw the French into great
perplexity. The duke of Orleans was for one thing,
whilst Marfin and Feuillade were for another. They
disputed, but came to no determination: but, in
short, they suffered the enemy to pass the Doria:
which having done, they advanced in eight columns,
twenty-five men deep; and the French were now
obliged to oppose them instantly with battalions of
an equal depth.

Albergoti, who was stationed at a distance from

the army, upon the Capuchin mountain, had, under his command, twenty thousand men; and he was opposed only by militia, who dared not to attack him. They sent to him to demand twelve thousand men. He answered, that he could not lessen his numbers; and gave some plausible reasons, which were taken. By this means the time was lost in delays. Prince Eugene attacked their intrenchments, and in two hours forced them (*d*). The duke of Orleans, having received a wound, was obliged to retire to have it dressed. Scarce was he in the hands of the surgeons, when he heard that the enemy were masters of the camp; that the rout was general. He was immediately obliged to fly: the lines and trenches were abandoned, and the whole army was dispersed. All the baggage, provisions, ammunition, and the military chest, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Marshal de Marsin, being wounded in the thigh, was made prisoner: a surgeon, belonging to the duke of Savoy, cut it off; but the marshal survived the operation only a few minutes. Mr. Methuen, then ambassador from England to the duke of Savoy, one of the most generous, brave, and most sincere men his country ever employed in an embassy, had always fought by the side of this prince. He had seen marshal de Marsin taken, and was present at his last moments; and he has told me, that Marsin expressed himself to him in these terms: "Believe, at least, Sir, " that it was contrary to my advice, that we waited " for you in our intrenchments." These expressions seem positively to contradict what had passed in the council of war; yet they were certainly true: for the marshal de Marsin, at his departure from Ver-

(*d*) September 7. 1706.

faillies, had represented to the king, that it would be absolutely necessary to march against the enemy, if they should advance to relieve Turin; but Chamillard, intimidated by the former defeats, carried it, that they should not offer, but wait for battle; and this order; given at Versailles, caused the defeat of sixty thousand men. The French lost only two thousand men in this battle; but we have already seen, that slaughter does less execution than confusion. Want of subsistence, which will make a victorious army retreat, obliged these vanquished troops to retire to Dauphiny. The late defeat occasioned such an universal disorder, that though the count de Medavy-grancey, then in Mantua with an army, had defeated the Imperialists at Castiglione, commanded by the landgrave of Hesse, afterwards king of Sweden, yet this victory, though a complete one, availed nothing. In a short time, they lost the duchies of Milan and Mantua, Piedmont, and at last the whole kingdom of Naples.

CHAPTER XX.

The consequences of the defeats received by France and Spain. The humiliation, perseverance, and resources of Lewis XIV. The battle of Malplaquet.

THE battle of Hochstet had cost Lewis one of the finest armies, with all the country betwixt the Danube and the Rhine: and it had cost the

house of Bavaria all her dominions. By the defeat at Ramillies, all Flanders was lost, even to the gates of Lisle; and by that at Turin, the French were driven out of Italy, as they always had been in all the wars since Charlemagne. There remained some troops in Milan, and that little army which had been victorious under the count de Medavy. They still kept some places; but these were offered to be given up to the emperor, on condition he allowed a free retreat to those troops, which amounted to fifteen thousand men. The emperor accepted of this proposal, and the duke of Savoy also came into it. Thus the emperor, by a stroke of the pen, was left in the peaceable possession of Italy; and the conquest of Naples and Sicily was confirmed to him. All those provinces in Italy, which had been considered before as only feudatory, were now treated as intirely subject. He taxed Tuscany at an hundred and fifty thousand pistoles, and Mantua at forty thousand; nor were Parma, Modena, Lucca, and Genoa, notwithstanding their being free states, excepted from these taxes.

The emperor, who enjoyed all these advantages, was not Leopold, the ancient rival of Lewis XIV. who, under an appearance of moderation, had concealed the most profound ambition: it was his eldest son, the lively, fierce, and passionate Joseph; who, nevertheless, was not a better warrior than his father. If ever any emperor seemed formed to enslave Germany and Italy, It was certainly Joseph. His dominion now extended beyond the Alps. He laid the pope under contribution; and, by his sole authority, in 1706. he put the electors of Bavaria and Cologn under the ban of the empire: he stript

them of all their possessions, and kept in confinement the children of the house of Bavaria, abolishing their very name. Their father seemed now to have no other resource, but to linger out his disgrace in France, or the Low Countries. Philip V. afterwards gave up to him all the Spanish Flanders, in 1712 †. If he could have kept this province, which was a better establishment than Bavaria, it would have delivered him from the slavery of the house of Austria; but he could only possess the towns of Luxembourg, Namur, and Charleroi; all the rest fell into the hands of the conquerors. Every thing now seemed to threaten Lewis XIV. who but a little before had struck a terror into all Europe. The duke of Savoy had it in his power to penetrate into France. England and Scotland, having formed an union, made now one kingdom; or, rather, Scotland, being now a province of England, was become an accession to the power of her ancient rival. Towards the end of the year 1706. and beginning of 1707. all the enemies of France seemed to have acquired new strength, whilst she appeared to be on the brink of destruction; being pressed on all sides both by sea and land. Of all those formidable fleets which Lewis had raised, there remained scarce thirty-five ships. In Germany, Strasbourg was still the frontier; but, Landau being lost, Alsace was thereby left exposed. Provence was likewise threatened with an invasion by sea and land; and what the French had already lost in Flanders, made them more apprehen-

† In Reboulet's history it is said, that he had this sovereignty from the year 1700.; but he had then only the government of it.

five for what remained. Yet, notwithstanding all these misfortunes, France still remained untouched; and in this unsuccessful war, she had as yet lost nothing but her conquests.

Lewis XIV. every-where resisted; and though he had received so many blows, yet he still opposed, protected, or attacked on all sides. His arms proved as unsuccessful in Spain, as they had been in Italy, Germany, and Flanders. It is said, that the siege of Barcelona was even worse conducted than that of Turin.

The count de Toulouse only appeared with his fleet, and was obliged to stand away for Toulon. Barcelona being succoured, the siege was abandoned; and the French army, after having lost one half of their number, retired, without any ammunition, into Navarre, a little kingdom which they preserved for the Spaniards, and which our kings join as a title to that of France, by an ancient custom, though it seems beneath their dignity.

To these misfortunes another was added, which seemed to complete them. The Portuguese, assisted by some English, took all the places they invested, and advanced into Estremadura. They were commanded by a Frenchman, created a peer of England: this was my lord Galloway, formerly the count de Ruvigni; whilst the troops of France and Spain were headed by the duke of Berwick, an English nobleman; but they could not stop the progress of the conquerors.

Philip V. remained in Pampelona, uncertain of his destiny; whilst Charles his competitor, was increasing his party, and strength in Catalonia.

He had made himself master of Arragon, the

province of Valencia, Carthagená, and part of Granada. The English kept Gibraltar in their own possession; and they took, for him, Minorca, Ivica, and Alicant. The roads to Madrid being now all laid open, Galloway entered that metropolis without any opposition, and ordered the archduke Charles to be proclaimed king: he sent likewise a small detachment to perform the same ceremony at Toledo. The affairs of Philip V. appeared so desperate, that marshal Vauban, that prince of engineers, and excellent patriot, a man always busied in projects, some useful, and others impracticable, but all extraordinary, advised the court of France to send Philip V. to reign in America, and to embark with him all the Spaniards attached to his interest. Spain must then have been abandoned to civil factions; and the commerce of Mexico and Peru would have come wholly to the French: so that, by this change of fortune in the family of Lewis, France might still have promoted her grandeur. The project was certainly deliberated upon at Versailles; but the unshaken firmness of the Castilians, and the misconduct of the enemy, preserved the crown to Philip V. The people loved Philip as their own choice; nor could they help having an affection for his queen, the duke of Savoy's daughter, considering the care she took to please them, the intrepidity she displayed above one of her sex, and the constancy and vigour with which she behaved in her misfortunes. She went herself from town to town, animating the people, exciting their zeal, and receiving many presents which were brought to her. By this means, she furnished her husband with more than two hundred thousand crowns, in the space of three

weeks. Not **one of all** the grandees, who had taken oaths of allegiance to Philip V. deserted him. When Galloway proclaimed the archduke at Madrid, many called out, "Long live Philip;" and the populace at Toledo were so enraged, that they attacked those who proclaimed the archduke, and obliged them to retire.

The Spaniards till then had done but little in support of their king; but when they saw him worsted, then, indeed they exerted themselves in an extraordinary manner; shewing, on this occasion, a courage quite different from that of other nations, who generally begin with great efforts, and afterwards slacken. It is difficult to impose a king upon a people against their inclination. The Portuguese, English, and Austrians, in Spain, were harassed everywhere: they were in want of provisions, and made many false steps, such as are almost unavoidable in a strange country; so that, by degrees they were entirely defeated. At last, Philip V. after having been three months an exile from Madrid (a), entered again in triumph, and was received with as much joyful acclamation, as his rival had experienced coldness and reluctance.

Lewis XIV. redoubled his efforts, when he saw the Spaniards acting with so much spirit: and though he was then obliged to guard all the coasts upon the ocean and Mediterranean, by placing the militia there; though he had an army in Flanders, another at Strasbourg, a third in Navarre, and a fourth in Roussillon; yet he sent a reinforcement to marshal Berwick in Castille.

It was with these troops, aided by the Spaniards,

(a) September 22. 1706.

that Berwick gained the famous and important battle of Almanza over Galloway. Neither Philip nor the archduke were present at this action: and this made the famous earl of Peterborough, a man extraordinary in every thing, say aloud, "Excellent, indeed! that we must fight for two princes, who will not fight for themselves." The duke of Orleans, who intended to be there, being to command in Spain, did not arrive till next day; but he made all possible advantage from the victory: he took several places; and, among the rest, Lerida, the rock the great Conde had split upon.

On the other side, marshal Villars, who was again invested with the command, there being an absolute necessity for a man of his abilities, retrieved the honour lost at the battle of Hochstet, in Germany. He had forced the lines of Stollhoffen, on the other side of the Rhine, and dispersed all the enemy's troops (b): he raised contributions on all the country fifty leagues round, and penetrated at last as far as the Danube. This rapid success gave the French some respite on the German frontiers; but all was lost in Italy. The kingdom of Naples, being defenceless, and accustomed so often to change its masters, was reduced by the conquerors. The pope was not able to prevent the Germans passing through his territory; and he now saw, without daring to complain, that the emperor was become his vassal, greatly against his inclination. This is a remarkable instance of the influence of received opinions, and the power of custom, that Naples always can be seized upon without consulting the pope; and yet

(b) May 22. 1707.

that the masters of the kingdom never dare refuse to pay homage for it to his holiness.

At the very time when the grandson of Lewis XIV. lost Naples, his grandfather was on the point of losing Provence and Dauphiny. The duke of Savoy, and prince Eugene, had already entered by the narrow passage of Tenda. Lewis was greatly mortified to see, that the duke of Savoy, who a year before, had been reduced almost to his capital, and prince Eugene, who had been educated in his court, were now on the point of taking from him Toulon and Marseilles.

Toulon was besieged with great vigour: an English fleet, having the command of the sea, lay before the port and bombarded the town. Had the assailants used a little more diligence and precaution, and been more unanimous in their measures, Toulon must have fallen into their hands. Marseilles, being without any defence, could not have held out; and it was likely, that France would now lose two provinces: but what seems likely, happens but seldom. There was time to send succour: accordingly, a detachment was dispatched from marshal Villars's army to these provinces; for they chose to relinquish their advantages in Germany, to preserve a part of France. The country, through which the enemy penetrated, is dry, barren, and mountainous; provisions are scarce. and a retreat is extremely difficult. The sickness which prevailed in the enemy's army, proved likewise greatly in favour of Lewis. The siege of Toulon was raised (c): and soon after, Provence was delivered, and Dauphiny freed from all danger; for an invasion seldom suc-

(c) August 22. 1707.

ceeds, unless the invaders have a perfect knowledge in the country. Charles V. had miscarried in an attempt on the same provinces; and, in our time, the queen of Hungary's troops have also proved unsuccessful in an effort of the like nature.

Nevertheless, this irruption so expensive to the allies, was no less so to the French: a considerable part of their territories had been ravaged, and their forces divided.

Europe did not expect, at a time when France was reduced so low, and when she accounted it great good fortune to have escaped an invasion, that Lewis would have the boldness or strength to make a descent upon Great Britain, notwithstanding the decay of his own navy, and the power of the British fleets, which covered the seas. This project was proposed by those of the Scots who were attached to king James's son. The success was doubtful; but Lewis XIV. thought he should acquire certain glory only by the attempt; and he himself said, that this motive determined him as much as any political interest.

To carry the war into Great Britain, though, at the same time, the burden of it was supported with great difficulties in so many other places; and to endeavour, at least, to re-establish James's son on the throne of Scotland, whilst Philip V. could hardly be maintained on that of Spain, seemed to be a bold and great undertaking; the success of which, after all, did not seem altogether improbable.

Amongst the Scots, all those who had not sold themselves to the court of London, repined at being in a state of dependence on the English. Their secret wishes were unanimously for the descendant of

their ancient kings, who, from his cradle, had been driven into exile from the thrones of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and even the legality of his birth disputed. They promised, that he should find thirty thousand men in arms, ready to fight in his cause, if he would only land near Edinburgh, with a small force from France.

Lewis XIV. who, in his prosperity, had made so many efforts for the father, now exerted himself as much for the son, even in his adverse fortune. Eight men of war, and seventy transports, were fitted out at Dunkirk; in which six thousand troops were embarked. The count de Gace, afterwards marshal de Matignon, had the command of these forces; and the chevalier de Forbin Janfon, a most excellent sea-officer, conducted the fleet. The juncture appeared very favourable: in Scotland there were not above three thousand regular troops, and England was almost without any; all her soldiers being then employed in Flanders, under the duke of Marlborough: but they were obliged to embark for England; and the English had then at sea a fleet of fifty men of war. This enterprize was just like that in 1744. in favour of the grandson of James II. It was defeated by the activity of the English, and many cross accidents. The ministry at London had sufficient time to bring over twelve battalions from Flanders; and the most suspected persons in Edinburgh were seized. The pretender, at last, appeared on the coasts of Scotland; but the signals agreed upon not being given, all that the chevalier de Forbin could now do was to carry him back to Dunkirk. He saved the fleet; but no advantage was reaped from the expedition. Matignon was the only gainer by it; for,

having opened his orders at sea, he found a patent for creating him a marshal of France: a reward for what he would have done, but could not effect.

If there ever was a chimerical notion, that was certainly one, conceived by some historians, who pretended that queen Anne had a secret correspondence with her brother. It is absurd, to the highest degree, to suppose, that she would invite her competitor to come and dethrone her. They confounded the time; and it was thought that she favoured him, because she afterwards secretly considered him as her heir. But who would ever wish to be dethroned by a successor?

The affairs of France now declining daily, the king resolved to send his grandson, the duke of Burgundy, to head the armies in Flanders; thinking, that the presence of the apparent heir to the crown would inspire the soldiery with emulation, which began to languish. This prince had a firm and intrepid soul; he was pious, just, philosophical, and seemed formed to command men of wisdom. Having been educated by the archbishop of Cambray he had a strict regard to all the moral duties: he loved mankind, and was desirous to render them happy. He had been instructed in the art of war, but he looked upon it rather as the scourge of the human race, and an unhappy necessity, than as a source of true glory. This philosophical prince was sent against the duke of Marlborough, and the duke de Vendome was given him as his assistant: and here it happened, as it does but too often; the great officer was not heard with proper regard, and the prince's council often prevailed over all the argu-

ments of the general. In the French army there were two parties; but that of the allies was unanimous in the common cause. Prince Eugene was then upon the Rhine; but, when he was with Marlborough, they were always unanimous in their measures.

The duke of Burgundy was superior in numbers: France, though all Europe looked upon her as quite exhausted, had furnished him with an army of near an hundred thousand men, whilst the allies had only about eighty thousand. He had likewise the advantage of intelligence, in a country which had been so long under the Spanish government, so tired of the Dutch garisons, and where many of the inhabitants were attached to Philip V. By this means, he easily got possession of Ghent and Ypres. But the misconduct in the war rendered all these advantages fruitless. The division amongst the French which perplexed all their councils of war, was the occasion that they first marched towards the Dendre, and, two hours after, they turned back towards the Schelde for Oudenard; and, by this means, time was lost. Prince Eugene, and Marlborough, on the contrary, improved every moment to their advantage, and always agreed in their measures. The French were routed near Oudenard (*d*). It was not a great action; but it proved a fatal retreat. Many oversights were committed: the regiments, receiving no orders, escaped the best they could. There were above four thousand men taken in the roads by the enemy, a few miles only from the field of battle.

The dispirited army retired in disorder under

(*d*) July 11. 1708.

Ghent, Tournay, and Ypres; and suffered Eugene, at his return from the Rhine, without any molestation, to besiege Lisle with a less numerous force.

To besiege so large and so well fortified a town as Lisle, without being master of Ghent, without having any other way for a convoy of provisions, or ammunition, but by Ostend, and these to be brought upon a narrow causeway, liable to be surprised every moment, appeared to all Europe as a rash action; but the misunderstanding and perplexity, which prevailed in the French army, rendered it excusable; and the success at last justified the attempt. Their large convoys, so easy to be seized, escaped; and the troops, which escorted them, so likely to be defeated by superior numbers, came off victorious. The duke of Burgundy's army, which might so easily have attacked the enemy's imperfect intrenchments, made not the least attempt upon them. In short, Lisle was taken, to the great astonishment of all Europe, who looked upon the duke of Burgundy as more able to besiege Eugene and Marlborough, than these generals were to invest Lisle. Marshal de Boufflers defended the place for near four months.

The inhabitants were so accustomed to the noise of cannon, and all the horrors of a siege, that public entertainments were exhibited, and as much frequented as in time of peace; and though, one day, a bomb fell very near the theatre, yet the diversion still went on uninterrupted.

Marshal Boufflers was indefatigable, and had put every thing in such excellent order, that the inhabit-

ants, confiding in his diligence, were intirely easy. His defence of this place merited even the esteem of his enemies, as well as the affections of those he defended, and the rewards of his royal master. The historians ‡, or rather the Dutch writers, who have affected to censure him, would have done well to consider, that, when they contradict the public voice, they ought to have been eye-witnesses, or to have given the strongest evidence for the truth of what they advance.

Mean while, the army, which had beheld the siege of Lisle, gradually decreased: they allowed Ghent and Bruges to be taken, and all the other important posts one after another. Few campaigns had been more fatal. The officers, in the duke of Vendome's party, imputed their misfortunes to the duke of Burgundy's council; who, on their side, charged all upon the duke de Vendome. All, in short, were excessively chagrined by the late disasters. One of the duke of Burgundy's courtiers said to Vendome: "See the consequences of your never going to mass; to this we must ascribe all our misfortunes." "Do you imagine," answered Vendome, "that Marlborough goes there oftener than I?" This rapid success of the allies not a little elated the heart of the emperor Joseph. He was already absolute in the empire, and master of Landau; and he now saw the road to Paris almost intirely laid open, by the taking of Lisle. A party of

‡ Such is the history written by the Jesuit la Motte, who fled into Holland, under the name of la Hode: it was printed for a bookseller, named Vanduren; and was continued by la Martiniere; the whole being founded upon the pretended memoirs of a count de ——— secretary of state.

the Dutch had the boldness even to force their way to Versailles from Courtray; and under the very window of the castle, carried off the king's master of the horse, whom they mistook for the dauphin, the duke of Burgundy's father. A general consternation now seized Paris. At this juncture, the emperor had at least as great hopes of establishing his brother Charles in Spain, as Lewis had of maintaining his grandson on that throne.

The Spanish monarchy, which the people were so zealous to prevent being dismembered, was already divided amongst three princes. The emperor had taken, for himself, Lombardy and the kingdom of Naples; his brother Charles still kept Catalonia, and part of Arragon. The emperor then forced pope Clement XI. to acknowledge the archduke king of Spain. This pope, who was said to resemble St. Peter, because he first affirmed, then denied, afterwards repented, and wept, had always acknowledged Philip V. after the example of his predecessor, and was attached to the Bourbon family. The emperor was now revenged on him by annexing to the Empire several feudatory principalities, or duchies; particularly those of Parma and Placentia, which before had held of the popes: he likewise ravaged some of the ecclesiastical territories, and seized the town of Commacchio. Formerly the pope would have excommunicated an emperor that dared to dispute any of his most trifling privileges; and this excommunication would have dethroned him: but the spiritual power of the holy see being now reduced to such a degree as was reasonable, Clement XI. animated by France, had the courage, for a

moment, to have recourse to the sword: He armed; but presently repented: he saw, that the Italians, being under an ecclesiastical government, were not formed to handle the sword; he accordingly disarmed again, left Commacchio in the emperor's possession, and consented thus to address the archduke: "To our very dear son, the catholic king in Spain." The English fleet in the Mediterranean, and the German troops on his frontiers, soon after obliged him to write thus; "To our very dear son Charles king of the Spanish dominions." This declaration of the pope, which availed nothing in the Empire, might have an influence with the people of Spain, who had been made to believe, that the archduke was unworthy to reign, because he was protected by those heretics who had seized upon Gibraltar.

There remained to the Spanish monarchy, besides the continent, the island of Sardinia, and that of Sicily; the former was conquered by an English fleet (*e*), and given to the emperor; for the English did not choose, that the archduke should have any thing besides Spain. Their arms, at this time, made the treaties of partition. They deferred the conquest of Sicily to another opportunity; thinking it better to employ their ships in going in quest of the galleons from America, some of which they took, than to procure more dominions for the emperor.

France was now reduced as low as Rome, and in a more dangerous situation; all her resources being now exhausted, and her credit intirely sunk: the

(*e*) August 1708.

people, who had idolized Lewis in his prosperity, now, in his misfortunes, murmured against him.

The persons, to whom the ministry had sold their country for some ready money on the most pressing emergencies, enriched themselves by the public misfortunes, and insulted the national calamities by their riotous luxury: what had been borrowed from them, was already consumed; and had it not been for the bold activity of some merchants, particularly those of St. Malo, who went to Peru, and brought from thence thirty millions of money, half of which they lent to the government, Lewis would not have had wherewith to pay his troops. The war had ruined the state, and the merchants retrieved it. The affairs of Spain were in the same situation. Those galleons, which escaped the English, contributed to maintain Philip; but this supply for a few months did not remove the difficulty of raising recruits. Chamillard, who had the management of the finances, as well as the war, gave up the finances in 1708 ‡, which he left in such disorder, that they could not be repaired during that reign; and, in 1709. he quitted the management of the war, which was become no less difficult than the other. A great many faults were laid to his charge; and the public, whose censures are the more severe the more it has suffered, did not make an allowance for the misfortunes of the times, when faults cannot be avoided. M. Voisin,

‡ The Jesuit la Motte's history, continued by la Martiniere, asserts, that Chamillard was turned out of the ministry in 1703. and that marshal d'Harcourt was called to take upon him the management of the finances by the unanimous voice of the public. The mistakes of this historian are numberless.

afterwards chancellor, who succeeded him in the management of military affairs, and M. Desmarets, who had the direction of the finances, were unable to form more successful plans of war, or re-establish the public credit.

The hard winter in 1709. was another aggravation to the desperate condition of France. The olives, which are the chief support of the southern parts of the kingdom, perished; almost all the other fruit-trees were likewise killed; and their hopes from harvest were intirely blasted. There were but few magazines; and any supply they could have from the sea-ports of the Levant, or Africa, must have been at the greatest expence, and very likely to be taken by the enemy's fleets; against which they had no naval force to oppose. This severe winter prevailed through all Europe; but the enemies had more resources in this calamity. The Dutch especially, who had been so long the factors of different nations, had storehouses sufficient to supply the flourishing armies of the allies with plenty of all necessities; whilst the broken and dispirited troops of France were ready to perish with want and misery.

Lewis XIV. who had already made some advances towards a peace, being now in such distressed circumstances, resolved to send to the Hague his principal minister the marquis de Torci Colbert, together with the president Rouille. This was extremely mortifying. They had first a conference at Antwerp, with the two burgomasters, Buis and Vanderdussen, who spoke with the air of conquerors; treating the ministers of one of the most haughty monarchs with all that loftiness and con-

tempt with which the Dutch had been treated in 1672.

The states general had no stadtholder since the death of king William; and the magistrates in Holland, who already assumed the title of *patri-cian* in their families, were now become so many princes. The four Dutch commissaries, deputed to the army, behaved in the most lordly manner to the thirty German princes in their pay. "Order Holstein to come thither," said they: "Tell Hesse to come and speak with us." This was the stile of those merchants; who, in the plainness of their dress and diet, piqued themselves on humbling at once the German pride in their service, and the haughtiness of a great monarch formerly their conqueror. By such proofs of their superiority, they did not mean to shew that all grandeur consists in power: they desired to have the sovereignty of ten towns in Flanders; amongst which were Lisle, then in their possession, and Tournay, not yet taken. Thus the Dutch designed to reap the fruit of the war, not only at the expence of France, but likewise of Austria, in whose interest they fought; after the example of Venice, who had formerly increased her territories from those of all her neighbours. The republican spirit is, indeed, at bottom, as ambitious as the monarchical.

This evidently appeared some months afterwards; for, when this visionary negotiation was dropt; when the arms of the confederates had acquired greater advantages; the duke of Marlborough, more a sovereign in England than his royal mistress, having been effectually gained over by the Dutch concluded a treaty with them in 1709. By

this they were to be masters of all the frontier-towns to be taken from France; they were to keep garisons in twenty different places in Flanders, at the expence of the country in Huy, Liege, and Bonne; and were to have upper Guelderland intirely under their soverignty. They were in effect to become lords of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, and to have ruled in Liege and Cologn. Thus it was they intended to aggrandize themselves even on the ruins of their allies. They had already projected these grand schemes, when the principal minister of France came to sue for peace; so that it is not to be wondered at, he was received in so haughty a manner.

After having heard these mortifying preliminaries, the minister of Lewis XIV. proceeded to the Hague; where, in the name of his master, he was treated with the highest indignity. He there found prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and the pensionary Heinsius, who were unanimous for continuing the war. The prince, by this, pursued his glory and revenge; Marlborough sought glory, and an immense fortune, both which he equally coveted; Heinsius, being intirely ruled by the other two, looked upon himself as a Spartan commonwealthsman, who had humbled a Persian monarch. They did not propose a peace, but a truce; and, during this suspension, they demanded an ample satisfaction for all their allies, though none for the allies of the king, and that too, on condition he joined with them to drive his grandson out of Spain, within the space of two months; and, as a surety of this, that he should deliver up, for ever, to the Dutch ten towns in Flanders; that he should give

up Strasbourg, Brisac, and intirely renounce all pretentions to Alsace (*g*). Lewis XIV. little expected, when he refused prince Eugene a troop of dragoons, when Churchill was not even a Colonel in England, and the name of Heinsius hardly known to him, that these three should ever prescribe him such conditions. The marquis de Torci departed without so much as entering into negotiation, and reported to the king the orders of his enemies. Lewis now acted in a manner he had never before done with his subjects: he justified his conduct to them; and sent them a circular letter, wherein he set forth the necessity he lay under, of obliging them still to support the burden of a war: wherein he also excited their indignation, their sense of honour, and even their pity. The politicians said, that Torci went, in a suppliant manner, to the Hague, for no other reason, but to shew the insolence of the enemies, to justify Lewis to all Europe, and to animate the French with a spirit of just resentment: but the truth is, he went for no other end but to solicit peace; nay, the president Rouille was left at the Hague, to try if he could procure easier terms: but, instead of giving any answer upon that head, the states commanded him to depart within twenty-four hours.

Lewis XIV. when informed of this mortifying behaviour, said to Rouille, "Since I must make war, I choose rather to carry it on against my enemies, than my children." He accordingly made all preparations for another effort in Flanders. The very famine, which depopulated the country, proved a resource in war; for those who wanted

bread became soldiers. There were great quantities of land left untilled; but, however an army was raised. Marshal Villars, who had been sent the preceding year to command the army in Savoy, where he raised the spirits of the troops, and had gained some success, was now recalled into Flanders, as the most likely person to retrieve his sinking country.

Marlborough had already taken Tournay, whilst Eugene covered the siege. And these two generals now marched to invest Mons. Marshal Villars advanced to oppose them: he had with him marshal Boufflers, who, though his senior, had solicited to serve under him. Boufflers sincerely loved his king and country: he proved, on this occasion, notwithstanding the maxim of a great wit, that in a monarchical state, especially under a good master, there are virtues; and, doubtless, as many and as great, as in republics, with less enthusiasm, perhaps, but with more of what is termed honour.

As soon as the French advanced to prevent the siege of Mons, the allies marched to attack them near the wood of Blangies, and the village of Malplaquet.

The two armies consisted each of about eighty thousand men; but that of the allies was superior by forty-two battalions. The French brought with them eighty pieces of cannon, and the allies an hundred and forty. The duke of Marlborough commanded the right wing, which consisted of the English and German troops in the pay of England. Prince Eugene was in the centre; and Tilli, with count Nassau, headed the left wing, composed of the Dutch troops.

Marshal Villars took upon himself the command.

of the left wing, and appointed Boufflers to command the right (*b*). He had intrenched his army in a hurry; a precaution which seemed extremely suitable to an army, inferior in numbers, dispirited with misfortunes, and one half composed of young recruits; and suitable to the circumstances of France, which a total defeat must reduce to the utmost extremity. Some historians have blamed the general for his disposition: "He ought," say they, "to have passed a large hollow, instead of having it in his front." But do not those, who, in their closets, pretend to pass a judgment on what passes in a field of battle, seem to be a little too confident in their own abilities?

All that I know is, that the marshal himself said that the soldiers, who had gone without their bread a whole day, after having received it, threw away part of it, to advance to the engagement free of all incumbrance. There have been few battles, for several ages, that continued longer, or were more eagerly contested, and none more bloody. I shall say nothing in regard to this action, but what was generally allowed. The left wing of the enemy, where the Dutch fought, was almost intirely destroyed, and even pursued with musquet and bayonet. Marlborough, on the right, made, and withstood, the greatest efforts. Marshal Villars drew off some part of his centre to oppose Marlborough; and, at that very juncture, the centre was attacked; the intrenchments, which covered it, were carried instantly; for the regiment of guards, left to defend them, made no resistance. The marshal, hasten-

(*b*) Sept. 11. 1709.

ing from the left wing to his centre, was wounded, and the battle lost. The field was covered with near thirty thousand men, either dead or expiring.

There was nothing to be seen but one continued heap of carcases, especially where the Dutch had been stationed. The French, scarce lost above eight thousand men in this battle; whilst the enemy had about twenty-one thousand killed or wounded; for the centre having been forced, and the two wings broke through, the vanquished had made the greatest slaughter.

Marshal Boufflers † made a retreat in good order; being assisted by the prince de Tingri-Montmorenci, afterwards marshal Luxembourg; who inherited all the courage of his ancestors. The army retired between Quenoi and Valenciennes, carrying with them several colours and standards taken from the enemy. These spoils afforded some consolation to Lewis XIV. and the honour of having fought so considerable a time, and having lost only the field of battle, was accounted equal to a victory. Marshal Villars, at his return to court, assured the king, that had he not been wounded, he should have gained the victory. I have been in company with the marshal, who always seemed persuaded of this; but I have met with hardly any person of his opinion.

It may seem somewhat astonishing, that an army, which had killed of the enemy two thirds more than they had lost, should not endeavour to hinder those, who had no other advantage than that of ly-

† In a book, intituled, *Memoirs du marechal de Barwick*, it is said, that marshal Barwick made this retreat. Thus it is that most memoirs are written.

ing amidst their dead, from going to besiege Mons. The Dutch shewed great apprehensions about this enterprize; and not a little hesitated: but the name of a battle lost imposes upon the conquered, and dispirits them. Men never do all they have in their power; and the soldier, when told that he is defeated, is afraid of meeting with the like fate again. Mons was therefore besieged and taken (i): and it also was given up to the Dutch; as were likewise Tournay and Lisle.

CHAPTER XXI.

Lewis XIV. continues to sue for peace, and to act on the defensive. The duke de Vendome secures the king of Spain on his throne.

THE enemy thus made a gradual progress; they not only took, on this side, all the barriers of France, but they likewise intended, by the assistance of the duke of Savoy, to invade Franche-Comte, and, by the two extremities to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. In order to facilitate this enterprize, general Merci was ordered to enter the higher Alsace, by Bale; but he was luckily obstructed by count, afterwards marshal, du Bourg, near the isle of Newbourg on the Rhine (a). Those of the name of Merci, by I know not what fatality, have been always as remarkable for their misfortunes,

(i) October 11. 1709.

(a) August 26. 1709.

as their reputation. This we have just mentioned, was intirely defeated. Nothing was attempted on the side of Savoy; but the French were nevertheless in great apprehensions from Flanders; and the inner parts of the kingdom were in such a declining state, that Lewis still sued for peace in a suppliant manner. He offered to acknowledge the archduke as king of Spain; to give no assistance to his grandson, but to leave him intirely to his own fortune; to give four cautionary towns; to deliver up Strasbourg and Brisac; to renounce the sovereignty of Alsace, and only to keep the government thereof; to demolish all the forts betwixt Bale and Philipsbourg; to fill up the harbour of Dunkirk, and intirely erase the fortifications of that place, which had been formidable for so considerable a time; to give up to the states general Lisle, Tournay, Ypres, Menin, Furnes, Conde, and Maubeuge. These were, in part, the articles upon which it was proposed to conclude the peace which he implored.

The allies, by way of triumph, pretended they wanted to examine more narrowly into the submissions of Lewis XIV. They allowed his plenipotentiaries to come, the beginning of 1710. to the little town of Gertrudenberg, with the petitions of that monarch. For this purpose, he made choice of marshal d'Uxelles, a man of a cool and reserved temper, and though not of a bold and enterprising turn, yet extremely discreet in his conduct; together with the abbot, afterwards cardinal de Polignac, a man of the finest genius, and one of the greatest orators of his age: made at once to please by the gracefulness of his person, and the force of his eloquence. Neither wisdom, eloquence, nor wit, however,

avail any thing in ministers, when the prince is unsuccessful. Victories are the best peace-makers. The ambassadors of Lewis were rather confined at Gertrudenberg, than admitted to treaty. The deputies came to hear their proposals, which they carried to the Hague to prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and count Zinzendorf, ambassador from the emperor. These offers were always received with contempt. They were insulted by scurrilous libels; all of which were composed by French refugees, who were become greater enemies to the glory of Lewis XIV. than Marlborough or Eugene.

The French plenipotentiaries even submitted so far as to promise, that the king should contribute money to dethrone Philip V. and yet they were not listened to. The allies insisted, as one of the preliminaries, that Lewis should engage, by himself, to drive his grandson out of Spain, by force of arms, in two months. This absurd inhumanity, much more insolent than a downright refusal of peace, arose from new successes.

Whilst the confederates treated in this haughty manner in opposition to the grandeur and pride of Lewis XIV. they took the town of Douay: soon after, they also made themselves masters of Bethune, Aire and Saint-Venant. The earl of Stair even proposed to send detachments to the gates of Paris.

Almost at the same time, the archduke's army, commanded by Guí de Staremborg, the German general, who had the greatest reputation after prince Eugene, gained a complete victory, near Saragossa (*b*), over the army in which Philip placed all his hopes,

(*b*) August 20. 1710.

commanded by the marquis de Bay, an unfortunate general. It was again remarked that neither of the two princes, who disputed the crown of Spain, though both within reach of the army, was present at the battle. Of all the princes who were fought for by the other powers of Europe, the duke of Savoy was the only one who served in person. It was hard, however, that he could not acquire this glory, but by fighting against his two daughters; one of whom he wanted to dethrone, in order to gain a small part in Lombardy, about which the emperor Joseph had already raised difficulties, and of which he would certainly be deprived the first opportunity.

This emperor was every-where successful, and every-where shewed great want of moderation in his prosperity. By his own authority alone, he dismembered Bavaria, and gave away the jurisdictions thereof to his relations and creatures. He stript the young duke of Mirandola of his dominions in Italy. The princes of the empire furnished him with an army on the Rhine; not considering, they contributed to strengthen a power they dreaded: so much did the ancient hatred against the name of Lewis XIV. still prevail in their minds, that the humbling of that monarch seemed their first care. Joseph had likewise the good fortune to overcome the malecontents in Hungary. France had stirred up against him the prince Ragotski, who took arms in defence of his own rights, and those of his country. Ragotski being defeated; his towns were taken, and all his party ruined. Thus Lewis XIV. was equally unfortunate abroad as at home, by sea as by land, and in his public negotiations, as well as private intrigues.

All Europe now imagined, that the archduke Charles, brother to the fortunate Joseph, would reign in Spain without any rival; but Europe was threatened with a power more formidable than that of Charles V. This was England, who had been, for a considerable time jealous of the Spanish-Austrian branch, and Holland, its revolted slave, who had almost exhausted herself to establish the Austrian family. Philip V. who had returned to Madrid, quitted it again, and retired to Valladolid, whilst the archduke made his entry into the capital in triumph.

The French king could no longer assist his grandson; he had been obliged to do in part what his enemies had demanded at Gertrudenberg; to abandon the cause of Philip, by ordering his troops from Spain for his own defence: for he could not, without the utmost difficulty, defend himself towards Savoy, the Rhine, and especially in Flanders, where the war was carried on with the greatest vigour.

Spain was in a still more distressed condition than France: all her provinces had been ravaged by enemies, or protectors. She had been invaded by Portugal, and all her commerce was destroyed. There was likewise a general scarcity throughout the kingdom; but this proved more fatal to the conquerors than the conquered, because, in a considerable part of the country, the people refused every thing to the Austrians, whilst their affections prompted them to do all in their power for Philip. This monarch had now neither troops, nor a general, from France. The duke of Orleans, by whom his tottering condition had been somewhat recovered,

instead of continuing to command his armies, was become his enemy. It is certain, indeed, that notwithstanding the affection of Madrid for Philip, and the attachment of great part of the nobles, and all Castille, to his cause, yet he had still a formidable party in Spain against him. All the Catalans, a warlike and obstinate people, were strongly attached to his competitor; and the half of Arragon was likewise gained over to the same interest. One party of the people waited the event; another hated the archduke more than they loved Philip. The duke of Orleans, of the same name with Philip, dissatisfied with the Spanish ministry, and more so with the princess des Ursins, who chiefly governed, began now to entertain some hopes, that he might be able to procure for himself the kingdom he had been defending: accordingly when Lewis had proposed to abandon his grandson, and an abdication was talked of in Spain, the duke of Orleans thought himself worthy to fill the throne, which Philip seemed about to renounce. He had pretensions to the crown of Spain, which the testament of the deceased king had neglected; but his father had kept up his rights by entering a protest.

By his agents he made a private league with some of the Spanish nobles, whereby they engaged to place him on the throne, if Philip should abdicate. In this case he would certainly have found many of the Spaniards ready to enlist under the banners of so warlike a prince. Had this project succeeded, it could not have displeased the maritime powers, who would then have had less occasion to be afraid of seeing France and Spain united under the same prince; and it would likewise have removed some obstacles

to the peace. The scheme was discovered at Madrid, about the beginning of 1709, when the duke of Orleans was at Versailles, and his agents in Spain were immediately imprisoned. Philip could not forgive his relation for imagining that he would abdicate, and for having formed a design to succeed him. France likewise exclaimed against him; and the dauphin, father to Philip V. gave it as his opinion in council, that he ought to be proceeded against as guilty of high treason: but the king chose rather to bury in silence this unformed and excusable project, than to punish his nephew at a time when his grandson was on the brink of destruction.

At last about the time the battle of Saragossa was fought, the king of Spain's council, and most of the nobles, being sensible they had no able commander to oppose against Staremberg, who was regarded as another Eugene, they wrote in a body to Lewis XIV. intreating he would send them the duke of Vendome. This prince, who had retired to Anet, accordingly departed. His presence was equal to an army. The great reputation he had acquired in Italy, not impaired by his unfortunate campaign at Lisle, struck the Spaniards with admiration. His popularity, his liberality, which even extended to profusion, his openness of temper, and his love for the soldiery, gained him universal esteem. As soon as he set foot in Spain, it happened to him as formerly to Bertrand du Guesclin; his name alone drew numbers of volunteers. He wanted money; and this he was supplied with by the boroughs, cities, and religious houses. The whole nation was seized with a spirit of enthusiasm. The broken remains of the battle of Saragossa were again brought

together, and united under him at Valladolid; and every part of Spain was eager to furnish him with recruits. The duke de Vendome, being resolved not to suffer this ardour to cool, pursued the conquerors, brought back the king to Madrid, and obliged the enemy to retire to Portugal. He still followed them, forded the Tagus, took Stanhope prisoner at Brihuega, with five thousand English, came up with general Staremberg, and the very next day gave him battle at Villaviciosa. Philip V. who had never yet fought in person with his other generals, being animated by the spirit of Vendome, put himself at the head of the right wing, and the general commanded the left. Here they gained so complete a victory, that, in the space of four months, this prince, who, at his arrival, found every thing in the most desperate situation, restored perfect quiet, and settled for ever the crown of Spain on Philip.

Whilst this great revolution astonished the allies, another less distinguished, though not less decisive, was forming in England. Sarah Jennings, duchess of Marlborough, intirely ruled queen Anne, and the duke governed the nation. He had the treasury at his command, by means of Godolphin the lord high treasurer, father-in-law to one of his daughters: he wholly influenced the council by means of Sunderland his son-in-law, secretary of state; and the queen's household, where his wife presided, was at his devotion. He was absolute master of the army, all the posts in it being in his disposal. The Whigs and Tories were the two parties which then divided England; the former, of which Marlborough was the head, refused nothing

to promote his grandeur; and the latter were forced to admire him, and be silent. It may not be unworthy of history to take notice, that the duke and duchess were the most graceful persons of their time; and that this outward advantage not a little attracts the multitude, especially when joined to honour and glory.

He had even more interest at the Hague than the grand pensionary; and his influence in Germany was considerable, being always as successful a negotiator as a general; no private person had ever so extensive a power, or so high a glory. He might also strengthen his power by that immense wealth which he acquired in his command. I have heard it said by his widow, that, after four children had their patrimonies, there remained, exclusive of any court favour, a yearly income of seventy thousand pounds, equal to about one million five hundred thousand livres of the present French money. Had not his parsimony been equal to his grandeur, he might have formed a party the queen would have been unable to destroy: and if his duchess had had a little more condescension, the queen would never have shaken off her fetters. But the duke could not overcome his passion for riches, nor the duchess give up her humour. The queen had loved her to such a degree, as to be under a perfect subjection to her will. In such connexions, disgust generally proceeds from the person who has the greatest ascendant. Caprice, haughtiness, and an abuse of this superiority, often render the yoke intolerable, and the duchess of Marlborough carried them to the highest degree. The queen began to look about for another favourite, and turned her eyes upon Mrs. Masham. The

duchess was now roused with jealousy. Some gloves of a particular make, which she had refused the queen, and a basin of water, she, with affected carelessness, in her majesty's presence, let fall on lady Masham's gown, gave a turn to the affairs of Europe. The queen and duchess became now highly incensed against each other. The new favourite's brother solicited the duke for a regiment: he refused this request, and the queen granted it. The Tories seized this opportunity to deliver the queen from her domestic slavery; to humble the power of Marlborough; to make a change in the ministry; to conclude a peace; and, if possible, to restore the Stuart family to the throne of England. Had the duchess been a little more pliant in her disposition, she might have regained her influence. Her majesty, and she, had been accustomed to write to each other under fictitious names. This mysterious and familiar correspondence left a channel always open for reconciliation; but the duchess used this only to widen the breach. She wrote in an imperious manner, saying in her letter, "Do me justice, and give me no answer." She afterwards repented, and, in tears, came to ask pardon. The queen made her no other reply than this: "You have ordered me to give you no answer, and I will obey." The rupture being now irreparable, the duchess appeared no more at court. Some time after, they began with turning Sunderland out of the ministry, in order next to displace Godolphin, and then the duke himself. In other kingdoms, this is termed a disgrace; but, in England, it is a change of ministry. This, however, was extremely difficult to bring about. The Tories, though masters of the queen,

were not so of the kingdom. They were obliged to have recourse to religion; of which they have no more at present in Great Britain than the little which is wanted to distinguish parties. The Whigs inclined to presbyterianism: this was the party which had dethroned James II. persecuted Charles II. and beheaded his father. The Tories, were for episcopacy, which favoured the house of Stuart, and wanted to establish the doctrine of passive obedience towards kings, the bishops expecting thereby to procure a greater submission to themselves. They spirited a preacher to enforce this doctrine in the cathedral of Saint Paul's, to paint the administration of Marlborough in the most odious colours, and to blacken the whole party, which had fixed the crown on king William. But the queen, though she favoured this priest, had not a sufficient power to hinder his sermon being publicly burnt, and himself silenced for three years, by both houses of parliament. The queen was still more sensible of her weakness, when she found, that notwithstanding her secret affection for her own blood, she durst not open the passage to the throne, shut against her brother by the Whigs. Those writers, who say that Marlborough, and his party, fell as soon as the queen withdrew her favour, seem not to be acquainted with the constitution of England. The queen, though strongly inclined to a peace, dared not even to remove Marlborough from the command; and, in the spring of 1711. he still continued to harass France, notwithstanding his disgrace at court. Proposals of peace from France were secretly offered at London; but the queen's new ministry durst not yet accept of them.

A new event, as unexpected as many others, effected this grand work. This was the death of the emperor Joseph (c), who left all the dominions of the Austrian family, the empire of Germany, and his pretensions on Spain and America, to his brother Charles, who was elected emperor of the Romans a few months after.

As soon as the emperor's death was known, those prejudices, which had armed so many nations, began now to be dissipated in England, by means of the new ministry. Great pains had been taken to hinder Lewis XIV. from governing Spain, America, Lombardy, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, under the name of his grandson; and why should they now wish to see so many dominions united in the house of Charles VI.? Why should the English nation exhaust their treasures? They contributed more than Holland and Germany together; and the expence of the present year amounted to seven millions sterling. Must Great Britain ruin herself in a cause in which she was so little interested, and to procure a part of Flanders for the United Provinces, her rivals in commerce? These considerations, which emboldened the queen, opened the eyes of great part of the nation; and a new parliament being called, she was now at liberty to make preparations for the peace of Europe.

But though she was secretly endeavouring to bring it about, she could not yet publicly disengage herself from her allies; and whilst private negotiations for a peace were transacting in the cabinet, Marlborough was carrying on hostilities in the field. He made continual advances in Flanders, and forced the lines which marshal Villars had drawn from

Montreuil to Valenciennes: he took Bouchain, and advanced as far as Quesnoi (*d*); from whence to Paris there was hardly a single fort to oppose him.

It was at this unfortunate time, that the famous Gue-trouin, by his courage, and the assistance of some merchants, having no rank in the navy, and owing every thing to himself, equipt a fleet, and took St. Sebastian de Rio Janeiro (*e*), one of the principal towns in Brasil. He returned loaded with riches; but the Portuguese lost more than he gained. All this damage, however, done at Brasil, proved no remedy to the misfortunes of France.

CHAPTER XXII.

The victory gained at Denain by marshal Villars. The affairs of France retrieved. A general peace concluded.

THE negotiations for a peace were now publicly entered upon at London. The queen sent the earl of Strafford ambassador to Holland, to lay before the states the proposals of Lewis XIV. It was not Marlborough they had now to solicit; for Strafford obliged the Dutch to name plenipotentiaries, and to receive those of France.

There were three eminent men who still opposed this peace. Marlborough, prince Eugene, and Heinsius, persisted in their resolution to distress Lewis

(*d*) Sept. 1711.

(*e*) Sept. and Oct. 1711.

XIV. But the English general, upon his return to London, towards the end of 1711. was divested of all his employments. He found a new house of commons; nor had he now a majority amongst the lords; for the queen, having created several peers, had thereby weakened the duke's party, and made an accession to that of the crown. Like Scipio, he was accused of misdemeanours; but he extricated himself, like him, by his glory, and by retiring. However, he was still powerful in his disgrace. Prince Eugene scrupled not to come over to London to assist his party. This prince met with such a reception as his rank and distinguished merit deserved; and the refusal due to his propositions. The court prevailed: prince Eugene returned alone to finish the war; and, having no companion to share the honour, this was a fresh incitement to him, to hope for new victories.

Whilst the conferences were carrying on at Utrecht, where the French ministers, who had been so haughtily treated at Gertrudenberg, came now to negotiate on more equal terms; marshal Villars, having retired behind his lines, covered Arras and Cambray. Prince Eugene took the town of Quesnoy, and extended in the country an army of about an hundred thousand men. The Dutch had made an extraordinary effort; and though hitherto they had not borne the expence they had agreed to in the war, yet this year they even furnished beyond their contingent. Queen Anne could not yet openly disengage herself. She had sent the duke of Ormond, with twelve thousand English, to prince Eugene's army, and still retained in her pay a considerable body of Germans. Prince Eugene, having burnt

the suburbs of Arras, marched against the French army, and proposed to the duke of Ormond to give battle: but the English general had been sent thither with orders not to fight. Mean while, the particular negotiations of France and England advanced, and a suspension of arms was proclaimed betwixt the two crowns. Lewis XIV. put Dunkirk into the hands of the English, as a surety that he would perform his engagements. The duke of Ormond retired towards Ghent: he carried with him all the English troops, and wanted likewise to have drawn off those in his mistress's pay; but he could only procure twelve regiments of Holstein, and a regiment of Liege to follow him. The troops of Brandenburg, the Palatinate, Saxony, Hesse, and Denmark, still remained under prince Eugene, and were paid by the Dutch. Even the elector of Hanover, who was to succeed queen Anne, left his troops with the allies in spite of her; shewing thereby, that, though his family expected the crown of England, they did not build their hopes on any favour from the queen.

Prince Eugene, though deprived of the English, was still superior to the French army by twenty thousand men: he was so too by his situation, by his having plenty of every thing, and by a course of victories for nine years.

Marshal Villars could not hinder him from besieging Landrecy. France, being drained of men and money, was in the utmost consternation; nor could the French depend greatly on the conferences at Utrecht, since the success of prince Eugene might render them all ineffectual. Considerable detach-

ments of the enemy had already ravaged part of Champagne, and penetrated even to the gates of Rheims.

There was now a general alarm in Versailles, and throughout the whole kingdom. About a year afterwards happened the death of the king's only son: the duke and duchess of Burgundy with their eldest son, being taken off suddenly in a few months after, were carried to their graves in the same hearse; the youngest of their children was likewise at the point of death. These domestic misfortunes, joined to those abroad, and the public misery, made the end of Lewis's reign appear as a period destined for calamity; and the French now expected more misfortunes, than they had before seen glory and grandeur.

About this very time, the duke de Vendome died in Spain. That spirit of dejection and despondency which prevailed through all France, and which I myself remember, made every one apprehensive, that Spain, hitherto supported by Vendome, would now be lost by his death.

Landrecy could not hold out long. It was even debated in council at Versailles, whether the king should not retire to Chambord. Upon this occasion, his majesty told marshal d'Harcourt, that, in case of any new misfortune, he would summon together all the nobility of his kingdom, and, notwithstanding he was in his seventy-fourth year, would lead them on against the enemy, and die at the head of his army.

A mistake of prince Eugene delivered the king, and the whole kingdom from their perplexities. It is said that his lines were too much extended;

that his magazine of stores in Marchiennes was at too great a distance; and that general Albemarle, posted at Denain, betwixt Marchiennes and the prince's camp, was not properly situated to be speedily succoured, if attacked. I have been assured, that a very beautiful Italian lady, whom I saw some time after at the Hague, and who was then kept by prince Eugene, resided at the Marchiennes; and that she was the cause of the magazine being fixed at this place. It seems not to be doing justice to prince Eugene, to imagine that a woman should influence his military dispositions. Those who know, that a curate, together with a counsellor of Douay, named le Fevre d'Orval, walking towards these parts, were the first who projected the attack on Denain and Marchiennes, may better demonstrate, from this fact, by what secret and weak springs the greatest affairs of this world are often directed. Le Fevre gave his opinion to the governor of the province; he communicated it to marshal Montesquieu, who commanded under Villars. The general approved of it, and put it in execution. This action proved, in effect, the safety of France, more than the peace with England. Marshal Villars gave prince Eugene the slip; he ordered a body of dragoons to advance in sight of the enemy's camp, as if they were about to attack it; and whilst these retired towards Guise, the marshal marched to Denain (a) with his army, in five columns and forced the intrenchments of general Albemarle, defended by seventeen battalions, who were all killed or taken. The general surrendered himself a prisoner, together with two princes of Nassau, a prince of Holstein, a prince of Anhalt,

(a) July 24. 1712.

and all the officers. Prince Eugene hastened with what troops he could get, but did not arrive till the action was over: he went to attack a bridge leading to Denain, which the French guarded; but in this attempt he lost most of his men, and was obliged to return to his camp, after being a witness of this defeat.

All the posts towards Marchiennes, along the Scarpe, were carried one after another, with great rapidity. The French now advanced to Marchiennes, defended by four thousand men: they besieged the place with so much vigour, that, in three days, the whole garison were made prisoners (*b*), together with all the provisions, and warlike stores, which the enemy had amassed for the campaign. Marshal Villars had now intirely the superiority. The enemy, being disconcerted, raised the siege of Landrecy, and suffered Douay, Quesnoy, and Bouchain, to be retaken (*c*), so that the frontiers were now in security. The army of prince Eugene retreated, after having lost fifty battalions; forty of which, from the battle of Denain to the end of the campaign, had at different times been taken prisoners. The most signal victory could not have produced greater advantages.

If marshal Villars had had the popularity of some other generals, he must now have been extolled as the deliverer of his country; but his services were hardly acknowleged; and amidst the public joy for this unexpected success, envy was still predominant.

Every step of Villars hastened the peace of Utrecht. The ministry of queen Anne, accountable to their own country, as well as Europe, neglected

(*b*) July 30. 1712. (*c*) Sept. and Oct. 1712.

neither the interest of England, nor that of their allies, nor the public safety. They, in the first place, insisted, that Philip V. established in Spain, should renounce all his pretensions to the crown of France, which he had always maintained; and that his brother the duke de Berri, heir apparent to the crown of France, after Lewis's only great grandson; who was almost at the point of death, should likewise renounce all claim to the crown of Spain, in case he became king of France. The same renunciation was also required of the duke of Orleans. But the late war, of twelve years continuance, proved the weakness of such ties upon mankind. There is as yet no law acknowledged, which can oblige the descendants to deprive themselves of the right of reigning, though their fathers may have renounced it. Such renunciations are of no efficacy, but when the common interest agrees with them. However, for a little, they calmed a storm which had continued for twelve years; and it was very probable, that the time would come when several nations would endeavour to maintain these renunciations, now become the basis of the balance and tranquillity of Europe.

By this treaty they gave the duke of Savoy the island of Sicily, with the title of king; and, on the continent, Fenestrelles, Exilles, with the valley of Pragilas; thus they aggrandized him at the expence of the house of Bourbon.

They assigned the Dutch a considerable barrier, which they had always desired; and as they had taken some territories from the house of Bourbon in favour of the duke of Savoy, so likewise they incroached a little on the rights of the Austrian fa-

mily, to satisfy the Dutch, who, at the expence of this house, were now to become the governors and masters of the strongest towns in Flanders. The commercial interest of Holland was taken care of; and articles were likewise stipulated in favour of Portugal.

To the emperor was allotted the sovereignty of the Ten provinces in Spanish Flanders, and the important government of the barrier towns. He had likewise confirmed to him the kingdom of Naples and Sardinia, with all his possessions in Lombardy, and the four sea-ports on the coasts of Tuscany: but the council of Vienna, looking upon themselves as aggrieved, would not agree to these conditions.

In regard to Great Britain, her interest and glory were intirely secured. She procured, as one article, that the harbour of Dunkirk, which had been the cause of so many jealousies, should be demolished and filled up. Spain left her in the possession of Gibraltar and Minorca. France gave up to her Hudson's-Bay, the island of Newfoundland, and Acadia. As to her trade in America, she even obtained privileges not granted to the French, who placed Philip V. on the throne. We must likewise ascribe to the English ministry, as a most glorious article, their obliging Lewis XIV. to set at liberty those of his subjects, who had been confined for their religious principles. This was, indeed, to dictate laws; but such, however, as were perfectly equitable.

Queen Anne, at last, sacrificing the rights of blood, and the secret inclinations of her heart, to the good of her country, used her interest to have the succession settled, and properly secured, upon the house of Hanover.

As to the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, the duke of Bavaria was to keep the duchy of Luxembourg, and county of Namur, till he and his brother were re-established in their electorates; for Spain had given up these two sovereignties to the Bavarian, as a recompence for his losses; and the allies had neither taken Namur nor Luxembourg.

As to France, who agreed to demolish Dunkirk, and to give up so many places in Flanders, formerly conquered by her arms, and confirmed by the treaties of Nimigen and Ryswick, she had given up to her Lisle, Aire, Bethune, and Saint-Venant.

Thus it appeared, that the English ministry rendered justice to all parties; but they themselves did not meet with the like candour from the Whigs. One half of the English nation soon after insulted the memory of queen Anne, for having done one of the greatest and best actions that can ever be in the power of a sovereign, that of restoring peace to so many nations. She was reproached, in that she might easily have dismembered France, and yet neglected the opportunity.

All these treaties were signed one after another, in the year 1713. The emperor, either through the obstinacy of prince Eugene, or the bad policy of his council, entered not into any of these negotiations: he might certainly have had Landau, and perhaps Strasbourg, had he at first come readily into the measures of queen Anne; but he remained obstinate for war, and had nothing. Marshal Villars, having secured what remained of the French Flanders, marched towards the Rhine; and, after having made himself master of Spire, Worms, and all the adjacent country, took Landau, the same

which the emperor might have preserved by a peace (*d*). He forced the intrenchments which prince Eugene had drawn in the Brisgaw, and defeated marshal Vaubonne within his lines (*e*). He likewise besieged and took Fribourg (*f*), the metropolis of Upper Austria.

The council of Vienna were, on all sides, extremely urgent for the succours promised by the circles of the Empire. These reinforcements, however, did not arrive; and the emperor at last became sensible, that without England and Holland, he could not oppose France; and he resolved, when too late, to make peace.

Marshal Villars, having thus concluded the war, had likewise the honour of concluding a peace at Rastadt with prince Eugene. This was, perhaps, the first instance of two generals meeting, at the end of a campaign, to treat in the name of their masters. Upon this occasion, they both behaved with that easy freedom peculiar to their characters. I have heard marshal Villars say, that the following was one of his first expressions to prince Eugene: "Sir, we are not enemies to each other; your enemies are at Vienna, and mine at Versailles." Both, indeed, had always factions to struggle against at their own courts.

In this treaty no mention was made of the rights which the emperor pretended upon the monarchy of Spain, nor the empty title of Catholic king, which Charles VI. always assumed, whilst Philip V. had the kingdom. Lewis XIV. still kept Strasbourg and Landau, which he had before proposed to resign, together with Hunninguen and new Brisac, which

(*d*) Aug. 20. 1713.

(*e*) Sept. 20.

(*f*) Oct. 30.

he had offered to demolish; and he still retained the sovereignty of Alsace, which formerly he would have renounced: and what was most honourable, he got the electors of Bavaria and Cologne re-established in their dominions and honours.

It is very remarkable, that France, in all her treaties with the emperors, always protected the rights of the princes and states of the empire. She laid the foundation of the Germanic liberty at Munster, and got an eighth electorate created for the house of Bavaria. The treaty of Nimigen confirmed that of Westphalia. By the treaty of Ryfwick, France procured the cardinal de Furstemburg the restoration of all his possessions; and now, by the peace of Utrecht, she re-established the two electors. It must be owned, that in all this negotiation, which terminated so long a dispute, France received the law from England, and, in her turn, gave it to the Empire.

The historical memoirs of these times, from whence most of the histories of Lewis XIV. have been compiled, say, that prince Eugene, at the conclusion of the conferences, begged the duke de Villars, in his name, to embrace Lewis's knees, and to present that monarch with the most profound and sincere respects "of a subject to his sovereign." But, in the first place, it cannot be said, that a prince, the grandson of a prince, is the subject of another prince, because he was born in his dominions. Secondly, it is still less consistent, that prince Eugene, the generalissimo of the empire, should call himself a subject of the French monarch.

Mean while, each power took possession of their

new rights. The duke of Savoy got himself acknowledged in Sicily, without consulting the emperor, who in vain complained. Lewis sent his troops to take possession of Lisle. The Dutch seized upon the barrier towns; and the states of the country gave them one million two hundred and fifty thousand florins annually, for being masters of Flanders. Lewis ordered the harbour of Dunkirk to be filled up, the citadel to be rased, and all the fortifications, and the mole to be destroyed, in sight of the English commissary. The Dunkirkers, now seeing their commerce intirely ruined, sent a deputation of their number to London to implore the clemency of queen Anne. It was not a little mortifying to Lewis XIV. that his subjects should go to solicit the favour of a queen of England; but it was still more mortifying to them, that the queen was obliged to refuse their request.

The king, some time after, caused the canal of Mardyke to be enlarged; and, by means of the sluices, an harbour was soon made, said to be equal to that of Dunkirk. The earl of Stair, ambassador from England, made warm remonstrances to Lewis on that account. It is said, in one of the best books extant, that his majesty made this reply to lord Stair: "Mr. Embassador, I have always been master
" in my own kingdom, and sometimes in others;
" do not remind me of this." I am quite certain, that Lewis never made so unsuitable an answer. He had never been master of the English; but was the farthest from it that could be. He was always indeed master in his own dominions: but the question is, whether he was so far master, as to be able to elude a treaty, to which he owed his

present tranquillity, and, perhaps the greatest part of his kingdom. It is however certain, that he immediately put a stop to the works at Mardyke; and thus yielded to the ambassador's representations, instead of treating them with disregard. All that had been done at Mardyke, was soon after demolished, during the regency, and the treaty fulfilled in every particular.

Notwithstanding this peace of Utrecht, and that of Rastadt, Philip V. did not enjoy all the Spanish monarchy; he had still Catalonia to subdue, as well as the islands of Majorca and Ivica.

Here I must take notice, that the emperor Charles had left his wife at Barcelona; and, not being able to support the war in Spain, nor willing to give up his rights, and accept of the peace of Utrecht, had agreed with queen Anne, that the empress and her troops, being of no more service in Catalonia, should be embarked in English vessels. Catalonia was accordingly evacuated; and Staremburg, at his departure, resigned the title of viceroy. But he left all the seeds of a civil war; and the hopes of a speedy relief from the emperor, and even from England. Those who had then the greatest influence in that province, imagined they might now form a republic under a foreign protection; and that the Spanish monarch would not be able to reduce them. They now displayed the same character which Tacitus ascribed to them so long ago: "An intrepid people," says that historian, "who look upon life as nothing, when not employed in fighting."

Had they exerted themselves as much for Philip

V. their king, as they did against him, the archduke would never have contended for Spain. They shewed plainly, by their obstinate resistance, that Philip V. though disengaged of his competitor, could not alone reduce them. Lewis XIV. who, towards the close of the war, could neither furnish his grandson with ships nor soldiers against Charles, now supplied him with both to quell his revolted subjects. The port of Barcelona was blocked up with a French fleet, and marshal Berwick besieged it by land.

The queen of Great Britain, faithful to her treaties, did not succour this town. The emperor promised, but sent no succour: the besieged defended themselves with a courage supported by a kind of fanatical madness. The priests and monks ran to arms, and mounted the breaches, as if they fought for religion. The phantom of liberty rendered them deaf to all the offers made by their master. More than five hundred ecclesiastics lost their lives in arms at this siege; and we may easily judge from thence, whether their discourse and example had not greatly animated the people.

They hung out a black flag from the breach, and bore several assaults in a surprising manner. The assailants having at last forced their way, the besieged fought from street to street: when the old town was taken, they retired to the new; and, in capitulating, they still demanded the preservation of their rights (g). However, they only obtained their lives and properties; for most of their privileges were taken away. Sixty monks were condemned to the galleys; and this was the only ven-

geance taken. Philip V. had treated the little town of Xativa more severely in the course of this war: he had rased it to the very foundation, as an example to deter others. But though an inconsiderable place might be thus destroyed, it would have been extremely unpolitic to demolish a large town, with so fine a port, and so beneficial to the whole kingdom.

This fury of the Catalans, which had not inspired them when Charles VI. was amongst them, but transported them to such a degree, when destitute of assistance, was the last flame of that fire which had laid waste the most beautiful part of Europe, for so considerable a time, occasioned by the will of Charles II. king of Spain.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The state of Europe, from the peace of Utrecht to the year 1750.

I Shall continue to call this a civil war. The duke of Savoy was in arms against his two daughters. The prince de Vaudemont, who espoused the cause of the archduke Charles, had like to have taken prisoner his own father in Lombardy, who was in the interest of Philip V. Spain had been divided into factions; and whole regiments of French Calvinists had served against their native country. It was, in short, for a succession amongst relations, that a general war had been commenced; and it must likewise be observed, that queen Anne excluded from

the throne her own brother, whom Lewis protected, and whom she was obliged to proscribe.

Human prudence and expectations were defeated in this war, as they generally are in every thing. Charles VI. though twice proclaimed at Madrid, was driven out of Spain. Lewis XIV. when ready to sink, recovered by the unexpected broils in England. The council of Spain who had called the duke of Anjou to the throne, only to prevent their monarchy from being dismembered, saw it still divided. Lombardy, and part of Flanders, remained to the house of Austria: the house of Prussia had likewise a small part of Flanders: the Dutch had the sovereignty of another; and a fourth part was left in possession of the French. Thus the inheritance of the house of Burgundy was divided amongst four powers; and the house which seemed to have most right, did not preserve one acre in the Spanish dominions. Sardinia, though of little importance to the emperor, remained to him for some time. He also for some time possessed Naples, that grand sief of Rome, which is so often, and so easily seized. The duke of Savoy had Sicily for four years, keeping it chiefly to maintain against the pope an extraordinary, but ancient right of being pope himself in this island; that is, of being almost in every point, absolute sovereign in matters of religion.

The weakness of human policy appeared still more after the peace of Utrecht, than during the war. It is certain, that the new ministry of queen Anne had secretly formed a scheme for establishing the son of James II. on the throne. Queen Anne herself, influenced by her ministers, began to listen to the voice of nature, and entered into the design of settling the

succession on her brother, whom she had proscribed against her inclination. Her death, however, prevented this project being put in execution. The family of Hanover, whom she looked upon as aliens, and disliked, succeeded. Her ministers were persecuted; and the pretender's party, having made an attempt for him in 1715. were defeated. This rebellion, which if the queen had lived a little longer, would have been termed a legal revolution, was punished by the blood of those who were concerned in it.

The good understanding, and union, betwixt France and Spain, which had raised such apprehensions, and given the alarm to so many nations; was broken off as soon as Lewis XIV. died. The duke of Orleans, regent of France, though irreproachable as to his guardianship of the young prince, behaved as if he himself had been to succeed. He formed a strict alliance with England, though reputed the natural enemy of France, and made an open rupture with that branch of the Bourbon family which reigned at Madrid. Philip. V. who had renounced all pretensions to the crown of France by the late peace, raised, or rather gave the authority of his name to raise, seditions in France; which ought to have chosen him regent, as he could not reign in that kingdom. Thus, after the death of Lewis XIV. all the views, negotiations and political measures, took a quite different turn in his family, as well as amongst most of the princes in Europe.

The regent of France, in concert with the English, attacked Spain; so that the first war of Lewis XV. was undertaken against his uncle, whom Lewis

XIV. had settled on his throne, at the expence of so much blood.

During the course of this short war, the Spanish ministry designed to take advantage of the duke of Savoy; who had likewise formed a scheme of doing somewhat of the same nature with regard to the emperor. The result of this chaos of intrigues was, that the Spaniards deprived the emperor of Sardinia, and the duke of Savoy of Sicily, in 1718.: but France having defeated them by land, and the English by sea, they were forced to give up Sicily to the house of Austria; and Sardinia was assigned to the dukes of Savoy, who still possess it, and bear the title of kings of that island.

To shew by what a blind fatality the affairs of this world are often governed, we may observe, that the Ottoman empire, which might have attacked Germany during the course of the long war in 1701. deferred it till the conclusion of the general peace, and then declared war against the emperor, who had an army of veteran troops, commanded by prince Eugene; who conquered the Turks in two memorable battles, and forced them to accept of a dishonourable peace: and, as a farther addition to these contradictions, in which all affairs abound, this very emperor, victorious over the Turks, could not procure Sicily, without the assistance of the English, and the regent of France.

But what most astonished all the courts of Europe, was to see, some time after, in 1724. and 1725. Philip V. and Charles VI. formerly so incensed against each other, now so closely united; and affairs so turned from their natural course, that the Spanish ministry, for a whole year, intirely governed

the court of Vienna. This court, which hitherto always exerted herself to hinder the Spanish branch of the French family from all access into Italy, so far quitted her natural sentiments, as to admit a son of Philip, and Elizabeth of Parma, his second wife, into Italy; from which it was designed to exclude both French and Spaniards. The emperor gave up to this younger son of his competitor, the possession of Parma, Placentia, and the grand duchy of Tuscany: and though the succession of these dominions was not open, Don Carlos was admitted there, with six thousand Spaniards; and the expence of Spain was only two hundred thousand pistoles, given to the court of Vienna.

This error of the emperor's council was far from being a lucky one; for it cost him dear in the consequences. The whole of this affair was unnatural: two families who had been enemies, formed an union, without having any confidence in each other. The English, who had done all in their power to dethrone Philip V. and had taken from him Minorca and Gibraltar, were the mediators in this treaty; and it was signed by Ripperda, a Dutchman, who was become a duke, and a man of great power in Spain: he was soon after disgraced, and went to end his days at Morocco, where he endeavoured to establish a new religion.

Mean while, in France, the regency of the duke of Orleans, which seemed likely to be so full of troubles, by means of his secret enemies, and the general disorder of the finances, proved the most quiet and fortunate. The French had been inured to perfect submission under Lewis XIV. And hence arose the safety of the regent, and the public tran-

quillity. A conspiracy, directed at a distance by cardinal Alberoni, and but ill conducted in France, was discovered, and crushed in the bud. The parliament, which, during the administration of the late queen regent, had raised a civil war, for the places of twelve masters of requests; and had annulled the wills of Lewis XIII. and XIV. with less ceremony than that of a private person, was scarce at liberty to make remonstrances, when the value of their specie was increased to three times more than the usual standard; and their procession afoot from the grand chamber to the Louvre served only to draw upon them the railleries of the people. The most unjust edict that had ever been issued, the prohibiting the whole inhabitants of a kingdom to keep by them above five hundred livres in current coin, raised not the least commotion. A general want of specie, the people flocking in crouds to the office, to receive a little money for the necessary expences of life, in exchange for a discredited paper, which overspread the whole kingdom; several persons squeezed to death in the croud, and their bodies carried by the people to the royal palace; all these things produced no appearance of a sedition. In short, this famous project of Law's, which had seemed to threaten the regency and the kingdom with destruction, contributed, in reality to the support of both, by consequences which none had foreseen.

The passion for riches, which now seized all ranks of people, from the lowest class to the magistrates, bishops, and even princes of the blood, turned the minds of every one from all attention to the public interest, and all political or ambitious views; for the thoughts of every one were now wholly engrossed

with the fear of losing, and the desire of gaining. It was, indeed, a new and surprising game, wherein the whole nation betted against each other; and, having the true spirit of eager gamesters, they did not choose to quit their play, to disturb the government. It happened, however, which could not be foreseen but by persons of the greatest experience and penetration, that a chimerical project produced a real commerce, and restored the India company, which had been established by the famous Colbert, but ruined by the late wars. In short, though the fortune of many private persons was ruined, yet the nation, in a little time, became richer, and more flourishing in commerce. This project sharpened the understanding of the people, as civil wars generally excite their courage.

The distraction in the finances having ceased with the regency, that in politics also subsided as soon as cardinal Fleury came to the head of the ministry. If there ever was an happy mortal upon earth, the cardinal was surely so. He was looked upon as a most amiable man, and perfectly agreeable in conversation, even to his seventy-third year: and at this age, when others retire from the world, he took into his hands the helm of government, and was always considered as a person of the highest wisdom. All his measures, from 1726. to 1742. proved successful; and he preserved his intellectual faculties sound, clear, and capable of transacting affairs, even to the ninetieth year of his age.

When we consider, that, of a thousand of our cotemporaries, there is very rarely one who arrives at this age, we must allow, that Fleury had a peculiar destiny. If his grandeur was extraordinary,

which having begun so late, shone such a considerable time, without any cloud to obscure it, his moderation, and sweetness of manners, were no less conspicuous. The riches and magnificence of cardinal d'Amboise, who aspired at the papacy, are well known; as well as the arrogant simplicity of Ximenes, who raised armies at his own expence, and who, in the dress of a monk, said, that he led the nobles of Spain with his cord. Every one is likewise acquainted with the regal pomp of Richelieu, and the immense riches amassed by Mazarin. The characteristic of cardinal Fleury was moderation. He was simple, and frugal, in every particular, and always uniform in his behaviour: he had nothing high nor elevated in his character; which was owing to his mildness, equanimity, and love of order and peace. He proved, that persons of a mild, condescending, and benevolent temper, are best formed to govern others.

He let the kingdom quietly repair its losses, and grow rich by an extensive commerce, without making any innovation: thus treating the state as a strong and robust constitution, which naturally recovers of itself.

Political affairs insensibly returned into their natural chanel. Happily for Europe, Sir Robert Walpole, the prime minister of England, was of a disposition equally pacific. These two men maintained almost all Europe in that tranquillity which lasted from the peace of Utrecht to the year 1733; and which was but once interrupted by the short war in 1718. This was an happy time for all nations, who, cultivating commerce and arts with emulation, forgot their past calamities.

In these times two powers arose, which had been hardly mentioned in Europe before this age. The one was Russia, which the czar Peter the Great had raised out of a state of barbarity. This monarchy, before his time, consisted only in vast deserts, and a people without laws, without discipline, and without any useful knowledge; such as the Tartars have always been. This country was so little known in France, that when Lewis, in 1668. received an embassy from Muscovy, a medal was struck on the occasion, as had been done in memory of the Siamese embassy. This new empire, after having humbled Sweden, began to have an influence in all affairs, and to give laws in the North.

The second power established by force of art, and upon less extensive foundations, was Prussia. It was as yet, however, only in its infancy, and had not distinguished itself.

The house of Austria remained almost in the same state in which she had been placed by the peace of Utrecht. England still preserved her power by sea, whilst that of Holland gradually decayed. This little commonwealth, become powerful through the indolence of other nations, began to decline, because her neighbours now carried on the trade, which the Dutch before had wholly to themselves. Sweden languished, whilst Denmark flourished. Spain and Portugal were chiefly supported by America. Italy, which was always in a weak condition, remained divided into as many states as at the beginning of the age, excepting Mantua, annexed to the Austrian family.

Savoy at this time surprised the world with an

extraordinary occurrence, which may serve as a grand lesson to sovereigns. The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, that Victor Amedeus, who had been sometimes an enemy, and sometimes an ally, to France and Austria, and whose inconstancy had passed for policy, being at last tired of business, and of himself, in the year 1730. and the sixty-fourth year of his age, through caprice resigned the crown he had borne the first of his family; and a year after, in another fit of caprice, repented of this step. Neither the company of his mistress, who was become his wife, devotion, nor tranquillity, were sufficient employment to a soul like his, which, for fifty years, had been busied in the affairs of Europe. He gave a remarkable instance of human frailty, and shewed how liable the mind is to be dissatisfied, either in a private station, or on a throne. In this age four sovereigns renounced their crowns: Christina, Casimir, Philip V. and Victor Amedeus. Philip resumed his against his inclination; Casimir never once thought of it; Christina had once thoughts of it, upon a disgust she received at Rome; Amedeus was the only one who endeavoured by force to re-ascend the throne which he had quitted through an uneasiness of mind. The consequence of this attempt is well known. His son, Charles-Emanuel, might have acquired a glory superior to the possession of any crown, in restoring his father what he held from him, had his father alone, or the circumstances of time, exacted his compliance; but an ambitious mistress wanted to reign: and all the council were under a necessity to prevent this, and even to confine their late sovereign. He died

soon after in prison. It has been said, though falsely, in the memoirs of these times, that the court of France intended to send twenty thousand men to assist the father against his son: but neither the abdication of that prince, nor his effort to regain the crown, nor his confinement, nor death, caused the least motion amongst any of the neighbouring nations.

All remained peaceable from Russia even to Spain, till the death of Augustus II. plunged Europe again into fresh troubles and commotions, from which she is so seldom exempted.

King Stanislaus, father-in-law to Lewis XV. having been already nominated to the succession of Poland in 1704. was elected king in 1733. in the most solemn and legal manner. But the emperor Charles VI. procured another election, which was supported by his own arms, and those of Russia; and a son of the late king of Poland, elector of Saxony, who had married a niece of Charles VI. carried it against his competitor. Thus the house of Austria, which had not been able to preserve Spain and the West-Indies, and which could not even settle a trading company at Ostend, yet had sufficient interest to deprive the father-in-law of Lewis XV. of the crown. France beheld a second example of what had formerly happened to prince Armand de Conti; who, having been solemnly elected, but having neither money nor troops, and being rather recommended than supported, lost the crown to which he had been elected.

King Stanislaus went to Dantzick, to support his election: but the great majority in his favour soon

yielded to the great majority against him. This country, where the people are slaves, where the nobility sell their votes, where they never have a sufficient treasury to maintain an army, where the laws are without force, and where liberty is only productive of divisions; this country, I say, boasted in vain of its warlike nobility, who could bring into the field an army of an hundred thousand men on horseback. Ten thousand Russians at once put to flight all who were assembled in favour of Stanislaus. The Polish nation, who, the preceding age, looked upon the Russians with the utmost contempt, now dreaded them, and followed the measures they dictated. The empire of Russia had become formidable ever since the time of Peter the Great. Ten thousand disciplined Russian slaves dispersed the whole nobility and gentry of Poland; and king Stanislaus, having taken shelter in Dantzick, was very soon besieged there by an army of thirty thousand men.

The emperor of Germany, being in union with Russia, was almost sure of success. In order to keep an equal balance, France ought to have sent a numerous army by sea; but England, as soon as she had seen such vast preparations, would have declared herself. Cardinal Fleury, who took particular care to keep England quiet, was neither willing to suffer the shame of deserting Stanislaus, nor did he choose to venture too great a force to succour him. He sent a fleet with fifteen hundred men, under the command of a brigadier. The officer imagined, that nothing was in earnest designed; and when he approached Dantzick, thinking he should sacrifice his men to no manner of purpose, he put

into Denmark to refresh. The count de Plelo, embassador from France at the Danish court, was highly enraged at this retreat, and looked upon it as dishonourable. He was a youth, who, having studied the belles letters and philosophy, had imbibed the most heroic sentiments, and such as merited a better fate than he met with. He resolved to succour Dantzick against so numerous an army with this small force, or to die in the attempt. Before his embarkation, he wrote a letter to one of the secretaries of state, which ended with these words: "I am certain I shall not return: I therefore recommend my wife and children to your care." He arrived in the road of Dantzick, and, having disembarked, he attacked the Russian army; and after having received many wounds, he perished, as he had foreseen; and all his party were either killed or taken prisoners. His letter, and the news of his death, arrived at the same time. Dantzick was taken, and the French embassador in Poland, who happened to be in this place, was made a prisoner of war, in violation of the privileges due to his character. Stanislaus was obliged to disguise himself, and at last escaped, after having run through many dangers, and seen a price set upon his head by the Muscovite general, in a free country, the place of his nativity, and amidst a nation who had elected him king, with all the formality of their laws. The French ministry would have intirely lost that reputation necessary for the support of its grandeur, if it had not revenged such an insult; but a revenge, unless attended with some utility, would but little avail.

The great distance of the places hindered them from carrying their resentment against the Muscovites; and policy directed their vengeance upon the emperor. This they accordingly put in execution in Germany, and in Italy. France formed a league with Spain and Sardinia; and though these three powers had each separate interests; yet they all aimed at humbling Austria.

The dukes of Savoy, for a considerable time, had been gradually increasing their dominions, by sometimes selling their assistance to the emperors, and sometimes by declaring against them. King Charles-Emanuel had great hopes of getting the Milanese, and was promised it by the French and Spanish ministries. Philip V. king of Spain, or rather queen Elizabeth of Parma, his consort, expected greater possessions than Parma and Placentia to be settled on her children. France proposed no other advantage but her own glory, the welfare of her allies, and the humbling of her enemies.

Nobody then expected, that Lorraine should be the fruits of this war. Mankind are generally guided by events, which they seldom have the direction of. No negotiation was ever more speedily terminated than that which united these three monarchs.

England and Holland, who had been so long accustomed to join Austria against France, abandoned her at this juncture. This was the effect of that reputation for equity and moderation, which the French court had lately acquired. The notion of her being pacifically inclined, and void of all ambition, kept her natural enemies quiet even when she declared war; and nothing surely can redound more to the honour of the ministry than their hav-

ing persuaded such powers, that France might carry on a war against the emperor, without giving any alarm to the liberty of Europe: all these powers accordingly beheld the rapid success of the French arms, easy and undisturbed. A French army had gotten possession of the country upon the Rhine; and another party of their troops in conjunction with those of Spain and Savoy, had rendered themselves masters of Italy. Marshal Villars finished his glorious career, in the eighty-second year of his age, after having taken Milan. Marshal de Cœgni, his successor, gained two battles; whilst the duke de Montemar, the Spanish general, obtained a victory in the kingdom of Naples, at Bitonto, from whence he was surnamed; this being an honour which the Spaniards often bestow, in imitation of the ancient Romans. Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged hereditary successor of Tuscany, became immediately king of Naples and Sicily. Thus the emperor Charles VI. lost almost all Italy, for having given a king to Poland: and, in two campaigns, a son of the Spanish monarch got both the Sicilies, so often taken and retaken formerly, and upon which, for more than two ages, the house of Austria had continually fixed her attention.

This was the only war in Italy which ended with any solid advantage to the French, since the time of Charlemagne. The reason of this was, their having the guardian of the Alps on their side, who was become one of the most potent princes in those parts; their being likewise seconded by the best troops of Spain; and their armies being constantly supplied with all necessaries.

The emperor then thought himself very happy,

in receiving conditions of peace offered by the victorious French. However, cardinal Fleury, who had the sagacity to prevent England and Holland from intermeddling in this war, shewed likewise his great address in finishing it successfully, without their mediation,

By this treaty, Don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily. Europe had already been often accustomed to such alterations. They assigned to Francis duke of Lorrain, destined to be son-in-law to the emperor, the inheritance of the Medicis family, which had been before granted to Don Carlos: and this made the late grand duke of Tuscany, upon his death-bed, ask, “If they would not name a third heir, and what other child the Empire and France would give him.” We must not imagine from this; that the grand dukedom of Tuscany considers itself as a fief of the Empire; but the emperor esteemed it as such, as well as Parma and Placentia, which have been always claimed by the holy see; and for which the late duke of Parma did actually pay homage to the pope: so much do the rights of princes alter with the circumstances of time. By this peace these duchies of Parma and Placentia, which by right of blood, belonged to Don Carlos, son of Philip V. and a princess of Parma, were given up to the emperor Charles VI. as his property.

The duke of Savoy, now king of Sardinia, who expected the duchy of Milan, which his family, become great by degrees, for a considerable time, claimed as their right, got only a small part thereof; viz. the Novarese, Tortonese, and the fiefs of the Langhes. He derived his pretensions to Milan from a daugh-

ter of Philip II. king of Spain, from whom he was descended. France likewise pretended thereto, by right of Lewis XII. the natural heir of this duchy. Philip V. urged also his right to Milan, as it had been feudatory successively to four kings of Spain, his predecessors. But all the pretensions yielded to convenience, and the public interest. The emperor kept the Milanese, notwithstanding the general law of the fiefs of the empire, which says, that the emperor shall keep the sovereignty, but give the possession to some other power. It was intended as a limitation on the emperors, who might otherwise in time swallow up the whole dominions of the Empire. But there are so many exceptions to this law, and there are so many examples for and against it, that, in any grand affair of state, it must be confessed, that the present interest is the ruling law.

By this treaty, king Stanislaus renounced a kingdom, which though it had been twice given him, he could never get possession of; but he kept the title of king. For this loss he was now to have a recompence; but it proved more so to France than him. Cardinal Fleury was contented at first with Barrois, which the duke of Lorraine was to give up to Stanislaus, with the reversion to the crown of France. Lorraine was not to be given up till its duke should be in full possession of Tuscany: so that the cession depended on many chances. This was reaping very little from such great success, and so many favourable circumstances; of which the cardinal, being urged to make more advantages, demanded Lorraine on the same conditions as Barrois; and it was accordingly granted.

It cost France only a small sum of money, and a

pension of four million and five hundred thousand livres to the duke, till Tuscany fell to him.

Thus Lorrain became for ever annexed to the crown of France; a reunion which had been so often unsuccessfully attempted. By this means, a Polish king was transplanted to Lorrain; which was the last time this province had a sovereign to reside there; and he rendered it happy. The reigning house of the princes of Lorrain got the sovereignty of Tuscany. The second son of the king of Spain was transferred to Naples; so that the medal of Trajan might have been renewed; *regna assignata*, “kingdoms assigned.”

The house of Bourbon, at the end of this short war, was advanced to such a pitch of grandeur as she could not have expected even in the height of Lewis XIV's prosperity. Almost all the inheritance of Charles V. Spain, the two Sicilies, Mexico, and Peru, were now in her possession. The house of Austria at last ended in the person of Charles VI. in 1740. What remained of his dominions was likely to be taken from his daughter, and divided amongst several powers. France carried the election of an emperor with the same facility as the emperors had formerly chosen the electors of Cologne, and the bishops of Liege. The famous pragmatic sanction of the late Austrian emperor, who had thereby settled his whole dominions on his daughter; this sanction, guaranteed by the Empire, England, Holland, and France herself, was at first supported by no one power. The elector of Bavaria, son of him who had been put under the ban of the Empire, was crowned, without opposition, duke of Austria at Lintz, king of Bohemia at Prague, and emperor at Frankfort,

by the arms of Lewis XV. They went even to the gates of Vienna. The daughter of so many emperors found herself, for a whole year, intirely destitute of assistance, and without any hope but what arose from her own intrepidity. Scarce were her father's eyes closed, when she lost Silesia by an invasion of the young king of Prussia, who will be long talked of by posterity. He was the first who took advantage of this conjuncture, to promote his grandeur. For this purpose he made use of an army as well disciplined as that of the antient Romans, which his father seemed to have formed only for parade and empty shew. France, Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the remains of the house of Austria. Her allies beheld this in silence; and the division of her dominions seemed now unavoidable. But it soon appeared evident, how difficult it is for such a weak prince as the elector of Bavaria, emperor under the name of Charles VII. but without power, and a general without national troops, to conquer a kingdom by the power of another. Never were such great advantages succeeded by so many misfortunes. What seemed likely to promote his grandeur, contributed to his ruin; and that extremity to which the queen of Hungary was reduced, served to raise her still higher. The house of Austria sprung up again out of her ashes. The queen of Hungary found a powerful ally in George II. king of Great Britain. Her cause was likewise soon after espoused by the king of Sardinia, Holland; and even by Russia, who sent the last year of the war thirty-five thousand men to her assistance. She made separate treaties with Prussia and Saxony: but above all, her own intrepid spi-

rit supported her as much as any of her allies. Hungary, where her ancestors had experienced a continued scene of civil wars, rebellions, and executions, proved to her a kingdom united, affectionate, and filled with zealous friends. The war was carried on in the heart of Germany, in Italy, Flanders, and even upon the frontiers of France, and on the Indian and American seas, almost in the same manner as that in 1701. Cardinal Fleury, now too far advanced in years to support so heavy a burden, lavished away, with regret, the treasures of France in this war, entered into against his inclination, and died, after having been a spectator of nothing but misfortunes arising from misconduct. He never thought to have had occasion for a marine: what remained of their navy had been intirely destroyed by the English, and the provinces of France lay altogether exposed. The emperor, whom France had made, was thrice driven from his dominions, and died one of the most unfortunate princes upon earth, in having been exalted to the highest pitch of human grandeur. The queen of Hungary tasted at once the pleasure and glory of creating her Husband emperor, and of restoring the imperial dignity to her family.

Lewis XV. after the death of cardinal Fleury in 1743. whom he greatly lamented, took the government intirely upon himself; and repaired the misfortunes which arose in the last years of Fleury's ministry. He was successful every-where, except in Italy, where he had to oppose the king of Sardinia, whom the cardinal had alienated from France.

There was one remarkable thing in this war; which was, that there had never been seen so many

sovereigns at the head of their armies. Francis of Lorrain, grand duke of Tuscany, afterwards emperor, often headed the Austrian troops. Don Carlos king of Naples, son of Philip V. commanded his army at Velettri; and George II. king of Great Britain in person gained a battle near the Maine.

The king of Sardinia appeared every-where with his troops, and always with success. The king of Prussia himself obtained five victories. Lewis XV. procured glory and superiority to his nation at the battle of Fontenoy, and preserved them in that at Laufeld. In short, after having in person subdued all Flanders, and taken Maestricht, by marshal Saxe; after his enemies were driven out of Provence by marshal Bellisle; after having saved Genoa by marshal Richelieu; after having settled the king of Naples on his throne; he made a peace as glorious as any of his campaigns: for, at the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle, he shewed a most unparalleled and unexpected moderation; not even reserving any thing to himself of what he had conquered by his arms. He had, however, the glory of protecting his allies; of restoring the Genoese to their rights; of establishing the duke of Modena in his dominions, and of settling the infant Don Philip in Parma and Placentia, the inheritance of his mother. This was, indeed, a great acquisition, thus to be the protector of all his allies. Reputation, amongst powerful princes, is equal to conquests. After such an happy peace, France was re-established on the same footing as at the peace of Utrecht, and became still more flourishing.

The Christian powers in Europe were now di-

vided into two grand parties, who became a check upon each other, and who both endeavoured to maintain that balance, the pretext of so many wars, and which was esteemed the true basis of a lasting peace. The states of the empress queen of Hungary, part of Germany, Russia, Great Britain, Holland, and Sardinia, composed the one; France, Spain, the two Sicilies, Prussia, and Sweden, formed the other. All these powers kept up standing armies; and a lasting peace was now hoped for, from that dread which one half of Europe seemed to have of the other.

Lewis XIV. was the first who maintained such numerous armies: and this obliged the other princes to do the same; so that after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Christian powers of Europe had about a million of men in arms: and it is to be hoped, that it will be long before there shall be any aggressor, as they have all armed to defend themselves.

END of VOL. I.

