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*Jean Louis de la
Esperton, Pair and
France; Gouvernour
Generall for the King
and Citadell of Metz, and*

*Vallette Duke of
Collongue Generall of
and Lieutenant
in Guienne, the Towne
the Country of Messin, etc.*



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
OF THE
Duke of ESPERNON,
THE
GREAT FAVOURITE
OF
FRANCE.

ENGLISHED BY
CHARLES COTTON, Esq;

In Three Parts, containing Twelve Books.

Wherein the History of FRANCE is continued from
the Year 1598. where *D'AVILA* leaves off,
down to our own Times, 1642.

*Orationi, & Carmini est parva gratia, nisi Eloquentia est Summa:
Historia, quoquo modo scripta, delectat. Plin.*

LONDON,

Printed by *E. Cotes*, and *A. Clark*, for *Henry Brome*,
at the Gun in *Ludgate-street*, at the West End of *St. Pauls*, MDCLXX.

To the most Reverend Father in God,
GILBERT,
Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*,

HIS GRACE,

Primate of All *England*, and Metropolitan,
one of His Majesties Most Honourable
PRIVY COUNCIL, &c.

May it please your Grace,



THAT the Vertues of Great Persons are sometimes dangerous to themselves, is too manifest in the Liberty I have taken to prefer the following History to your Graces Patronage, your own Affability, and Bounty having procur'd you that inconvenience, and Encourag'd me to a Dedication; I should not otherwise, and at a greater distance of Favour, have presum'd to impose upon your Protection: a Truth I have not only thought fit to put your Grace in mind of, the better to excuse my Presumption; but have moreover been prompted thereunto by an honest Vanity I have, the World should take notice, that how private soever my Life has been, I have not altogether convers'd with Obscurity: but that I have had the Honour to be sometime known unto, and to have been Favour'd by one of the greatest Prelates, and the best Men upon Earth.

Thus (my Lord) by my own ill govern'd, though otherwise not very Criminal Ambition, I am put upon a necessity of seeming to accuse that Vertue, I have so just reason to magnifie; and from whence I have deriv'd so many advantages, to colour a boldness, that would otherwise admit of no Excuse. Neither will this I fear serve me against the Censures of the Time, by whom I expect notwithstanding to be accus'd of another sort of Vanity, that something of mine may be worthy your Graces Acceptation; which if I should absolutely deny, the Dedication it self would then convince me of a premeditated injury to your Name. I cannot therefore avoid confessing

The Epistle Dedicatory.

I think this History so fine a thing in it self, that if I be not the worst Translator that ever Writ (and there is no Triumph due to the best) it may very well endure the light, and pass amongst good natur'd men, with other things, that every day fall from the Press; which is my true opinion of it, and nothing more.

A more Illustrious Image of Vertue, and Honour than is here represented in the Person of the Duke of *Espernon*, in my little Reading I have no where met with, a more exemplary Piety, a braver Courage, a more shining and unblemish'd Loyalty, more inviolate Friendships, nor a nobler Constancy in all the shocks of Fortune; so that I have sometimes thought, had there not been a little mixture of Humane Frailty amongst so many excellent Qualities as he was Master of to a very great perfection, the Story would have look'd like an Idea of an Hero only, and rather a Character of what a Brave man should be, than what any man ever truly was. There are indeed some Passages in his History, that are not altogether to be justified, though none that may not (methinks) be slip't over amongst so many better Pages of his Life, like a Counterfeit Piece in a great Summe of Current Gold.

If (my Lord) I have been so successful as to make a tolerable Copy of this brave Original, and that my endeavour be graciously accepted, I have my end. I have learn'd that the Best men are not always the hardest to please, and ever the aptest to forgive; which being granted, I shall appear in a good measure justified in the great freedom I have taken to recommend my Book to your Graces perusal: and it has so much the better Title to your Acceptance, as it is the Fruit of the most innocent part of my time; and offer'd with a Heart as grateful for the many Favours I have receiv'd from your Graces Bounty, and as full of Honour and Reverence for your Person, and Dignity as any Man, who in a better, and more studied stile may take the boldness to subscribe himself,

My Lord,

Your Graces

Most Humble, and

most Obedient Servant

Beresford, this 30th.
of *October*, 1669.

Charles Cotton.

The Preface.



Having about three Years since, and in the Vacancy of a Country Life, taken this Volume in hand, before I had gone through the three first Books, I was call'd away first by Employment, and after dismiss'd from that, taken off by so long, and so uncomfortable a Sickness, that I found my self utterly unfit for any undertaking of this, or any other kind, and consequently had almost given over all thoughts of proceeding in a work, which at some melancholy times I believ'd I might not live to finish. Being since restor'd to a better state of Health, and coming to review my Papers; either the dislike of what I had already done, the shame of having been so long in doing it, the indisposition my Disease left still hanging upon me, the bulk of what I had undertaken, the little leisure I conceiv'd I might have wherewith to perform it, or all together, had almost perswaded me to hold on the same resolution, and for ever to let it alone: till recollecting my self, I remembred I had a greater Obligation upon me (which nevertheless I do not think fit to publish in this place) to go through with what I had already begun, than was to be dissolv'd by any truant Humour, or private Aversion of my own. I therefore reassum'd my former purpose, and some months since took the Book again in good earnest in hand, which when I have said, any ingenious person may reasonably wonder, how a man in good earnest, and that has so little to do in the world as I have, could be all this tedious time about such a piece of Work as this: To which (if what I have already said will not serve for an excuse) I shall answer, that although by my incapacity, my ill fortune, or both, I stand excus'd from publick Employment, I have notwithstanding so much private concern of my own to divert me, and so few moments to bestow upon my self, that I wonder 'tis done so soon: An Apology I might however have spar'd, since my haste will I fear be too legible in every Line.

And now that I have told my Reader why I have proceeded so slowly in the work, I conceive it time (as men in Prefaces usually do) to give some account of the motives that induc'd me to undertake it at all; which though they will arise to no better reasons than what other men usually give for their Follies in such cases, will nevertheless serve perhaps to satisfie such as are kindest to me, and who will not render themselves over-hard to be satisfied in a thing wherein I presume they would themselves be content to see me justified. It was not therefore out of any

The Preface.

ambition I had to be again in Print, I having suffer'd too much that way already; nor to be reputed a good Translator, the best whereof fit in the lowest Form of Writers, and no one can be proud of the meanest Company; neither shall I pretend to be put upon it by my Friends, for that would tacitly imply something of opinion they must have of my ability that way, and I must be so just to all my worthy Acquaintance, as to declare them men of better judgments, than to be so deceiv'd; besides the greater part of them being better Frenchmen, than I pretend to be, such as have read the Original, could never wish to see it blemish'd by so unskilful a hand: neither was I prompted to it by any design of advantage, that consideration being ever very much below my thoughts; nor to oblige the world; that being as much above my expectation: but having an incurable humour of scribbling upon me, I believ'd I could not choose a braver Subject for my Friends diversion, and my own Entertainment than this, wherein I thought at least I discover'd as much Variety of Revolution, and accident as is any where in no larger a Volume to be found; besides something of utility, here being a general account of the most important Transactions of Europe for above threescore years together, and in one continued series of Discourse, which are otherwise only to be pick'd up out of several Authors, and most of them omitted in all: but that which gave me the greatest invitation (besides the Character of Honour that continues throughout the whole thred of his Life) was the great example of uncorrupted Loyalty the Duke of Espernon ever retain'd in all his Exigencies, and Disgraces; a Vertue which though none of the Nobility of this Kingdom (for whom this is chiefly design'd) need to be informed in, 'tis nevertheless a glorious Record, and ought to be in History, that succeeding times may see after what manner a good Subject (how powerful soever) ought to behave himself, how; or how unkindly soever his Prince shall please to dispose of his Person, and Fortune. This consideration it was, that after a first, and second reading of this brave life (though every year of it contains variety enough to furnish out a History) which I must confess to have been the greatest temptation that decoy'd me into this undertaking, especially when I reflected upon the times we our selves have too lately seen, when Loyalty was not very much in fashion, or not to be owned without manifest ruine. And although I know very well we have Examples enow of Vertue, Bravery, Wisdom, Fidelity, and Honour in persons of our own Nation, as well Kings as Subjects, Princes of the Blood, Generals, Ecclesiasticks, and Statesmen, both of Former, and the present Age, and the meanest of those Lives sufficient to create as beautiful a Story; yet of those the Dead are many of them already recorded beyond my imitation, and to Write in Praise of the Living (besides the danger of standing suspected, either of Flattery, or Design) were to offend the modesty natural to all generous minds.

In

. The Preface.

In the next place, I am to acquaint my Reader, that the Author of this History Monsieur Girard was Secretary to the Duke of Espernon, and a very extraordinary person in himself, as you will find in the Texture, Disposition, and Elegancy of the whole, in despite of my ill handling; by which advantages he must doubtless be able to give the best, and truest account of any whoever, both of his Masters private Affairs, and the general Transactions of that time, he being (especially in the Duke's later Years) continually employ'd by him, and the Duke himself being so eternally upon the Scene of Action, that we shall seldom find him retir'd, and alone in the whole course of his Life. And although his dependence upon this great person may render his testimony suspected to some, he is however so generally allow'd by the most Intelligent, and such as are best read in the Affairs of that Kingdom, for a faithful Historian, that the truth of the Story ought to Balance any other defect of the work.

Lastly, in the behalf of my Bookseller Mr. Brome (to whose Kindness I owe more, than I can pay him by this Impression) I am to say, that although I dare not answer how far this History may suffer by my Oversights, or Mistakes, or by the Faults escap'd the Press, which (I know not by what accident) are very many, and some of them very considerable; yet I dare pronounce it one of the best things I have seen in that Language, I do not mean for the Excellency, or Harmony of the Stile, which in the Original it self, though the words there be very Significant, Elegant, and admirably well chosen, is notwithstanding none of the smoothest I have read: but for the importance of the Subject, wherein you will find much of the Policy of that time, not only of France it self, but moreover of the Courts of England, Rome, Spain, Savoy, Germany, Sweeden, and the States of the United Provinces, together with a Narrative of all the most celebrated Battels, Skirmishes, Rencontres, Combats, Sieges, Assaults, and Stratagems for above threescore years together, with the Descriptions of the Strengths, Situations, and distances of Cities, Towns, Castles, Cittadels, Forts, Rivers, Countries, Seigneries, Jurisdictions, and Provinces, and all this collected, and deliver'd by a Judicious, and Impartial Hand, an extraordinary effect of a French Pen, that Nation (especially in Records that immediately concern their own Honour) having been commonly observ'd to be very civil to themselves: So that methinks the Dignity of the Subject, and the Ingenuity of the Author consider'd, a work how unhappily soever perform'd by me, undertaken nevertheless meerly for the common benefit, and delight, ought not to be discountenanc'd, nor very ill receiv'd.

Yet do I not (though in the foregoing Paragraph, I have discover'd something of the Charlatan in the behalf of my Bookseller) hereby intend

The Preface. .

tend to beg any favour for my self, or by these large promises to bribe my Reader into milder Censures; neither do I think it fit to provoke him by a defiance; for that were to be an ill Man, as well as an ill Writer. I therefore franckly, and without condition expose my self to every mans Judgment, of which such as appear civil to me are my Friends, and I shall owe them the same respect, when it shall be my turn to Judg, as it is now to be censur'd: Those who will not be so, I shall threaten no further, than to put them in mind, that if ever they attempt any thing of the same nature, they will then lie under the same disadvantage I now do, and consequently may meet with the same Injustice.

The

T H E
A U T H O R S A P O L O G Y .



Doubt not but many, who in the Front of this Book shall meet with no more than the bare title of the *Life of the Duke of Espernon*, will be very much surpriz'd; and consequently I expect to be by them condemn'd for having burthen'd the Press with so large a Volume upon no other account, than the meer Narrative of one particular Life: but if such shall consider that this Life continued for almost an Age, and that it was continually taken up in the greatest and most remarkable Transactions of all that time, that consideration will doubtless conquer their astonishment, and it may then perhaps fall out, that instead of the Imputation I have so much apprehended, they will allow me some Excuse, if not some Commendation, in that I have not been sparing of a few words, to the end so many brave and glorious Actions might be the better, and more truly known.

In treating of a Person so highly concern'd as the Duke of *Espernon* was in the general Affairs of the Kingdom, I have been constrain'd to rip up a great many passages already upon Record, and so ancient, as near an hundred years ago; by which means my work will in many places be stript of that grace of Novelty, which of it self would have been a considerable Ornament to it: but having observ'd withal that many of the things already publish'd, have not been deliver'd with that laudable candour, and indifferency (the principal Vertue of Historians) that the most exact have omitted many circumstances (which are oft-times preferable to the main scope of the thing it self) and that several Exploits, the Honour whereof was absolutely, and indisputably due to him, whose History I have undertaken, have been either disguis'd, or unjustly attributed to others who had no share in the execution, I conceiv'd that by the reverence to truth I stood oblig'd to clear those mistakes, and in several passages to vindicate the Duke's honest intentions, against such as were evidently passionate against his person, and emulous of his Honour.

These indeed were the principal inducements that have sometimes tempted me out of the precise limits of the Duke of *Espernon's* Life, and that have administr'd occasion to stretch some of his Actions beyond their natural extent, and beyond what directly touch'd his own person; not that I needed notwithstanding to seek matter out of the way of my design; for where could I possibly have chosen out a more ample or a more illustrious Subject? there is hardly any so notable event, or so high performance within the prospect of History, or in the vicissitude of worldly revolution, of which glorious, and extraordinary Examples are not here to be found. Could any thing be imagin'd more active, or more

The Authors Apology.

vigorous in his prosperity, or more constant, and even in all the disgraces that befel him, than this great man was? Since then upon these two principles, Valour and Fortitude, all life depends, and that from the manner of a man's Behaviour in Prosperities, and his manly supporting the Adversities of Fortune, are extracted all the precepts for the conduct of Humane Life, what utility may we not propose to our selves, from the great examples both of the one, and the other, which are every where to be met with in the current of this History?

It is not nevertheless, that we may not perhaps sometimes observe some flying Clouds in this Serene Firmament of Vertue, that constancy so much celebrated for the most eminent quality in him, of whose Actions I have undertaken to give an account, having not always been acquitted from censure. He has been sometimes accus'd of too severe, and too obstinate a humour, in that he would never give place to time, nor accommodate himself to the necessity of Affairs; and that he would never yield, not even then when he saw he could not contend, but to his own manifest Ruine. I cannot deny, but that in this particular there was something to have been wish'd, if men would have the Vertue of the Great confin'd within the narrow bounds of common Prudence: but were it not in the mean time to offer violence to those great Souls, elevated so much above the ordinary condition of men, to subject their actions to the Rules of others? It is very true that this Duke could never temporize in the least, nor ever gave way to any thing that justled his Humour; that on the contrary he has often pusht things on to the last extremes, and that from very trivial and light beginnings he has pull'd upon himself many, and great Disgraces: but if in this particular any thing may be found wherewith to reproach his Conduct, what Praises are not due to his Courage, that could never bend, nor bow under the highest Persecutions? Something essential would have been wanting in his Life, had he been always happy; and he contributed no little to his glory, in sometimes promoting his own Misfortunes, they having made a discovery of Qualities in him, which in a continual prosperity would have been totally buried, and conceal'd.

So brave an Argument does, I must confess, deserve a far better Pen than mine to do it right, and I am sufficiently conscious of my own imperfection, to think my self infinitely below the dignity of my Subject; neither was it any vain design of publishing my own Name, that prompted me to this attempt; and had I had no greater a reverence to the Reputation of another, than any respect to my own, I had never embark'd in this design. I very well understand to what a man exposes himself who submits to a publick Judgment; but I have consider'd withal, that it were a very great weakness to decline an honourable Undertaking for fear of a little Censure. I do herein discharge a Debt, and I do it with the best I have. I owe all things to him whose Life I have here

Written,

The Authors Apology.

Written, he brought me up from my younger years by his bounty, nourish'd me by his Favour ; in the height of his Disgraces honour'd me with his confidence, and trust ; he moreover gratified me with several, and those signal Benefits : Is it not just then, that at least I should manifest my gratitude by a few words ?

Yet although I stand prepossess'd by so many Obligations, I am nevertheless more certain that no one shall find me, out of that Consideration, corrupted in my Benefactors Favour ; who having undertaken to give a true and sincere account of things, I shall by no means impose upon the publick belief : Neither do I indeed design his Elegy herein, but merely to give an exact Narrative of his Actions, wherein the native truth shall be the only part of History he shall receive from my Endeavour ; all the rest shall be wanting, and I have had no little ado to persuade my self to give my Book so eminent a Title, knowing what Respect is due to that great Name, and to such, as in their better Writings have given him his just Character of Honour.

I have not throughout my whole Work spoken to the disadvantage of any one person, either out of Animosity or Design ; and if my Passions went hand in hand with the Interests of my Master in the time of his Life, they also went out with his, when extinguish'd by the hand of Death. I do not nevertheless pretend to have been so dextrous, as to have satisfied all those of whom I have been oblig'd to speak in the order of the following Treatise, some Historical Truths having perhaps slipt in, which may not be very acceptable to such, as would have all things granted to them, and will not allow to others the liberty of a bare recital : but I did not conceive my self oblig'd to submit to that magisterial Law, and therefore have reserv'd the liberty (not extending to injury) an honest man ought to be jealous of, that he may keep himself from being a slave to other mens humours by a mean complacency.

I could some years ago have deliver'd this work to the Light, and had then done it, had not the disorders of the time put all things into so great confusion, that it was long before I could gather my *Mesmoires*, which were dispers'd into several hands, together again. Now at last by the command of those who have most Authority with me, and at the instance of my Friends, I here present them to your view. I wish they may give satisfaction both to the one, and the other, and I could be content that satisfaction might proceed further, and extend to the generality of men : but being I cannot reasonably expect that good Fortune upon any other account, than merely as an act of Favour, I shall make no difficulty to beg that grace of all such as shall have the Curiosity, or the Patience to read these following Volumes.

The Reader is desir'd to look over the Errata, and to correct them with his Pen, before he begin to read the Book.

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THE
HISTORY

Of the LIFE of the

Duke of Espernon.

The First Book.



L OHN Lewis de Nogaret, and de la Valette Duke of Espernon, whose History I attempt to write, though he were, in the Progress of a long Life, for the most part the Favourite of Fortune, stood notwithstanding no less oblig'd to Nature for the advantages he came into the world withal The Dukes
Extraction. by his Noble Extraction. He was descended from an Illustrious Family in the Higher Gascony, and so ancient, that it has continued above five hundred years from Male to Male, without intermission; a truth I could without much difficulty prove, out of the Records, and Evidences in my Custody, did not his Genealogy, already drawn by a more skilful hand, render that pains unnecessary in this place. I shall therefore only undertake a Narrative of the Principal Actions of his Life, without troubling my Reader, or my self, with a superfluous Catalogue of his Ancestors.

The matter, of which I intend to treat, is of it self so ample, as might find work enough for a better Pen; and although birth be acknowledged by all to be the foundation, upon which all superstructures

of Fortune do ordinarily erect themselves, I should not nevertheless make any mention of this Duke, had not the merit and virtue of *John la Valette* his Father such a relation to the History of his Son, as will not permit their names to be separated without manifest injury to the one, or the other.

Finding my self then oblig'd to look a little back, and to say something of his Father before I come to him, I shall tell you (with the best Historians of that time) that he was rank'd amongst the greatest Captains of this Kingdom; and that by the meer consideration of his Prudence, and Valour, without any advantage of Favour, he was made *Camp-Master* to the Light Horse of France, and the Kings Lieutenant General in *Guienne*; a Province abounding in Nobility, and Gentry, and men of such spirits, as would have made a difficulty of their Obedience to any Superiour, where there had not been an indisputable concurrence of Merit, and Blood. But these two qualities, happily meeting in the person of *Monsieur de la Valette*, gave him so great an interest, if not so absolute a power in that Countrey, that notwithstanding it was during the time of his Government unquiet and mutinous in many places, and in some even to a contempt of the Kings Royal Power; yet his Authority, never received in those very places the least affront, or contradiction. He commanded Armies in chief, which were led, paid, arm'd, provided for, and kept together by his Conduct and Care; and I my self have seen many Acts and Monuments of that time which sufficiently discover the Power and Dignity he preserv'd entire, even in the most difficult functions of his charge.

It was he, who in the Battels of *Dreux*, of *Jarnac*, and of *Moncountour*, who in the Skirmishes of *Jasennes*, of *Renè le Duc*, and in all the most signal actions of his time, exercising the Office of *Camp-Master* to the Light Horse, by his courage and conduct won to himself a principal share of the Honour due to the successes of the Royal Arms; and chiefly in the Battel of *Jarnac*, which he undertook with so much prudence, and fought it with so much bravery, that* they who write the Transactions of that time, attribute supereminently to him the reputation of that dayes Victory.

* *D'Avila.*

It was he that made the brave Retreat of *Houdan*, one of the most memorable Exploits of that Age, which, though it be recorded by other Writers, deserves to be recited here; and the circumstances, which I have several times heard repeated to the Duke his Son, will not render a relation suspected that stands justified by our own* Historians.

* *Mr. De Thou*
D'Avignè.

The *Hugonot* Army had laid siege to the City of *Chartres*, and that

that of the King was dispos'd to relieve it; but that being a work of greater preparation, and leisure, than the condition of the besieged could well admit, the Royal Party conceiv'd, that to disturb the Enemies Camp with frequent Alarms ~~might~~ would give the defendants some convenient respite, till a sufficient succour might be made ready to come. *Monsieur de la Valette* was he that would take upon him to execute this design, and accordingly keeping himself for the most part on Horseback, he gave so good an account of what he had undertaken, that few dayes past wherein he obtain'd not some signal advantage over the Enemy: Now beating up one quarter, now alarming another, with such an active and unwearied diligence, as put the Enemy to an unintermitted duty, and forc'd them continually to stand to their Arms.

Remarkable exploits of *John de La Valette* the Duke's Father.

The Admiral *Coligny*, who commanded at this Leaguer under the Prince of *Conde*, nettled at the inconveniences his Army suffered by these frequent inroads of *Monsieur de la Valette*, meditated with himself a revenge, and to lay a Trap to catch him: to which purpose he stole privately from his Camp with 3500 Horse; *Monsieur de la Valette* having but 500 in all, lay baiting his Horses in a Wood for the execution of his enterprize. The Admiral, who had observ'd his motion, surpriz'd him in this posture, set upon him, and charg'd him, almost before perceiv'd: notwithstanding all which, he found a brave resistance, and *Monsieur de la Valette* without being astonish'd, either at the presence of so great a Captain, or the inequality of their Armies, having given his Souldiers time to mount, charg'd him several times with advantage, and made good his Retreat for six Leagues together in the open Countrey of *Beausse*, the Admiral never being able, during the retreat, either to break his order, or force him to a general engagement: an action of so high a repute, that there are few Historians who have not set a particular mark upon it for one of the most memorable of that time.

If we yet pass from his publick actions of Command, to enquire into the private engagements of his single person, I can perhaps fit you with as remarkable a story of that kind as you have read. *Jane Albret* Queen of *Navarre*, a great Fautress to those of the Reformed Religion, of which she her self also made publick Profession, desirous to draw all places within her demean into the same perswasion, presented her self before *Leitoure* to be there receiv'd. A Town of so advantageous a situation, and therefore so considerable in *Guienne*, that the successive Governours of that Province have ever had a particular regard to the preservation of that place, *Monsieur de la Valette* who had received private Instructi-

ons from King *Charles* the Ninth, to have an eye to the actions of this Princess, and to frustrate her designs; but with all outward shew of respect (the King being unwilling to break openly with her) having intelligence, that she meant to attempt that place, prevented her by his diligence, and at her coming refus'd her entrance into that Town. The Queen highly incens'd at this affront, makes her complaint to the King, who, to satisfy her, seem'd in publick to condemn an action, which in his heart he highly approv'd, commanding him to go as far as *Pau*, where the Queen then resided, and there by all the submissive means imaginable to make his excuse. *Monsieur de la Valette* having received this command, attended only by one Page very well mounted, and another inferior servant, takes his journey to the Queen; to whom he humbly offer'd all the excuses, and submissions, that the dignity of the offended party could reasonably exact from a meaner offender, and for a higher offence: But this Princess, of a sex and condition not apt to forget an Injury, was by no means satisfied with whatever he could say to appease her; and whether it were, that she discover'd to two Gentlemen of her Court, whereof one was called *Pinsons*, and the other *Bisquerre*, that nothing but the death of *Monsieur de la Valette* could satisfy her; or that they of themselves (as Courts ordinarily produce wicked instruments enough to execute the passions of the Great) voluntarily meditated his ruine, is yet to be discover'd: But so it was that these two combin'd together to lie in wait for him by the way he was to return, and to dispatch him. *Monsieur de la Valette* having taken his leave of *Pau*, without being able with all the submission he could use, and with all the Interest he could make, to reconcile himself to the Queen, was now on his own way home in the same equipage he came, when his servant, looking accidentally back, perceiv'd three men rush out of a Wood hard by, and the two formost (who were arm'd) to come upon the spur directly towards his Master; the third it seems being (as it was afterward reported) one of the Queens Domesticks, sent rather to be a witness of, than an assistant in the intended assassinate. *Monsieur de la Valette* at the first sight apprehending them for what indeed they were, and their business for what really it was, immediately commanded his Page to alight, and having mounted his Horse, spur'd boldly upon them, with so much gallantry and success, that he left them both dead upon the place. I have often seen the Sword he made use of in this occasion, and have often heard the manner of the action related to the Duke in the very same terms I deliver it here.

From this wise and valiant Captain (the Epithetes with which
all

all the Historians of that time have honoured the Vertue of this great man) and from *Jane de Saint Lary de Bellegarde*, Sister to the *Mareschal de Bellegarde*, and Niece to the *Mareschal de Termes*, were descended *Bernard*, *Jean Louis*, and another *Jean de Nogaret*, and *de la Valette*, the eldest in the year 1553. *Jean Louis* in May, 1554. and the youngest died almost as soon as born. They had likewise issue three Daughters, *Helene*, *Catharine*, and *Mary*, the eldest of which having engaged her affection, before her Brother rose to favour, with the Marquess of *Rouillac* a young Gentleman of good quality in the Countrey, prefer'd him to many others her Brother afterwards offered to her : The second was married to the Count *de Bouchage* Brother to the Duke of *Joyeuse* fellow Favourite with *Jean Louis*, from which match sprung *Catherine de Joyeuse* now Dutchess of *Guise*. The last married the Count of *Brienne*, of the House of *Luxemburg*, and she died without Issue, within a few years after she was married.

The two Brothers *Bernard*, and *Jean Louis*, having been brought up in their Fathers House till the ages of thirteen, and fourteen years, were from thence sent to the Colledge of *Navarre* at *Paris*, there to continue their studies ; where, amongst other instructions, they had particular charge often to see, and diligently to observe *Monsieur de Villeroy*, then Secretary of State, and a man lookt upon as an extraordinary person in that employment. *Monsieur de la Valette* esteeming him for his intimate, and assured friend, hoped in him to establish such a friendship for his Children in their greener years, as might one day be of great use and advantage to them : so hard it is, even for the wisest to foresee the events of things, this very man proving at last, amongst all the great Ministers, that govern'd the Affairs of that time, the only, or the greatest enemy to their Advancement and Fortune.

After some years continuance of their studies at *Paris*, the report of a War, spread from all parts, so enflam'd the noble courages of these two young Gentlemen, that it was impossible longer to restrain them from the exercise of Arms. They considered Letters now as an obstacle to something nobler they conceiv'd themselves oblig'd to profess ; so that their Governour fearing some fall of youth, should he carry too rude a hand over them, was constrain'd to give *Monsieur de la Valette* timely notice of the disposition of his Sons. Anno 1570.

Their Father either unwilling to cross them in their first desires, or loth to discourage so early and so generous resolutions, and considering the maturity of their age, now grown up to Man, and fit to undergo the hardships of War, upon the first intimation call'd

call'd them home, to place them by his own side, there to share with him the fortune of War, which chanc'd to be about the beginning of the troubles that happened in the year 1570.

Monsieur de la Valette, having by the great services he had done the King in his Armies attracted the envy or jealousy of the other Chiefs, who were more diligent at Court than he, was by their procurement sent away into his Government to oppose, as was pretended, the designs and enterprizes, that those of the Reformed Religion daily practis'd in several parts of that Province. And whether this were effectively the true, or but the pretended cause of his dispatch into *Guienne*, so it was that he was commanded there to reside, which he accordingly did, and during that residence perform'd many notable exploits, to the advantage of his Masters Interest: amongst which I cannot omit the mention of one, that particularly relates to the honour of his second Son, whose History I have undertaken, and to whom his Father had given the name of *Caumont*, by which we shall for some time call him. In an encounter that happened near to *Mauvasin*, whether *Monsieur de la Valette* had carry'd his two Sons, he charg'd so far into the Enemies Body, that his Horse being kill'd under him, he was himself in manifest danger of his life, when *Caumont* seeing his Father in that peril, threw himself desperately in amongst them, and being well seconded by some few of the Troop, behav'd himself so well as to disengage and bring him off; paying in this first trial of his Arms, by an act of no less Piety than Valour, part of the obligation due to him from whom he had receiv'd his being. And this was his first exploit.

The first
Exploit of
Jean Louis
called *Caumont*.

Anno 1573.

He pass'd some years at this rate under his Fathers Discipline, but a Province was a Theatre too narrow for the acts his courage was likely to produce, ambition began already to make him aspire to greater things; which his Father perceiving, and willing to encourage so generous a passion, resolv'd to send him, together with his elder Brother, to the Siege of *Rochelle*, that was then sitting down. He was the rather inclin'd to send them to that place, because he himself was to have no share in the honour of that action, prevented by the jealousy of the *Marschals de Byron*, and *Bellegarde*, who although they were both of them his near relations, and the best reputed Captains of their time, employ'd nevertheless their utmost interest to hinder *Monsieur de la Valette*, from serving in that occasion. They very well knew his merit, with the favour, and esteem, he had with the Duke of *Anjou*, who was to command at that Siege, and foreseeing that such a concurrent, as he, was likely not a little to eclipse the glory they intended to engross wholly

wholly to themselves, they carried on their design with that dexterity, that he was not so much as once call'd to that service. This ill office was so much the more sensible to him, as it made him lose the *Mareschals Staff*, which had been promis'd him before; an injury that, no doubt, he would have discover'd, how highly he had resent'd, had he not been prevented by Death, the Arbitrer of all Humane Controversies. All he could at that time do (to let them see he understood them to be no friends of his) was to forbid his Sons to see them, or to be presented by either of them to the Duke of *Anjou*; desiring rather they should receive that favour from the Duke of *Guise*, a Prince with whom he had acquir'd a great interest, as having often serv'd under his Command; but most signally at the Battel of *Dreux*, where he fought at the head of the Reserve, with which, when all other hopes were lost, the Duke won that day, and wholly routed the Enemies victorious Army. To him therefore he commanded his Sons to address themselves, for their access to the Duke, an occasion the Duke of *Guise* embrac'd with so much fervour, and presented them after that obliging manner, with that honourable mention of the Fathers great Merit, and the great hope of his Sons, that they could not possibly have chosen out a man, that could more handsomly, more obligingly, or with greater integrity have perform'd so important an Office. The infinite civility of the Duke of *Guise*, together with the singular, and natural art he had to acquire men to him, gain'd *Caumont* so absolutely to his service, that it was with no little reluctancy, that he afterwards withdrew himself from him; which nevertheless he was shortly after enforc't to do, the divers interests that sway'd the one and the other, looking so several wayes, that it was not possible longer to continue their intelligence. Their friendship began to grow cold, before it came to an open Rupture; *Caumont* not having receiv'd from the Duke, that support, and assistance, he promis'd to himself, from so powerful, and so sincere a friend, as he took him to be: But that which strook the main blow was this: The death of *Monsieur de la Valette* immediately following the Siege of *Rochelle*, his several Employments lay vacant by his deceale, which made *Caumont* repair to Court, in hopes by the Dukes favour at least to obtain the charge of *Camp-Master* to the Light Horse for his elder Brother, (neither of them yet presuming by reason of their youth to pretend to the Lieutenancy of *Guienne*) which the Duke of *Guise* not only peremptorily refus'd to intermeddle in, but withal carried on the interest of some other pretenders, with so much vigour and efficacy, that in fine he excluded both the Brothers from
all

Anno

1574.

Anno 1574. all their Fathers employments. Upon which unexpected unkindness *Caumont* retir'd so much dissatisfied with the Duke, that since that time, neither his Brother, nor he, ever had any complacency for the house of *Guise*.

Caumonts
first Journey
to
Court.

The Brothers after this repulse spent some time at home in order to a settlement of their own private affairs, which the quietness of that time (a general Peace being before concluded) gave them leisure enough to do. But *Caumont* was impatient of this Countrey life, and seeing there was now no more employment for his Armes, he put himself into an equipage to go to Court, to try if he could, by his own endeavours, obtain that for himself, which the memory of his Fathers great services had not power to retain to his forgotten Family. It was about the end of the Year 1574. that he undertook this journey, King *Henry* the Third being then newly return'd from *Poland*, a Prince infinitely inclin'd to Peace, and to that, *Catharine de Medicis* his Mother being also wearied out with the former troubles, they bent their joynt endeavours to the continuing of Affairs in the same quiet posture they then were, to the extinguishing of all old discontents, and to the avoiding all possible occasions of new. They knew very well that none had power to beget new mischiefs, or to disturb the present Peace of the Kingdom, except the Duke of *Alanson*, or the King of *Navarre*, both which they politickly made, as it were, prisoners to the Court, by the vigilancy of Spies, though without Guards: or other visible marks of restraint. The King of *Navarre*, as he whose Courage, and great Qualities were more to be suspected, had the stricter eye upon him, and although he profess himself a Catholick, yet his Fortune, and Confederates, obliging him to the contrary Religion, they were in a perpetual jealousy, lest he should at one time or another embrace the Profession, and Party of those with whom his nearest concerns and chiefest interests lay. The Queen Mother, one of the most experienc'd Princesses of her time, and a Woman whose Prudence, and subtlety extended to all the Arts of Government, knowing as well how upon occasion to order the allurements of Peace, as to guide and govern the more important Affairs in the Tumults of War, being no stranger to the amorous inclinations of the King of *Navarre*, by daily invitations to Playes, Masques, Revels, and other entertainments, made the Court continually to shine in all the lustre and temptation of Beauty, if possible to divert the designs, and to soften the Martial humour of this Prince, in the more delicate delights of vacancy and peace: which kind of life, it may easily be imagin'd, could not be unpleasant to a man so young,

Anno
1575.
1576.

young, and so inclin'd as the King then was. The Court being now nothing but jollity, the whole Nobility of France had nothing else to do, but to divide themselves according to their several inclinations into the Parties, and Factions of these two young Princes; amongst which *Caumont's* particular liking, and Affection to his person, and great vertues having inclin'd him to the King of *Navarres* side, he was by him receiv'd with so infinite respect and kindness, that in a very short time he stood equal to the best in the highest degree of Favour, and trust. Of which the King could not give him a greater testimony, than by discovering to him his intended escape from Court, and by commending thereby so important a secret to his fidelity, and assistance.

Anno
1576.

Our Histories have glanc'd at the grounds upon which the King took this resolution, which he shortly after executed with great secrecie, and a very slender train; For pretending to go hunt in the Parks of *Saint Germain's*, he thence with only four or five of his greatest confidants (of which number *Caumont* was one) made his escape. I have often heard him say, that he thought himself so oblig'd by that favour, that he had never separated himself from that Prince, had not he first separated himself from his obedience to the Church.

The me-
moires of
Queen
Mar.

He accompanied him in his retirement as far as *Alençon*, whether the King was no sooner come, but that his Physician invited him to be God-father to one of his Children. The Ceremony was performed in the *Hugonot* Congregation, and after their Directory, as it may be presum'd, it was beforehand determin'd it should be. Whereupon *Caumont*, taking the usual liberty the King had ever till that time freely allow'd him, converted all the passages of that Ceremony into Mirth and Laughter: But the King, afraid no doubt lest this should produce some effect that might hinder his main designs, secretly chid him, for what he had already done, giving him caution for the future to forbear such railleries, and to behave himself with more respect in occasions wherein he himself was so seriously concern'd. Which sharp reproof giving *Caumont* sufficiently to understand, that although the King did not as yet make publick profession of that Religion, yet that he was notwithstanding so moderate, and so lukewarm a Catholick, that he only wanted a handsome opportunity to do it. He resolv'd also to quit his service upon the first occasion that fairly presented it self: An effect (besides his own Devotion to the Church) of a solemn Promise his Brother and he had joyntly made to their dying Father, never to serve other than a Catholick Prince. From thenceforward therefore, he sought all opportunities, civilly to disengage

Aubignés

Anno
1576.

Caumont.
withdraws
himself
from the
King of Navarre.

himself from the service of this King, which soon after a light Indisposition of body gave him a handsome Pretense to do; for finding himself not very well, and continuing some few dayes in the same distemper without any amendment, he intreated leave to retire into the privacy and convenience of his own house, for the recovery of his health; which the King (though he doubtless well enough understood the meaning of that request) without any difficulty, or the least shew of unkindness, freely permitted him to do.

Caumont's
second
journey to
Court, and
the begin-
ning of his
Favour.

France began now to see it self threatned with the approaching troubles, which the Duke of *Alençon's*, and the King of *Navarre's* departure from Court, (happening much about the same time) shortly after produc'd in the Kingdom; neither could the Queen Mother, notwithstanding her great vigilancy, and care to prevent those disorders, the discontents of these two Princes, together with those of the *Hugonot* Faction, were likely to bring upon the State, with all her industry and prudence hinder men, in that Crisis of Affairs, from running into the tumult of Armes. It was in this juncture of time, that *Caumont* prepar'd himself for a second journey to Court: He had had the honour to be known to the King, first at the Siege of *Rochelle*, and afterwards in his dependence upon the King of *Navarre*; so that these preceding habitudes and acquaintance, made him resolve to go, and tye himself directly to his Majesties person and service. Having therefore left his own house with this resolution, he takes his journey to *Burdeaux*, where the *Marquess de Villars*, a great friend and an old companion in Armes of *Monsieur de la Valette* his Father, and now Governour of *Guienne*, then resided; and where he was not a little busie to provide against the disorders which at that time threatned that Province. *Caumont* at his arrival gives him a visit, acquaints him with the true design of his journey, and withal offers his service, if he had any to command him to Court. *Villars* readily accepts his offer, charges him with Letters of Credit to the King; and, the wayes betwixt *Burdeaux* and *Poitiers* being very difficult to pass by reason of the continual inroads of the *Hugonot* party, he informs him of the particular state of the Countrey, instructs him in the safest wayes he was to pass, and finally gives him a full accompt of the posture wherein his Majesties Affairs then stood; that he might thereupon receive new orders from the King and Council. *Caumont*, being glad to present himself to their Majesties with the advantage of so considerable a service, departs, throughly instructed in all the Affairs of *Guienne*, from *Burdeaux* to *Angoulesme*; where he further discourses about his Government

vernment with the Marquess of *Rufee*, Governour of that Town, and Countrey, and by him findes matters there to be in no better a condition, than those of *Guienne*. *Rufee* had made a late denial of that place to the Heads of the *Hugonot* party, to whom by the Treaty of *Champigny*, made with the Duke of *alenfon*, it should have been delivered up for a Cautionary Town. He informs himself of the reasons of *Rufee's* refusal in this case, with other things that concern'd the Kings Service in that Countrey, and continues his journey from thence to *Poitiers*, by the houses of Gentlemen his acquaintance, sometimes with Convoys, but for the most part in the slender guard of his own inconsiderable train. At last by short and wary journeys he arrives at Court, which was then at *Blois*, though with infinite difficulty and danger; such was the disorder, and confusion, that rag'd in all the Provinces through which he was to pass. I heard him a few dayes before his death relate all the particulars of this journey, without omitting the least circumstance that befel him by the way; not without admiration, that a man after threescore and odde years should retain so perfect a memory of such petty accidents (if such ought to be call'd so) as gave a beginning to the establishment of so prodigious a Fortune.

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Being come to Court, he presented himself to the King, deliver'd the severall dispatches he had from *Villars*, and *Rufee*, giving his Majesty a particular account of all they had given him in charge. The King immediately commanded him to address himself to the Queen Mother, and to inform her fully of the same things, being at this first Conference highly satisfied with his dexterity, and judgement, and mightily taken with his behaviour, and the gracefulness he observ'd, in whatever he said, or did: neither indeed could there be a more accomplisht Gentleman, than he was at that age of two and twenty, as I have heard men of great judgement say, that very well knew him in those times. His Conference with the Queen Mother prov'd no less to his advantage with her, than that he had had with the King had done with him; she was pleas'd to give him a gracious audience, and to take a great liking to his Person; so that the King coming (as it was his constant custom) in the evening to confer about business with her, and asking her if she had seen *Caumont*, and what her opinion was of him? the Queen made answer, That she had seen, and discours'd with him, and that it was upon men of his condition and merit, that his Majesty ought to repose the Trust, and Confidence of his most important Affairs: which she said as not being unwilling (to the end she might still keep her dominion

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Anno 1577. over the Kings affections) that *Caumont*, though the King had many Favourites already, should yet make one of that number; that so his heart, being divided amongst many, might not too violently encline to one. The King told her he was of her opinion, and the approbation he found in her judgement having justified his own inclinations, after he had entertain'd her some time with merits of the Father, and the good qualities of the Son, he from thenceforward took a resolution to receive him into a degree of favour, and to place him near his own person,

Yet was it not immediately, notwithstanding this auspicious beginning, that *Caumont's* favour began to appear; neither did he on his part cultivate his springing fortune with an assiduity, and diligence unbecoming his Spirit, and Blood, for whatever testimonies of favour and esteem the King daily discover'd to him, there was nevertheless no occasion of action, which he did not greedily embrace, and for which he did not continually neglect all Court Interest, preferring his Honour and Duty before all other Advantages of Fortune. At his return from one of these expeditions, he soon discern'd a coldness in his Majesty towards him; and his Court Rivals, who very well saw how precipitiously the Kings Affections were bent upon him, had not fail'd on their part, by their ill offices to weaken that interest during his absence, with all the Art, and Malice they had: but his brave services having acquir'd his Masters Esteem, he soon recovered his former possession of Grace, and at last settled himself so firm in the Kings Bosom, that the favour, which had for a long time before been divided amongst many pretenders, was at last establish'd without reservation in *Foyeuse*, and him, though he had still the greatest share.

I have already observ'd, what an effect *Caumont's* negotiation about the Affairs of *Guienne* had produc'd with the King and Queen; neither was he so blind to his own interest as not to see it, nor so negligent as not to improve it with all the industry he had. Nor was his diligence less effectual with the Queen Mother, who bore the greatest sway of Affairs, than with the King himself, she ever receiving him with great demonstration of Favour, and Esteem; which he to continue, or to encrease, contracted great Familiarities with some of the Maids of Honour of chiefest trust about her, and from their Friendship receiv'd no few good Offices in this Foundation of his Fortune.

But neither these good Offices, nor the Favour he was by their procurement seated in, had yet produc'd anything to his benefit; 'tis true he was look'd upon with an Eye of Favour; the King would often speak to him, and in all apparence he was in a hopeful

hopeful way, but still this was hitherto only appearance, and he reap'd no other advantage by it until the Duke of *Alençon's* expedition, which was the first time he tasted of his Masters Bounty. After the Treaty of *Champigny*, which was a little before this time, the King having design'd absolutely to disengage his Brother the Duke of *Alençon* from the *Hugonot* Party, had to that purpose given him the command of an Army against them. Upon which occasion *Caumont* fail'd not to prepare himself to make one, which the King so well approv'd of, that coming to take his leave, his Majesty having first publicly commended his generous design, order'd him twelve hundred Crowns of Gold, out of his privy Purse, to put him into a handsome posture: A largess so seasonable as enabled him to put himself into a better equipage, than otherwise he could conveniently have done; and as he had a mind above his present Fortune, he laid out all the Kings Bounty in Horses, Arms, and other Furniture: but above all, he bought himself the finest Tent, that could possibly be seen. The Rendezvous of the Army being appointed to be at *Romorentin*, the King and Queen Mother, being then at *Blois*, would themselves see it; and there dismiss the Duke of *Alençon*, with all possible demonstration of Honour, and Kindness. *Caumont* fail'd not to Muster up his Equipage, upon this occasion; and for the better advantage, caus'd his Tent to be set up in that part of the Camp, that lay most in view of the Queens Lodgings, to the end chiefly, that her Maids of Honour might more conveniently see it. The King who never fail'd (as I have observ'd before) to visit his Mother once a day, as he was one day leaning with her in her Chamber Window, took particular notice of this Tent, which being for its fineness remarkable above the rest, the King and Queen both fancied it to be *Caumont's*; and the better to be satisfied, sent one purposely to enquire; at whose return, finding it to be so indeed, his gallantry was highly commended by them both. Soon after coming to take his leave of the King, and to receive his Commands, he was dismiss with so high testimonies of Affection, as might for the future give him just occasion to hope for greater things. These observations may perhaps seem light to some upon such a subject; but since Fortune suffers nothing to be lost to happy men, and that she is industrious to collect, and improve the least of their actions to make them succeed to their advantage, I thought it not altogether improper, by her example, to make mention of these passages; which, how inconsiderable soever in themselves, have been nevertheless the steps, and gradations, by which this great man afterwards rose to such an eminence of Fortune.

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The King's
first Bounty
to *Caumont*.

The

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Caumont
follows the
Duke of
Alençon in
the War.

He goes to
the Siege of
Brouage.

The Duke of *Alençon's* expedition succeeded according to the Kings desire, he took *la Charité*, and *Issoire*, and the Army was in a condition to perform greater things, had not the over-strict League, and Friendship betwixt the Duke of *Alençon*, and the Duke of *Guise* (his Lieutenant General in this Employment) begot a suspicion in the King. To break then this Friendship, the King began to hearken to overtures of Peace; which, although they were not presently concluded, yet the meer proposition was pretense enough to call home the Duke of *Alençon*, and to give *Caumont* opportunity to return to Court. At his coming back he was less favourably receiv'd, than he had reason to expect, through the jealousy of those who had been more industrious to improve the Kings Favour, than he had been: Yet could not this hinder him (a new occasion of the Siege of *Brouage* presenting it self) once more to expose, and abandon, his springing Favour, to the malicious Offices of his Court-Concurrents. He went to this Siege, where he behav'd himself so well (as he had done before at *la Charité*, and *Issoire*) that in all these expeditions he still won the great liking, and approbation of his Generals; who, being just to his merit, in the testimony of his actions, confirm'd the King more and more in the opinion, he had before conceiv'd, of his Worth and Valour.

This esteem of *Caumont* took at last so deep root in this Princes Breast, that it was no more in the power of Envy to shake it; and he had him in so high consideration, that he never us'd him with the least severity, nor ever gave him the least injurious word; an indulgence not common to his other Favourites, who were often subject to very passionate language: But the King in his noble nature was pleas'd to spare a heart, which, he had before observ'd, was too stout to submit to Injuries, what advantage soever might accrue by such a patience. Of which (now we are upon this discourse) I shall give you an instance in this place; although the thing happened not just at this time, but after *Caumont's* more apparent Favour, not tying my self, in these youthful relations of him, so much to the order of time, as to the truth of things. The King his Master being an infinite lover of neatness in Cloaths, and being none were admitted into the Bed-Chamber without his white Shooes, black Velvet Galoches, his long Stockings, and other Vestments wherein they were to observe a punctual Decorum, no wonder if the Favourites, who were continually in the Kings Eye, were especially ty'd to these strict rules of decency. *Caumont* appearing one day before the King unbutton'd, his Stockings untied, and in a greater negligence, and disorder, than he

was

was wont to be, receiv'd a severe check; nay his chiding proceeded so far, as that the King forbid him ever to appear before him again in the like posture. *Caumont* in his heat interpreting this for an absolute command, without condition, immediately withdraws himself, resolv'd (as I have since heard him say) to take Post, and for ever to retire himself from Court. But the King, who very well knew what an impresson his words had made with his Favourite, and fearing lest the rashness of his Youth might make him commit a fault to his own ruine, commanded him presently to be call'd back; saying, *That his heat and folly would destroy him, if he were left to himself; but that he had in him withal Qualities, of which good use might be made: and, that he would therefore have an eye to his preservation.* Upon his return the King having chang'd his Humour, *Caumont* chang'd his Resolution, not without considering upon how light an occasion he was like to have forfeited his Masters Favour, and to have destroyed the hopes of his own rising Fortune; And from the knowledge of his fault drew this advantage, to become less hot, and passionate for the future, and to observe such an elegancy and neatness in his habit, even to an extreme old age, as might serve for an example to the younger sort of men.

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The Surrender of *Brouage* was soon succeeded by a Peace concluded at *Bergerac* about the end of the year 1577. by which cessation *Caumont* had liberty to return to Court, and there without any more diversion, or impediment, to husband his Masters Royal Inclinations towards him.

His return
from the
Siege of
Brouage to
Court.

But as he had many Concurrents in the same Design, so the King for some time suspended the declaration of his Favour; though *Caumont* was one of those to whom his Majesty shewed a particular Inclination, and whose freedom, and boldness was nothing displeasing to him: His Wit, fine Fashion, and a particular Grace he had in performing all his exercises, gave him a great advantage over the other young men of his condition; which he managed so well, that he still out-shone all his equals, and appear'd the true Favourite in mens opinion, though his Favour was not yet so fully manifest. All this year 1578. past in this deliberation, and the Court was in suspense which of all the pretenders to favour would prove to be the Favourites indeed, when at last the King in the beginning of the year 1579. at the Ceremony of the institution of the Knights of the Order of the *Holy Ghost*, appearing publick with *Caumont*, *Darques* (afterwards Duke of *Joyeuse*) *St. Luc*, and *D'O* in the same Livery with himself, there was then no further dispute of their favour; and upon this discovery, all the

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Anno 1579. the Courtiers according to their inclinations, or interest, divided themselves into the several Parties, and dependencies of these four great men.

We have now brought *Caumont* upon the great Theatre of the World, expos'd, not only to the sight, but also to the censure and envy of most men. We shall hereafter see how he disingag'd himself from those snares, and designs that were laid by his Adversaries to undermine his greatness, during the space of threescore and ten years, which he liv'd after his first rise of Favour.

From the time of this establishment of his Fortune, he had the good hap to have all the most eminent men about the Court, either for Arts or Arms, to apply themselves to him. *Monsieur du Perron*, one of the greatest Ornaments of his Age, was of this number, together with *Ronsard*, *Des Portes*, and many other persons of great Merit, and Esteem. But amongst them all, *Caumont* taking particular notice of the great worth of *Monsieur du Perron*, and considering his Vertue to be above all the advantages, he in himself was able to procure for him; took an especial care to prefer him to the Kings knowledge, and at last, with the assiduity and recommendation of a true friend, plac'd him in his Majesties chiefest confidence; an Office which he afterwards continued with so constant a friendship, as contributed no little to that greatness, to which he was sometime after advanc'd.

Saint Blancard since *Mareschal* of France, and *Duke de Biron*, with the greatest part of the *Gascon* Nobility that then follow'd the Court, put themselves also into his dependence: his Employments, and the great credit he had with the King, having in a short time afforded him means to gratifie a number of gallant Gentlemen, and to acquire many Friends, and Servants, whose Valour and Fidelity contributed much to the preservation of his Life, and Fortune. But his youth, having been bred up in the rudeness of War, requir'd some necessary improvements, the better to fit him for his Masters conversation, who was himself the most accomplish'd Prince of his time. The King would take care for this second Education, that he might be the more proper for those Employments, which his Majesties confidence in him, and the necessity of the present times, were shortly to call him to; and to that purpose commanded *Des Portes* to be continually about his Person, which he accordingly obey'd; and not only by his diligence better'd him in the *French* Tongue, which then first began to purge it self from the Barbarism of past Ages: but having withal found in him a capacity that out-strip his Precepts, he in a short time infus'd into him such general notions, as, having open'd his understanding, made him capable

pable of those important negotiations in which he was afterwards employ'd.

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The same affection which had made the King so solicitous to embellish his Mind, made him no less careful to establish his Fortune; though he still conceal'd the daily progress of his Bounty from him, not being willing it seems that he should so much as trouble himself with the management of his own Domestick Affairs; but commanded *Fontenay Mareuil* a Gentleman of quality, and of whose integrity his Majesty had a particular Esteem, to take upon him that care, and twice a week to bring him an account of *Caumonts* business, as another Person of Quality did of that of *Foyeuse*. From these two Gentlemen the King had still advice, of all Offices, and Revenues, that fell vacant; out of which his Majesty made choice of such for his two Favourites, as he thought most proper, and advantageous for them, and commanded their dispatch; which afterward *Caumont*, and *Foyeuse* were to solicit, but without the least dispensation, notwithstanding their Favour, from the due and customary forms of Law; where, if any difficulty, or opposition chanc'd to arise, his Majesty ever interpos'd his Justice to over-rule them, if justly they were to be over-ruled: neither did they ever receive any Grace, or Largess, which did not either first pass the Seal, the Chamber of Accounts, or an Act of Parliament.

In these beginnings, the two young Favourites were continually call'd to all the Councils, not to give their advice, from which by their immaturity, and inexperience, they were exempt, but to inform, and to inure themselves to business: Which the better to exercise them in, the King himself was pleas'd often in private to propose weighty questions to them, and to make them debate them before him, without exposing their early Opinions to the Experience of his graver Council, initiating them with his own Precepts, and forming them with his own hand; and that rather with the tenderness and indulgence of a Father to his Children, than with the authority of a Master over his Servants,

About this time (as I have already observ'd) the Order of the Holy Ghost was instituted, and the first Ceremony was already past: where, although *Caumont* had no share, by reason of his Youth, but was deferred to the next Creation, which happened a few years after; yet his Majesty, though he judg'd him too young to be admitted into that honourable Fraternity, thought him notwithstanding sufficient to treat with *Philibert* D. of *Savoy*, though he were one of the most discreet, and most circumspect Princes of his time. This Prince had rais'd a considerable Army, which he

Caumont's
Embassy to
Savoy.

D

inten-

Anno 1579. intended to imploy against the *Genoveses*; and the King, who was oblig'd to protect them, dispatch'd *Caumont* to the Duke to dissuade him from that enterprize. His negotiation in this Affair met with great difficulties, and infinite oppositions, both from the House of *Austria*, the League, and the Pope; which nevertheless he overcame with that dexterity, that having untied all those knots of State, he obtain'd full satisfaction for the King his Master, and acquir'd so much Reputation, and Esteem with the Duke, as at the same time to obtain a signal Favour, and a timely assistance for himself. The occasion this.

The *Mareschal de Bellegarde* his Uncle, having for some time possess'd the Kings Favour, was at last, through the ill Offices of some, fallen into disgrace, and had thereupon retir'd himself into the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*, of which Province he had the Government; and whither being come, he had chas'd *Charles Birague*, the Kings Lieutenant in that Marquisate, out of all the Places and strong holds he had formerly possess'd; which he had taken upon him to do, without any order from the King: and indeed *Bellegarde* unsatisfied with the Court, rather endeavour'd to fortifie himself, and to secure his own interest, than to stand upon the niceties, and punctillio's of his duty. This disorder gave a hot alarm to all *Italy*, who knew not to what *Bellegardes* designs might tend; and the Queen Mother, desirous in time to prevent any ill consequence, had her self taken a Journey to accommodate the business, and had compos'd it to the Kings satisfaction, and seemingly to the *Mareschal's* too, who had receiv'd a ratification of whatever he had done: but the *Mareschal* was no sooner return'd into his Government, than he fell immediately sick, and of so violent a distemper, as in few dayes carried him away, not without vehement suspicion of poison. Many being perswaded, that his turbulent spirit having given the Court an apprehension, that a discontented man of his Courage, would be hard to be continued in the due limits of his Obedience, they thought it better at once to dispatch him out of the way, than to be at the continual trouble would be necessary to contain him in his duty.

His Son, whom he left very young, and much unsettled in his Government, soon found himself in danger to be turn'd out by the Faction of the People, the whole Countrey in general, favouring the *Biragues*, Gentlemen of good quality, and Natives of that Countrey; whom doubtless they would have restor'd to the Government, had not *Caumont*, in the time of his Embassy in *Savoy*, obtain'd some Troops from the Duke for his Kinsman's assistance, with which he brought him so opportune, and so effectual a succour,

cour, that he soon suppress the Faction, plac'd *Bellegarde* secure in his charge, and left him strong enough to defend himself; until the King, whose interest requir'd a Minister of greater Experience in that Countrey, call'd him from thence to place *la Valette*, *Caumont's* elder Brother in his stead, giving to *Bellegarde* in recompente the Governments of *Xaintonge*, *Angoumois*, and the Countrey of *Aulnis*.

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It was during the interim of this Voyage, that the disgrace of *St Luc*, one of the Favourites, was concluded. *D' Aubigné* tells us that he learn'd the cause of this disgrace from *St. Luc's* own mouth, and thereupon tells an impudent Story: but they who well consider this malevolent Author's way of writing, will easily judge it his own invention, to bespatter the Kings reputation; against whom (besides the interest of his Party) he had a particular spleen, having been ill us'd, and slighted upon many occasions. Of which he himself cannot forbear to complain in his History, and which confession in it self is sufficient to discredit all the calumnies he has forg'd against the Honour of this Prince. Here then take the true reason of his disgrace.

The King, falling in love with a Lady of great Quality, had made *Caumont*, and *St Luc* the confidants of his Passion; shortly after which *Caumont* was sent upon the Embassy of *Savoy*, spoke of before: and *St. Luc*, in this interval of his absence, discovers the secret of the King's love to his Wife, who was of the Family of *Brissac*, and his Wife immediately to the Queen, who could not long dissemble her discontent to the King her Husband; but reproach'd him with his Love, and that with so many circumstances, that in effect he could not much deny it. The King infinitely concern'd at the infidelity of his Confidants, to whose discretion he had only intrusted that secret, falls upon *St. Luc*, *Caumont* being out of the reach of his anger, complains how basely he was betray'd, and in fine, reproaches him with the discovery. *St. Luc* excuses himself, and, that he might do it with the better colour, charges *Caumont* (whose absence expos'd him to that ill office) with the fault; but the King, who had before begun to distaste *St. Luc*, ever since his Marriage with a Wife, who was very partial to the House of *Guise* (a Family whose designs were every day more and more suspected to him) was still in his own Judgement more inclin'd to condemn him, than *Caumont* of the Treachery. Yet for the better clearing of the truth, which he was impatient to know, he addresses himself to the Queen, pressing, and conjuring her, to tell him freely, from whom she had receiv'd the knowledge of his Love, at the same time confessing on his part, the naked, and un-

St. Luc's
disgrace.

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disguis'd truth, the more to oblige her to deal clearly, and candidly with him. The Queen though at first she defended her self with many excuses, and was very loath to betray her intelligence, was at last (as there are few secrets which are not communicative betwixt persons of so near relation) overcome, and confest that it was from St. *Luc's* Wife she had receiv'd that secret. There need- ed no more to confirm the King in the prejudice he had before conceiv'd against St. *Luc*: and his Majesty believing there was more of design, than levity in this miscarriage, from thenceforth conceiv'd a mortal animosity against him, and was resolute to his ruine; yet would he defer the discovery of his displeasure till *Caumont's* arrival, who was now upon return, that he might first know, how ill an office his companion, and friend had attempted to do him. *Caumont* was no sooner return'd, than the King ask't him what opinion he had of St. *Luc's* friendship? who answer- ed, That he took him to be his best friend, as he knew himself to be his; and that there was a particular, and strict friendship be- twixt them. The King told him he must no longer continue in that error, and thereupon acquainted him with the whole story, and with the resolution he had taken against him. *Caumont* (not- withstanding the ill Offices he had receiv'd) fail'd not in this occasi- on to perform all the duties of a true friend, but employ'd his pow- er with the King, to perswade his Majesty into milder resolutions: but not being able with all he could say to prevail against the just indignation he had conceiv'd against him; and seeing him exas- perated to such a height, as was like enough to transport him to the greatest extremities, he gave notice to St. *Luc* speedily to retire from Court, which he accordingly did, and fled to *Brouage*. This is the true story of his disgrace, which I have received from a more faithful, and less passionate hand than that of *Aubigné*.

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It was at this same time of *Caumont's* return from *Savoy*, that the King found himself engag'd in a more dangerous Affair, than this before related. The *Hugonot* Party began now to break out into open insurrection: and their Rebellion was of so much the greater consequence, by how much it interrupted, and overthrew all the designs he had laid, to establish the peace of his Kingdom. The King having had, and with great reason, the greatness of the House of *Guise* long suspected to him, had determin'd with himself, but insensibly, and with all security, to abate that grow- ing greatness; and to bring his designs the better to pass, and with the least noise, he continually dispos'd all the great employments, and most considerable Offices, as they fell void, into the hands of his own Creatures, without distributing any part into the power
of

of the *Guises*, or of any that he knew depended upon them, or that he suspected to be of their Faction. The House of *Guise* easily enough penetrating into the depth of this design, had fortified themselves more than ever, in their Confederates and Friends, to oppose by strong hand this project of the Kings; and covering with the pretence of the Catholick Religion (of which they had long assum'd to themselves the titles of Protectors, either their Ambition (or what they call'd by a more specious name) the necessity of their Defence, were ready to break out into open Arms. The King, advertis'd of their designs, was resolv'd to prevent them, and for a time to lay aside his milder Maxims, and to chastise their insolence with an armed hand: but because he should have wanted means, and strength, if at the same time, he should undertake the House of *Guise*, the *Hugonot* Party (which he also intended to cut off in due time) should appear in Arms, he tried to moderate the last, by commanding all the Edicts that had been made in their Favour, to be strictly, and inviolately observ'd. He granted to the King of *Navarre* all he could reasonably desire, treating with him like a Prince, that he neither thought it safe to raise too high, nor that he had a desire absolutely to subdue. A proceeding that in all apparence was likely to continue the Peace on that side. And the King had very great reason to hope, that this Prince, and those of his party, would at least give him leisure to suppress the Family of *Guise*, who as they were dangerous to him, were also their open, and declared Enemies. The suppression of which had at this time been a matter easie, and inevitable, had Affairs continued in this posture. But all these considerations were over-rul'd, and overthrown by so little means, that certainly 'tis worthy our astonishment to consider how light, and how contemptible things will pervert the ordinary course of humane prudence.

The Queen of *Navarre* in this juncture of time retir'd from Court, much dissatisfied with the King her Brother, as she her self declares in her own Commentaries; and as she was a Princess of a dangerous Wit, a great Spirit, and one that conceiv'd the highest point of generosity to consist in revenge, she thought she could not do the King her Brother a more sensible injury, whose designs she very well knew; nor consequently better satisfy her own revenge, than by stirring up the King her Husband against him. Yet thinking her own interest too weak of it self to prevail in a thing of this consequence, she thought fit to assault him where he lay most open to her, and where he had the least power to defend himself. Having therefore in her train a great many very fine women, and such as were well disciplin'd in Love Affairs, she won so far upon their

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Anno 1580. creas'd, till it came to such a height, that there was no employment, or benefit, with which the King his Master was not highly pleas'd to gratifie him.

Caumont's
high Fa-
vour.

Before he obtain'd the charge of *Camp-Master* to the Regiment of *Champagne* for himself, he had procur'd for *la Valette* his elder Brother, that of *Camp-Master* to the Light Horse; an Employment that had been so worthily discharg'd by their Father; which I have often heard him say, was the first grace he ever begg'd of the King, having it seems a desire to retrieve the Offices of his Family for his Brother, and to give him the first advantages of his Favour, reserving nothing, save future hopes for himself: but those hopes were not long suspended, for the esteem the King had of him, being founded upon his courage, and fidelity; had begot in his Majesty so great a passion for him, that his thoughts were wholly taken up with the contrivance, how to make him great; and he has often been heard to say, he would raise him so high, that he would not so much as reserve to himself the power to pull him down.

The Historians of that age give him from henceforward an advantage over *Joyeuse* in the Kings Favour, and would make us believe it was so apparent, as to beget a jealousy in *Joyeuse*; but that is a secret I never learn'd from *Caumont's* mouth; though it may be presum'd that his carriage, and conduct, was more likely to please the King; *Joyeuse* having such a vanity to boast, and make a shew of the credit he had with his Master, and of the favours and liberalities he receiv'd from him by inordinate profusions, and expence, as did not only bring many inconveniences upon himself, but great murmurings and discontents upon the King: whereas *Caumont*, who had rather be powerful and esteem'd in effect, than in outward shew, made a sober, and profitable use of the interest he had in the King; and made his greatness more apparent to discerning men, by the establish'd constancy that ty'd him fast to his duty, than by the exterior sopperies of pomp, which are but the faint reflexions of a true shining lustre.

If this stability of his was commendable in any thing, it was much more in the constant aversion he had to the League, to which nothing could ever reconcile him; nor to the heads of that Faction: but on the contrary he took all occasions publickly to exasperate, and affront the Duke of *Guise*, without regarding the reputation of so great a man, or fearing the danger of so powerful an Enemy; his animosity carrying him so far, as several times to beg leave of the King, that he might fight him man to man, desiring with all his soul to hazard his own life, that he might by an honourable way deliver his Master, from the troubles, and apprehensions,

with

with which the practices of this Duke perpetually afflicted him, though his Majesty would never consent to it. But *Joyeuse* liv'd after another manner, maintaining a greater intelligence with the House of *Guise*, than ought to have been betwixt so oblig'd a Servant, and his Master's open, and declared Enemies; which doubtless was the chief cause of the diminution of his favour, and in truth either prompted by the sole ambition of seeing himself Brother-in-law to the King, to which honour he thought he could not arrive without the Duke of *Guise*'s assistance, or by the desire he had to secure his Fortune on all sides, which is very often a ruinous maxim, he ever industriously labor'd the friendship of that Family. Some believe that he at first treated with them unknown to the King about his Marriage with a Princess of their House, and Name, Sister to the Queen. 'Tis true he had afterwards the King's permission, and the overture, being once made, was prest by the King himself to a consummation of it: but it was his part to have foreseen the inconveniences of this Alliance, and to have consider'd the consequences before he had embark'd himself

Anno
1580.

As one of the King's chiefest cares was to keep such an equality towards his Favourites, that they might have no occasion to trouble the delight he took in their conversation, with complaints, or differences, so had he no sooner concluded the Marriage of his Sister-in-law to the Duke of *Joyeuse*; but that he would bestow another call'd *Christina*, upon the Duke of *Espernon*. I begin here to give him the title of Duke, because he had it before, although the thred of this discourse permits me not to speak of his promotion to this dignity, till the following page. A temptation delicate enough to flatter a mind so great, and so ambitious, as that of the Duke; nevertheless he excus'd himself with a modesty, highly to be commended in an occasion of this nature; neither was his prudence less to be admir'd, than his moderation: and all the world have believ'd, that amongst all the actions of his life, this was of greatest importance to the conservation of his Fortune. Upon this refusal of his, divers Judgments were made, all actions of great men, especially Favorites, never wanting interpreters: such as were justest to the Duke highly approved his conduct, that so prudently under the shadow of respect, had rejected an advantage, that in it self carried only noise, and shew; though otherwise it might render him capable of pretending to more solid things, and at least make him rival the extraordinary honor the Duke of *Joyeuse* had receiv'd; others that would less favourably interpret him, discommended his carriage, as if by this refusal he intended tacitly to condemn the Duke of *Joyeuse* his Vanity, and Ambition; and these confirm'd themselves in their opinion, by the great disproportion they saw betwixt the moderate expense

Anno
1581.

A proposition
of
Marriage
for the
Duke of
Espernon.

Anno
1581.

The jour-
nal of
Henry the
third.

at the Marriage of the Duke's elder Brother, and the prodigious profusion that was made at that of the Duke of *Joyeuse*; where the expence was so great as amounted to above two millions of Livers, an immense summe in those days, and especially at a time wherein the State was in great necessities. This gave a great occasion of murmure, not only to the well and ill dispos'd *French*, but even to such strangers as were affectionate to the Crown of *France*; whereas that of *Monsieur de la Valette*, which was solemnized at the same time with *Anne de Batarnay*, was past over with very little noise; not but that the King would also in this occasion have powr'd out his liberality: but the two Brothers, having discreetly avoided an unnecessary expence, soberly husbanded their Masters purse, to his and their own reputation.

Anno
1582.

The two
Favourites
made
Dukes and
Peers of
France.

From the time that his Majesty had determined to raise his two Favourites to the honour of his Alliance, he honoured them both with the Dignity of Duke, and Peer; and purchas'd in *Caumont's*, name the Manour of *Espernon*, to the end, he might bear that Title. But his Letters Patents, having been carried to the Parliament, receiv'd at first some difficulty in their verification, as it had before happened, in the case of *Joyeuse*: which difficulty arose from the place the King had given in those Letters to the two new Dukes, having there ranck'd them immediately after the Princes of the Blood, which the other more ancient Dukes, being highly displeas'd at, oppos'd; and had so wrought the Parliament to their Favour, that the King was forc'd to send them a peremptory command to pass over all oppositions, telling them (amongst other terms of favour) that having chosen *Caumont*, and *Joyeuse*, for his Brothers-in-law, and intending to place them by this Alliance so near his own person, he could not endure they should make any difficulty of receiving them into the degree, he had assign'd for them; that Honour being far inferiour to what he had already conferr'd upon them by that choice: Upon which, there being no more contest, the thing past according to his Majesties pleasure, and was recorded without reservation.

Anno
1583.

Though the King seem'd to have his thoughts wholly taken up with these little domestick Affairs, and to intend nothing but the advancement of his Favourites; yet was he not even in this without a further end, and design: for perceiving himself too weak by fine force, to crush the two powerful Factions, that divided the whole Kingdom, he try'd to accomplish that by policy, which he could not effect by power, in depriving both sides of all kind of authority and trust; advancing on the contrary his Favourites, and such as he had confidence in, to all the Offices, and Employments he

he possibly could; neither was there any grace, or favour to be obtain'd, but for them, or for such of their creatures, as wholly relied upon their fortune. Neither met this design of his with any opposition from the *Hugonot* Party; who, the more they were his open and declared Enemies, the less were they in his way, and gave him the less trouble: For the Court being suspected to the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the other Chiefs of their party, kept them at such a distance, as depriv'd them of the means to sue for Governments, Offices, and commands of places; nay, it was a favour to let them enjoy those they already had; so that living retir'd, and at ease, but without credit, or consideration, their interest by degrees mouldred away, and grew weak of it self: which was the posture the King would have them in. But the heads of the League were in a far different condition, they had for many years upheld their credit at Court, had discharg'd successively from Father to Son, the greatest Offices of the Crown, were possess'd of many important Governments, and very considerable places, and by the greatness of their Birth, and Services, by the reputation of their valour, and other eminent qualities they were Masters of, endeavour'd to eclipse the Majesty of the King; who, being less inclin'd to ostentation, liv'd a more retir'd life than they.

It was necessary to abate the growing greatness of those powerful, and dangerous Subjects; to effect which (which was the chief and most important Affair of State) the King first exhibited a publick and general prohibition to all sorts of people, excepting the Queen his Mother, and the Queen his Wife, not to presume to ask any thing of his Majesty, whether Money, Offices, or Commands; reserving wholly to himself the disposition of all such things, and that of his own voluntary grace, and bounty, and upon due consideration of the party's Merit. And to the end that the over free access to his person, might not give occasion to those he most suspected to exceed the limits of this prohibition; he seconded that with another. That no person of what quality soever, should come into his Cabinet, without he were call'd: but from this general rule he made a particular exception for his Favourites, whom he made free to enter at all hours, like enough on purpose to nettle the House of *Guise*; though they were not the only men offended at it, almost all the great men about the Court, being sensibly concern'd, to be depriv'd of a priviledge, that was now only reserv'd for five or six of his Majesties Creatures.

The Lords of the House of *Guise*, being by this means excluded from all hope of encreasing their power by new acquisitions of trust; the King began to contrive how he might gently with-

Anno

1583.



The state of
Affairs at
Court, and
the Kings
conduct.

Anno 1583. draw what they already had, out of their hands; and carried it so, that so often as there was any vacancy, by the decease of any of their creatures, he immediately conferr'd those places upon some of his own; and if at any time any of their Partizans were content to take money for such charges, as they were seisd of, the King would stick at nothing that might satisfie them, to the end he might dispose places, into secure, and faithful hands. The Duke of *Joyeuse* by these two ways, that is by the King's gift when a Government fell void, or otherwise by Contract, had obtain'd the Government of *Normandy*, with *Haure de Grace*, *Caen*, and other places: the Government of *Anjou* for the *Compte de Bourbonchage*, his Brother; the Lieutenancy of *Languedoc* for his Father, with many other important Governments and Places. The Duke of *Espernon* had also the Government of *Metz*, and the *Messin* Countrey, that of *Dauphine*, *Boulogne*, *Calice*, *la Fere*, *Loches*, the Citadel of *Lions*, and some others.

The Duke advances his own Relations.

As it was necessary for these two great men to find out assured Friends, and faithful Servants, into whose hands they might safely commit so many several places of trust, as the King's bounty had possess'd them of; so was it the Duke of *Espernon's* care to provide himself of such persons; and supposing he could find none, who were likely to be more faithful to him, than those of his own Kindred and Relation, he to that purpose call'd the greatest part of them about his person. His elder Brother had by his recommendation the Government of *Dauphine*, in which employment he behav'd himself so well, that he preserv'd that Province entire in his Majesties obedience during all the commotions of the League: neither were his Services confin'd within the bounds of his Government; he pass'd over several times into *Provence*, and secur'd that Countrey against the attempts of the said League, when assist'd both by *Spain* and *Savoy*. He also oppos'd the power of the *Hugonots*, which was very considerable in both these Provinces; so that *France* has to him only the obligation, that *Dauphiné* is not now in the *Savoyard's* hands, as well as the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*. *Montcasin* the Dukes Cousin was put into *Metz*, *Cajan* his Brother had the Regiment of *Champagne*, and soon after the Lieutenancy of *Xaintogne*, *Angomois*, and the Countrey of *Aulnis*. And many other places were dispos'd into the hands of several men of trust, and quality, who depended upon the Duke.

But he had yet a Kinsman in *Gascony*, to whom, next to his Brother, he had a particular regard above all others, which was *Roger*, afterwards Duke de *Bellegarde*, Son to *Monsieur de Termes*, the Duke's Uncle by the Mothers side, and Heir to the House of *Bellegarde*.

legarde, This young Gentleman, being bred up according to his condition, to all the exercises becoming a person of his Birth and Quality, was by the Duke brought to Court; where he continued the care of his Education in his own House, keeping him still to his Exercises, till he was grown excellent in them all: but the Duke was not content to oblige him only in this, he further employ'd his care, and good Offices to place him in the Kings esteem, wherein he succeeded perhaps beyond his own desire; *Bellegarde* arriving to such a degree of Favour, as grew at last suspected to the Duke himself.

Anno
1583.

Some years past over in these Court practices; neither from the time of the Treaty of Peace with the King of *Navarre*, in the Year 1580. until the beginning of the Year 1584. were there any Affairs of importance, save those of the Cabinet. The King constant to his first Maxims, continually labour'd the ruine of the League, and of the *Hugonot* Party; neither was he, in his own nature, more inclin'd to advance those he had a kindness for, than he was bent to weaken, and depress those who were suspected to him. The Duke of *Guise*, the Cardinal his Brother, their Relations, and Confederates, seeing all things directed to this end, and not being able to endure the condition of private persons to which they saw the King endeavour'd to reduce them, set on foot great practices, both within, and without the Kingdom, and try'd all imaginable ways they thought might help to fortifie and secure themselves. And as they had hitherto been proceeded against without violence, so had they carried on their practices without noise: but at last finding the King more openly labour'd their ruine, which was already almost inevitable, they would no longer forbear to unmask themselves, nor to publish their long premeditated designs by an open Rupture.

The first
commotion
of the
League.

In the beginning then of the Year 1585. the Duke of *Guise* retir'd himself to *Jainville*, and there receiv'd into his House the King of *Spain's* Deputies, together with the *Sieur de Meneville* Attorney to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who did all the business of the League in *France*. Where also the Duke of *Mayenne* his Brother, and divers others of his Partizans, repair'd to him. At which Assembly it was resolv'd to break out suddenly into open Arms, upon such conditions, as the Historians of that time have already declar'd, and which is nothing to my business.

Anno
1585.

The King, who was soon advertiz'd of this Conspiracy (which was now no longer a secret) to hinder it from taking any dangerous effect, and in due time to provide for the safety of the Kingdom, assembled, together with the Queen his Mother, such persons as were

were

Anno were of chiefest trust about him, and whose Counsels he ever
1585. made use of in debates of greatest importance, to deliberate, and
 advise what, in this posture of Affairs, was best to be done. These were the Dukes of *Espernon*, of *Joyeuse*, and of *Retz*, the Chancellour *Chiverny*, *Bellieure*, *D'O*, *Villeroy*, and *Villequier*. The Duke of *Espernon* as the youngest, being commanded to give his opinion first of the Proposition in hand, freely Remonstrated.

That so long as the ambition of the House of Guise had contain'd it self within some moderate limits of respect to their Sovereign, he had infinitely commended his Majesties Clemency, that so long had wink'd at their faults, expecting when Subjects of their quality and merit should come to themselves, and see their own error. That in the beginning of great Crimes, Patience was almost a necessary Vertue, and that it had often oblig'd such Offenders into their duty, as it would have been a matter of some difficulty to have reduc'd by force: but that this Patience had its bounds as well as other Vertues, and that the excess of it degenerated into Vices, of all other most pernicious to Princes. That he would never advise his Majesty to cruelty, because it was dreadful, and inhumane, though it often begot the Sovereign power a more absolute respect. That profuseness begot love, at least in the receivers; and that the other mistakes of Princes were seldom altogether unfruitful; whereas an excessive toleration render'd them contemptible to all the world. That from contempt men fell into hatred, and from hatred ran headlong into attempts. That above all things Princes should fear being despis'd, which is infallibly destructive to Authority; as on the contrary, Fear and Respect supports it. That it was his opinion, the King without further deliberation should have recourse to Arms. That his Enemies not having yet the assistance of Strangers, and the Forces they expected at home not being yet united, would be easily suppress'd. That his Majesty ought not to suspect his own strength in this occasion; that so good a cause as his could want no Souldiers, and that his own Royal Courage would give vigour, and encouragement to all true Frenchmen to maintain his Authority, not only against his Rebellious Subjects, but against all the World.

The Chancellour *Chiverny*, the Duke de *Retz*, and the Marquis *D'O*, were of this opinion, and the King himself had too much experience, and too much judgement, not to be of the same; but the Duke of *Joyeuse*, *Bellieure*, *Villeroy*, and *Villequier*, were of a contrary advice: to whom the Queen Mother adhering,
 the

the King, who had ever a great deference to her Councils, cool'd in the inclination he had to that of the Duke of *Espernon*, and was over-rul'd into mildness, and moderation; which as they are usually, the ruine of all Affairs of this nature, so they prov'd to be of this.

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They thenceforward therefore began to treat about this War, and that by propositions not like those of a Prince to his Subject; but such as were more proper betwixt enemy, and enemy, that stood upon equal ground. The King, before he would resolve upon the last remedy of Arms, first caus'd the Duke of *Guise* to be sound-ed, to try, whether or no, he would by fair means be prevail'd with to leave of those practices his Majesty very well knew he entertain'd against his Service, and his own Duty: which having in vain attempted, and finding his obstinacy to be such, as was not to be overcome by gentle wayes, he presently dispatch'd away into *Germany*, and *Switzerland*, to make speedy Leavies both of Horse and Foot; and conceiving he could not in the present necessity receive so prompt, and so certain a succour from any, as from the King of *Navarre*, his Majesty would try if he could not gain him to his Interest, that they might joyntly oppose the first fury of the League, that erected it self to their common prejudice. In which deliberation there was notwithstanding an almost invincible difficulty, namely the difference of Religion; for the King, what need soever he had of the King of *Navarre's* assistance, could never perswade himself to joyn with him in Arms, if he were not first a *Catholick*; wherein the respect to his Conscience prevail'd with him, above the consideration of his Fortune, and Kingdom.

This point therefore, upon which so much depended, was to be discreetly managed: and the Duke of *Espernon* as Supreme in the Kings confidence, was, before all others chosen to treat with the King of *Navarre* about this great Affair; which, that it might be carried with the greater secrecie, the Duke pretended a visit to *Madam de la Valette*, his Mother at *Caumont*, whom he had never seen since his advancement to favour; nor whom (a rare example of Vertue, and Moderation in a person of her Sex, and Condition) he could ever, with all the instance he could use, prevail with, to come to Court, nor perswade to leave the sweet repose of her own House, nor the modesty, and retiredness of her former life.

The King
sends the
Duke of
Espernon to
treat with
the King of
Navarre.

Things being thus ordered, the Duke began his Journey from Court with a Train, and Magnificence; that is still remembered in all the places, through which he past. He had above 500 Gentle-
men,

Anno
1585. men, and many of those men of very great quality in his attendance: so great authority and esteem, he had already acquir'd; neither did that authority and esteem ever decline, but were his inseparable Companions during his whole life. The King writ to all the places, through which he was to pass, to receive him with the same respect, and to pay him the same honours they would do to his own person: which was absolutely obey'd, if not overdone, the Duke receiving infinite and unusual civilities, both at Orleans, Poitiers, Burdeaux, Tholouse, and in all the other Cities through which he pass'd. At last he arriv'd at Caumont, where he had the satisfaction of seeing his Mother, who was no more dazzled with the immediate sight of her Son's greatness, than she had been before elevated with the report of it. She discours'd with him of Affairs of State, and of the advantages of his own Fortune, with the Gravity and Authority of a Mother, but of a Vertuous and Prudent Mother: and I have heard him say, That he receiv'd more safe and solid Counsels from the prudent simplicity of that good Lady, than from the subtlety, and experience, of the most practis'd Courtiers.

After having staid some days in her company, and his chief business being not to receive a dispatch there, he parted thence towards the King of Navarre, who was then in the County of Foix. The King did him the honour to meet him as far as Saverdun, where they had the first Conference. The second was at Pamiers, in the same County of Foix, whither the Duke of Espernon (who could by no means avoid the great crowd of Nobility, and Gentry that came from all parts of Guienne, and Languedoc to see him) came so extraordinarily accompanied; that the King of Navarre, who (designing to continue the same honour to him) intended to have met him a good way out of Town, was advised to expect him on foot at the Gates of the City, his own Friends and Retinue, being too few to make up a number, that might hold any proportion with that the Duke brought along with him.

D'Aubigné.

In these two Conferences the Duke deliver'd what he had in Commission, fortifying the propositions he had to make with so many, and so powerful Arguments; that the King of Navarre clearly satisfied of his own good, discover'd at last a great inclination to perform what the King desir'd of him, viz. his Conversion to the Roman Catholick Religion. He evidently saw the eminent danger, whereinto this great conspiracy of the League was likely to precipitate him; with the advantages he might have by running the same fortune with the King, of defending himself, and his Interest, by his Majesties Authority and Power.

Requelaure

Roquelauze, and many other persons of good quality about him, fortifi'd him in this good deliberation; but he was dissuaded from it by a far greater number of the other opinion, who represented to him, the hard usage he had receiv'd at Court, the hazards he had run in his own person, and the persecution those of the Reform'd Religion, who were his Servants, and Friends, had suffer'd from thence.

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1585.

They did not stick further absolutely to impute all the hard measure the *Hugonot* Party had receiv'd to this King; although the greatest violencies had been exercised upon them in the Reign of *Charles the Ninth*, expressing as passionate a hatred against him, as the League so impudently manifested in their Rebellious Actions. And certainly the Misfortune of this Prince is never too much to be lamented, nor the unsteadiness of his condition too much to be wondered at; having his Kingdom divided by two Factions, so directly opposite to one another that he could never serve himself by the one, to defend himself from the other; and both sides, though implacable enemies betwixt themselves, concurring nevertheless always in this, that they both equally desired his Ruine.

At last, after many Conferences, the King of *Navarre* gave the Duke his final Answer at *Pau*, whither he had invited him to come, to this effect.

That he was the Kings most humble Servant, that he would justify himself to be so upon all occasions, and that he would never separate himself from his Service and Interests, if his Majesty did not constrain him to it, by condescending too much to his Enemies Counsels: but that he could not, for any consideration of Honour, Riches, or any other advantages that could be propos'd to him, depart from the Religion he had embrac'd, and was so firmly establish'd in.

It was in this pleasant Palace of *Pau*, and amongst the magnificences and delights, that place then abounded in, that the Duke had first the honour to see the Lady *Catharine*, the King of *Navarre's* only Sister, since Dutchess of *Bar*; in whom the Duke's Merit, who was then in the flower of his youth, and the meridian of his favour, made such an impression, that she began from that time to honour him with her favour, which she continued to him to her death. And it is certain that the King her Brother (who perhaps did not think himself so near that height of fortune, to which he soon after arriv'd, and who doubtless would have been glad to have engag'd the Duke absolutely to his Interests) made him some propositions of Marriage with this Princess; but the condition of the time, and intervening accidents, permitting that Treaty to pass no further, the Duke was forc'd to

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1585. content himself with the advantage of so glorious a friendship, which was ever after dear, and precious to him, the whole remainder of his life.

The King of *Navarre* to multiply still more entertainments, and favours upon the Duke, would needs have him yet to give him the satisfaction of another visit at *Nerac*; which the Duke could not handsomely deny, though the Kings commands were something pressing for his return to Court: and as it is likely the King of *Navarre* spun out the time, that he might more maturely deliberate upon an Affair of so great importance; so was it the Duke's interest to give him that leisure he desired, if possible to make his negotiation succeed according to the King his Masters desire. But in the end finding he could not overcome those traverses, and difficulties, that his Majesties enemies still strew'd in his way, he prepar'd himself for his departure; and then it was, that opening the last, and most secret part of his Commission; he told the King of *Navarre*, *That though he had denied his Majesty the satisfaction he desired of him, yet that the King nevertheless considering him as his Kinsman, and next Heir to the Crown, if God should please to dispose of him without Issue, had given him in charge to let him know, that he would be well pleas'd, he should use his best endeavour to preserve himself in a condition to oppose the League, that was confederated to the ruine of the Royal House and Line. That since they could not unite their Arms to resist their common Enemies, he should at least assure himself of the places already in his possession; which his Majesty took to be much safer, and much more at his devotion in his hands, than those that should hereafter be possess'd by the League. And that although in the present state of Affairs he could not openly favour his designs, by reason of their difference in Religion; nor avoid being instant for the restitution of those cautionary places, that had been granted to him; yet that he should nevertheless be very well satisfied with whatever he should do to his own advantage.* After this Declaration, which was receiv'd by the King of *Navarre* with infinite demonstrations of Obligation and Respect, the Duke took post for the Court at *Lions*, where the King impatiently expected his return.

He was now arriv'd within view of the City, and all the Court were mounted to honour his arrival, the King himself having much ado to forbear going out to meet him; when a strange, and unexpected Accident was like to have turn'd all the Honours prepar'd for his welcome into the Funeral Pomp of his Obsequies: For one of the Gentlemen, who came out to meet him, having accidentally intangled the Chape of his Sword in the Duke's Bridle, the Horse took such a fright at it, that he immediately ran away with

with his Master; nor could the Duke stop him with all the art, and force he had, from throwing himself, and his Rider headlong into a dreadful precipice; the place, very remarkable by the greatness of the fall, and the wonderful escape, is to this day call'd *Espernons Leap*; neither was there any man present, who did not confidently believe the Duke certainly bruis'd to pieces: an opinion so firmly grounded in every one, that the report of his Death was immediately carried to *Lions*, which made as many several impressions in mens minds, as their inclinations were different, towards him. But the King was afflicted beyond imagination, though his Majesty was not long in that error: For some of the company, having immediately descended the precipice, found the Horse, who by good fortune fell plum upon his feet, and bore the whole weight of the fall, kill'd stone dead; but the Duke miraculously escap'd, with only a slight hurt in the Shoulder. This accident set all the Court Wits on work; neither was there any, who did not write something upon this occasion; but that which most pleas'd the Duke, was an Emblem, that was presented to him. The body of the Emblem was a figure of the Duke himself, hanging upon the brow of a precipice; so as that he seem'd to be irrecoverably falling from that prodigious height; when Fortune running to his succour, withdrew him from the danger, with this Motto in Italian, the first words thereof expressing his name, *Eper non lasciarti mai*. A Motto the Duke at first took for a good Omen; which time, and his own good conduct after turn'd into a kind of Prophecie; and causing it to be grav'd in a Cornelian, and set in a Ring, he wore it many years upon his Finger, as a mark of his gratitude to Fortune, or rather Providence, which is effectually that we call Fortune; to which he ever attributed all the successes of his life, rather than to his own conduct.

By this accident the Kings affection to the Duke seem'd to be augmented, at least it made a greater shew of tenderness, than in former occasions, his Majesty never almost departing his Chamber during the time he was constrain'd to keep his Bed: and it was in this condition that he gave the King a full account of his Journey, and Negotiation; a thing that furnish'd the League with a sufficient pretense to decry the Kings actions; neither did the Chiefs of that Faction fail to cause it proclaim'd in the Pulpits (as it is usual to make Holy Places and Religious men the Scenes, and Instruments to blemish the Actions of Princes) that his Majesty was strictly united with Hereticks: and that this slander might the better be believ'd, the Duke of *Espernon's Voyage* (whom they endeavour'd to render odious to the people, by cal-

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The League makes the Duke of *Espernon's Voyage* a Pretense to stir up the people.

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ling him the Abetter of that Party) was first brought upon the stage; they publish'd that Negotiation to be a conspiracy against the Catholick Religion, which was no way to be oppos'd, but with their Swords in their hands: So that this was the first Pretense they made use of, to colour their Rebellion.

The Duke of Guise attempts to win the Duke of Espernon to his side by giving him his Daughter.

But before they would proceed to the effects of so violent a Rupture, the Duke of *Guise*, who would have been glad to have won the Duke of *Espernon* to his Party, by that means to remove those Obstacles which the Dukes Vigour and Fidelity ever had, and were still likely to oppose to his Designs, caus'd him to be treated with about a match with his Daughter, since Princess of *Conty*: a Princess that for the beauty of her person, the vigour of her mind, and many other endowments, and excellent qualities, had few rivals in the Kingdom; neither was the Duke of *Espernon* so blind, as not to see the honour he should receive by this alliance, had it been propos'd in a more quiet time; or had the Duke her Father been upon better terms with the King: but knowing he must by such a match abandon his duty, or at least be oblig'd to favour designs he could by no means approve, the last consideration so absolutely prevail'd above the other, that he scarce deliberated upon a thing that was likely to stagger his fidelity; and how dangerous soever it were to declare himself an open enemy to the Duke of *Guise*, which he must of necessity do by refusing his alliance; he rather chose to run that hazard, than to falter in the least in the duty he ow'd to his Prince and Benefactor.

The second pretense of the League.

It is ^{not} hard to judge, what passions of grief, and despite, the Duke of *Guise* was possess'd withal, to see his designs so frustrated, and his offer so despis'd by this refusal, which was in it self no light-offense; neither did he afterwards meditate any thing more, than his revenge; and how to destroy him he could neither by civilities, nor by threats acquire unto him: but his fury was rais'd to the height by a new Honour the Duke had conferr'd upon him: which was the second Pretense the League took hold of to justify their proceedings.

The King had some time before this bought the Duke of *Mayenne* out of his charge of Admiral of *France*, which the Duke had the rather laid down in favour of the Duke of *Foyeuse*; and his Majesty desirous to conferre upon the Duke of *Espernon* also some Office of the Crown (to continue the same equality he had ever observ'd in their Fortunes) propos'd to the Duke of *Guise* a very advantageous recompense in lieu of his Office of *Grand-Maistre* to the Kings Household; and it seem'd probable he would follow the example of his Brother the Duke of *Mayenne*, who doubtless

less had not quitted so important a charge without his elder Brother's advice : but the Duke of *Guise* notwithstanding would never comply with his Majesties desire; and though the King would never permit him to exercise any function of his charge, thereby to make him weary of it; yet was he still more obstinately bent to keep it; nor would ever consent (as he said) *That his Enemy should possess any of those charges he had exerciz'd, and been invested withal.* The King seeing him so obstinate, and perhaps not more solicitous to advance the Fortune of his Favourite, than willing to spite the Duke of *Guise*, resolv'd with himself to erect, purposely for the Duke of *Espernon*, an Office, so honourable, and so great, as should by its authority and power infinitely surpass all other the highest, and most important employments both of the State and Crown: and this was that of *Colonel General of France*; an Office formerly divided into two, on this side, and on that side the Mountains, of which *Andelot* had possess'd the one; and *Strozzi* the other; and after *Andelot's* death they were united in *Strozzi*, who remain'd sole Colonel. After *Strozzi's* decease, the King having by an Edict re-united these two Offices into one, made it an Office of the Crown, under the Title of *Colonel General of France*, caus'd that Edict to be ratified in Parliament, attributing to it the absolute power to name in general Officers for all the vacant places in the *French Militia*, without so much as excepting from this nomination, that of *Camp-Master to the Regiment of Guards*: He establish'd for the Colonel a Sovereign Court of Justice, or Council of War, to determine of the Lives and Honours of Military men, without calling any other to it, than his own Officers; adding to it besides several Graunts, Priviledges, and Pensions, and finally (to sum up all his bounty) his Majesty delivering the Commission into the Dukes hands, told him, that nothing troubled him, but that he knew not how to invest him ~~into~~ a more absolute Authority, and that he could not adde a part of the Royal Dignity to his charge. And it is certain, that in giving the Duke the Governments of *Metz, Toul, and Verdun*, his Majesty would have given them in Sovereignty, and have demis'd to him the Title of the Crown: but the Duke displeas'd with this proposition, as an injury offer'd to his Obedience and Loyalty, complain'd to the King, that his Majesty, honouring him with so noble an employment, should go about to deprive him of the dearest Relation he had, which was that of his Majesties most humble, and obedient Subject, an honour that in his soul he prefer'd before all titles of Sovereignty, and all the advantages of Fortune his Majesty could prefer him to; and thereupon receiv'd both the Govern-
ments,

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1585.

The Office
of Colonel
General of
France ere-
cted.

with

Anno 1585. ments, and the charge of *Colonel General*, under the Kings Authority.

From this new advancement the League, as I have said before, deriv'd their second pretense for the taking of Arms; they look'd upon the Duke of *Espernon's* new Honour, as an offence to their whole Party; and the Duke of *Guise* took it for a particular injury to himself, and thereupon openly publish'd.

The Duke of *Guise's* complaints.

That there were now no more Employments, Riches, or Honours, save only for the Duke of Espernon, and la Valette his Brother. That the State was only impoverish'd by profusions made in their favour. That they were the true causes of the peoples oppression. That the Treasure, set apart for the extirpation of Heresie, was by them perverted to their own uses, and particular profit. That the greatest Dignities, the most important Places, and Governments of greatest concern, were too many advantages for their ambition. That whilst the Kings good Servants were neglected, and kept under, there were new Offices, with unheard of Priviledges, contriv'd, and erected for them. That if the power they had over the King were longer suffer'd, they would equally ruine the State, and Religion. That the Duke of Espernon was therefore to be remov'd from Court, if men desir'd to see an end of publick Miseries. That his Majesty being deliver'd from his Counsels, which were equally violent, and interess'd, would doubtless for the future be more favourable to his good Subjects, and better inclin'd to the Catholick Cause.

The League takes up Arms.

At the same time a *Manifesto* was publish'd by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was the declared Head of that Faction, containing principally the foregoing complaints, and immediately after follow'd the rising into Arms. The first design of the League was upon *Metz*, as if they meant to strike at the heart of the Duke of *Espernon's* Fortune; a place so considerable, that the Duke had reason to look upon it, as the surest foundation of his greatness: neither did he in his latter years condescend to any thing with more unwillingness, and reluctancy, than to the surrender of that place, that proposition seeming to him, as though men were bent to the total ruine of his House; nor could he ever have been perswaded to have stript himself of such a defense, upon a less consideration, than the investiture of his Son the Cardinal of *la Valette* into that Government; who being younger by forty years, than himself,

he

he might reasonably hope, it would continue in his Family at least during his life: but God was pleased to dispose it otherwise.

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To make a right judgment of the importance of this place, it will be necessary to consider its Site, and condition; and the share it has ever had in the Duke's Fortune does indeed require it should be something insisted upon. *Metz* then is a City something bigger than *Burdeaux*, or *Orleans*; that is to say, one of the greatest, and the fairest in the Kingdom, full of Inhabitants, and those a rich and industrious people; to whom the neighbourhood of *Germany* gives great facility, to an advantageous Commerce. She was in former times thought beautiful enough to be the Metropolis of *Austrasia*, once the Inheritance of one of our Kings: but when the Empire of *Germany* began to decline, and that the Princes who were Subject to it began to withdraw themselves from their obedience (every one being ambitious to be Sovereign in his own Dominions) many Cities, which were also in the same subjection, allur'd by the tempting sound of Liberty, follow'd the same example. Of these *Metz* was one, who for many years took leave to govern her self by her own Laws, annually creating Sovereign Magistrates, disposing absolutely of the Lives and Estates of her Subjects, Coyning Money, and in all things taking upon her the Authority of a Sovereign Jurisdiction; in which condition she maintain'd her self, till the Year 1552. that the Constable *Montmorency*, passing with the King's Army that way, totally freed her from all kind of Homage to the Empire, and settled it under the Protection of the Crown of *France*. 'Tis true that King *Henry* the Second, in whose Reign this Conquest was made, continued to this City her ancient privileges; but withal to assure himself of his possession, he did exceedingly fortifie it, establishing a Governour of his own, and causing a Citadel to be built, which was mightily cryed up, for one of the best, and most exact of that time: but this was before Sieges were turn'd into a Science, and that the industry of man had left little to Fortune, in this kind of War. It does not now carry that Reputation; and in this condition it was when the Duke entred upon his Government, only with this difference, that what its own Laws had formerly perform'd by their own Virtue, during its independency, was now executed by his order, under the Authority of the Royal Name, the Duke (as I have said before) absolutely refusing to accept it upon other terms. He annually appointed, and created the Supreme Magistrate, whom they call * *Maistre Eschevin*, and appointed him his Council, and

The description of the City of *Metz*, and its importance.

* or High Sheriff.

Judges,

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1585. Judges, who were to determine in Sovereignty, upon the Lives, Honours, and Estates of all the Inhabitants: but withal the Duke had Authority upon occasion to censure them, had power to remove them from their Magistracy within their year, if he saw cause; or to continue them beyond their term, if he thought fit. It is then no wonder if he were infinitely respected in a place, where all things so absolutely depended upon him: but that which was indeed very rare, and very commendable, was, that in so unlimited a power, and in the course of above threescore years, that this City continued in his Custody, he behav'd himself with that Justice, and Moderation, that not so much as any one Citizen ever complain'd of his administration; neither is there any now living, that do not yet remember, with a kind of delight, the indulgence, and sweetness of his Government.

Whilst the Duke stood seiz'd of a place of this consequence, and so dispos'd to his service, it was no easie matter to cut him off; such a retirement being a sufficient refuge from all sudden danger: neither (the Town being intrusted in the hands of valiant, and faithful friends) had it been convenient (even when he was most remote from it) to provoke him; lest a place of that importance, should have taken part in his disgrace, and follow'd the humour of his discontents. It was therefore by the taking of this Town, that the League would begin to labour the Duke's ruine, and in that the advancement of their own Affairs.

The most considerable Forces, the League had then on foot, were those of the Duke of *Lorain*; a Prince who having till this time contain'd himself Neuter in all the Affairs of *France*, upon this occasion thought fit, it seems, to declare himself partial to his Family, in hopes nevertheless to joyn *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun* to his own Dukedom: neither was his design unlikely to succeed; for the two last having made no great difficulty of receiving the Duke of *Guise*, he had reason (considering the intelligence he had in the City) to expect the same from *Metz*, had not the Duke of *Espernon* by his vigilancy prevented him, seasonably re-inforcing the Garrison, with divers Gentlemen his particular Servants, and a good number of Souldiers; by whose coming it was so well secur'd, that the League thought it not fit to attempt it.

This great storm, thus blown over, the Duke, alarm'd by the late hazard this City had run, resolv'd to establish himself in that important possession, so as that for the future it might be secur'd from the like danger; and to that purpose some of his friends having rendred the Governour suspected to him by some carriage of his

at such time as the Army of the League were approaching towards him, though the grounds of this mistrust were not in the Dukes opinion clear enough to countenance an open rupture with him; yet were they sufficient to make the Duke remove him from that trust, and to call him about his own person, instituting *Sobole*, who before was only Lieutenant of the *Cittadel*, in the absolute authority both of the *City*, *Cittadel*, and *Messin* Countrey; adding withal ten thousand Crowns in Gold to mend his Equipage, that he might with the more honour support the honourable charge he had seated him in; a bounty we shall hereafter see how *Sobole* requited: but that being the business of another time, I shall refer it to another place, and pursue my former Subject.

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The Leaguers not contenting themselves with those petty successes in *Lorain*, and being made wise and active, by the example of the Kings ruinous supineness, who sat still, in vain expecting the arrival of his Foreign Forces, almost at the same time by the several Captains they had dispos'd into divers Provinces, surpriz'd a great many of the chief Cities of the Kingdom, and made no light attempts upon the rest. The Duke of *Guise* after the taking of *Toul*, and *Verdun*, (which I have spoke of before) possess himself yet of *Meziere*, by which he assur'd to himself the whole Countrey of *Champagne*: The Duke of *Mayenne* took the City, and Castle of *Dijon*, which made him Master of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*: *la Chartre* seiz'd of *Bourges*, *Entragues* of *Orleans*; the Count de *Brisac* of *Angiers*, and many other Cities of that Province. *Vaillack* had hop'd to have done as much by *Bordeaux*, by the neighbourhood of *Chasteau-Trompette*, of which he was Governour: but the *Mareschal de Matignon* broke his design, and *Marseilles*, by the Loyalty of her good Inhabitants, maintain'd it self against the Faction of some who labour'd to betray it into the power of the League: but the enterprize of the *Cittadel* of *Lions* succeeded better with *Mandelot*, who was Governour of the City, and one of the Duke of *Guise's* firmest Adherents; who having been formerly awed into his duty by the *Cittadel*, in which *le Passage* had been plac'd by the Duke of *Espernon*, to preserve a City so important to his Majesties Service; he who before-hand had been made privy to the Duke of *Guise's* Designs, as soon as ever he heard they were in Arms, failed not suddenly to begirt the *Cittadel*; and being assisted by the people (who naturally hate to be bridled by a Fortress) having surpriz'd *le Passage*, who little suspected any such thing, made himself Master of the place, and immediately raz'd it to the ground.

The Progresses of the League.

It was upon this occasion that the ill will which had so long

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been

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1585.

The Rupture be-
twixt the
Duke of
Espenon
and Villeroy.

been conceal'd ; yet had continually been fostering in the Bosoms of the Duke of *Espenon* , and *Mounseur de Villeroy* , broke out ; from which quarrel, in the succession of time, sprung so many, and so important consequences, as do not only take up a large share of the Dukes Life , but also make up a considerable part in the general History of that time ; which obliges me in this place to discourse, both what I have receiv'd from the Dukes own mouth, and what I have gather'd from the Commentaries of *Mounseur de Villeroy* himself.

Mounseur de Villeroy had been from the Dukes infancy Secretary, and Minister of State ; a friend to *Mounseur de la Valette* the Father, and a man of great Credit, and Interest, in the King's Council ; he had seen the beginning, and encrease of the Dukes Favour, at which he ought not in reason to repine : but on the contrary had cause to believe, that such a friend as he, would fortifie him with the King, and be no little assisting to support that Trust he already possess'd in the management of Affairs. And in effect the Duke had a true affection, and esteem for him, who as he was ever very respectful, and constantly fix'd to all his Fathers Interests (whose memory he had in the greatest veneration) it is certain had a particular consideration for all his Friends ; of which number *Mounseur Villeroy* being one, the first years of the Duke's Favour were pass'd over in a strict correspondency with him : but at last *Villeroy* perceiving the Duke's Credit proceeded so far, as wholly to possess that interest in the Kings Bosom he pretended to share, he began in the end to grow jealous of a Prosperity, he ought so much the more to have cherish'd, by how much it was likely to be more useful to him ; and thenceforward began openly to thwart all his opinions in Council, rais'd up a party against him, to lessen his Reputation there : and the Queen Mother nettled to see her Authority weaken'd with the King, by the great power the Duke had with him ; desiring nothing more, than to have him remov'd, that she might recover her former possession, could find no one so ready as *Mounseur de Villeroy* to second her Passion, and the animosity she had conceiv'd against him. They joyntly advis'd that it was necessary to sacrifice the Duke to the malice of the League ; and that the King ought to abandon him for the general satisfaction ; a Counsel that had been voluntarily follow'd by the Duke himself : and I have heard him say, he would as willingly have retir'd then from Court, as he did not long after, could he have obtain'd the Kings permission : but his Majesty very well perceiving that his Favourite was only a pretense the League made use of to cover their own ambition, that it was the

Royal

Royal Authority they aim'd at, and that their design was only to remove so good a Servant, with less difficulty to make themselves *Masters of Affairs*; the more obstinately they insisted upon that Article, the more resolute his Majesty was to protect him.

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The Duke very well inform'd that *Villeroy* was one of those, who contributed most to his Persecution, and seeing how publickly he profess'd to desire his ruine, resented it with an Animosity proportionable to the Injury receiv'd; which was the more violent, by how much the offense came from a person he had never done any ill Office to, and whom he had ever made it his business to oblige. They were in this posture of unkindness, on the one side, and the other, when happned the taking of the *Cittadel of Lions*; before which time it was thought, *Villeroy* had secretly treated of a Marriage betwixt *Alincourt* his Son, and *Mandelot's* only Daughter; not having dar'd publickly to do it by reason of the intelligence *Mandelot* held with those of the League: but having upon this occasion taken up *Mandelot's* Interests against *le Passage*; that is to say, against the Duke himself, *le Passage* being his creature, he offer'd to undertake for *Mandelot's* fidelity to the King, provided his Majesty would please to consent to the Marriage propos'd, and settle upon *Alincourt* the Government of *Lions* in reverence, in favour of the match; which the King, being reduc'd to the necessity of taking all men for friends, who were not actually otherwise, was forc'd to allow of, and to ratifie what he could not well impeach; by that means trying to draw *Mandelot* over to him: but the Duke exasperated to the last degree could no longer smother his passion, nor dissemble his animosity against *Villeroy*; but spoke freely, and aloud to his disadvantage, and of the Correspondence he held with the League, which was the first effect of their open, and declared Hatred.

The end of the first Book.



THE
H I S T O R Y
Of the L I F E of the
Duke of Espernon.

The Second Book.



After the Surrender, or rather the Revolt, of the many places already mentioned, the Duke of *Guise*, conceiving it necessary to press nearer the King, the sooner, and with less difficulty to obtain his ends, order'd the General Rendezvous of his Army to be at *Chalons*. Which place he made choice of for two Reasons; first, because by the nearness of it to *Paris*, (being but three little days Journey from thence) his presence would be apt to fortifie the Citizens in their Devotion to him, and secondly, the number of his Confederates being so great, and some of them of so great Authority in the City, he could by their means continually infuse into the people such dispositions, as might best serve his purpose: hoping by this means, either to incline the King, to satisfie all his demands; or at least to be able to raise such mutiny and confusion in the City, as might give him opportunity, at one time, or another, to effect that by fine Force, he could not obtain by the more moderate ways of *Addresses*, and *Treaty*.

Then it was that his Majesty perceiv'd the manifest peril his person,

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1585.

The Duke
of *Guise* ap-
proaches
with his
Army near
Paris.

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1585.

Person, and his Affairs were in, and then would he take up Arms for his own defense; which he had no sooner resolv'd, but that at the same time he saw it was too late, and impossible to be done. The Reiters which he had rais'd in *Germany* could not come to him, (the Duke of *Lorain* having deny'd them a passage through his Countrey) and all the Forces within the Kingdom were either engag'd with the League, or with the King of *Navarre*; so that the King was left utterly naked of all defense, save of those few Servants he had about his own person: Nay, even those who, in the beginning of these troubles, would with all their hearts have assisted him to punish the Duke, whilst meerly in the condition of a Rebel, durst not, now he was grown to that formidable height, and become the head of a strong Party, attempt to succour a weak, and disfurnish'd Prince, against an armed and prevailing Subject.

The thoughts of War then being altogether fruitless, and impossible in the posture the King then was, he must of necessity have recourse to the Treaties of Peace; to which resolution he was further necessitated by the King of *Navarre's* breaking into Arms, at the same time, which I should not however have mention'd for a second Motive his Majesty had to satisfy the League, had this Prince pretended no further, than simply to defend his own Fortune with those Forces he had already had in *France*; for then his designs might have been favourable to the King, and either have kept the Army of the League wholly imploy'd; or at least have diverted their designs: but he fearing at once to be oppress'd by the Union of two Catholick Armies, had recourse to strangers for aid. The King knew he had treated with the Queen of *England*, and with the States of *Holland*, who both of them assisted him with Men, and Money, and that all the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, made extraordinary Provision to send him a powerful succour; so that he now evidently saw, he must in good earnest close with the League, and joyn with one of the Factions, to preserve himself from being a Prey to both.

The Queen
Mother
sent to
Treat of a
Peace.

The Queen Mother had for many years been employ'd Mediatix in all the accomodations of Peace that had been concluded in *France*; and it was commonly believed, she was not then altogether without such an Interest in the Duke of *Guise*, as might have establish'd this to the Kings satisfaction: I never heard the Duke of *Espernon* say she was partial to that Faction; and though he receiv'd several ill Offices from her in his declining Favour, he notwithstanding ever retain'd a constant Respect for so great a Princess, who was his Masters Mother, and ever defended her Honour
against

against all the calumnies of the time. 'Tis true he thought she was not altogether displeas'd that there should ever be a party on foot in *France*, such as might oblige the King her Son to make use of her Counsels and Mediation; her great, and ambitious spirit ill digesting the calms of peace; and worse enduring to be depriv'd of an employment; in which she had ever been as successful as necessary. Her therefore the King passionately entreated to labour an Accommodation with the Duke of *Guise*, an Office she as cheerfully undertook, and two dayes after began her Journey towards *Espernay*, where she had appointed the Duke to meet, and whither he accordingly came, together with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. In the first overtures she found a spirit puffed up with success, and wholly averse to Peace: but when he had more deliberately consider'd, that it was not yet time to weaken the King's Authority (which he thought was absolutely at his mercy) that there would afterwards remain the King of *Navarre* a powerful, active, and diligent Enemy, back'd with great Forces within, and ready to receive greater from without the Kingdom; he conceiv'd it requisite to subdue him first, that he might afterwards dispose of the Kings Affairs with less opposition: so that he altogether fell from the extravagancy of his first demands, and only insisted upon the suppression of the King of *Navarre*, which he call'd the extirpation of Heresie; though it was in effect in order only to the establishment of his own Power.

The King had so openly declared himself an Enemy (as effectively he was) to this new Religion; and it so much imported him to clear himself to his Subjects from those aspersions the League had cast upon him, that he was now necessitated to declare against the King of *Navarre* in the most severe Form, the League could themselves invent; yet was it not without the greatest reluctance imaginable, that his Majesty was constrain'd to that extremity against a Prince, whom (as has been said before) it was not his interest wholly to suppress: but having lost the opportunity he once had, whilst they were weak, and inconsiderable, of chastising the Heads of the League, he saw himself now necessitated to grant them that, he could no longer, without apparent Ruine, refuse. His Wisdom then prompting him to submit to the necessity of Affairs, he made a show of complying in all things with their desires; and that he might with less difficulty encline the Duke of *Espernon* to consent to a resolution he had ever before been so much against, he privately told him, *That he did not consent to those things that were exacted from him without very great Aversion, but that he hop'd to reap from thence a signal effect, and a very great advantage to*
his

Anno
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Anno 1585. *his Affairs ; that the Party of the League was now too strong to be suppressed by force : that they had brought their Armies to the Gates of Paris, and that Paris it self was corrupted in their Favour : That he very well saw the time to chastise them was now past, and that he now knew (but too late) what he had lost in letting the occasion slip, wherein they might have been punish'd, when he had advis'd him to it ; but that such an opportunity would certainly return again, and that then his evil Counsellors should never dissuade him from making better use of his time : That in the mean time it was necessary to dissemble, that they might the better look into their Enemies Interests, to discover their weakness, and to make use of that discovery to their ruine : That there was no Party so strong that was not defective somewhere : That it was necessary to discover where that defect lay, and that it was impossible to make that discovery, without engaging with, and being interested in the cause they meant to overthrow : That being Head of the League, as they would have him declare himself to be, he should be able to strew such difficulties in the way of their Designs, as that they would find themselves perplex'd in every enterprize they should undertake. Though the Duke of Espernon had much rather his Majesty would have defended his Honour, and trampled Authority, by the Arms of those few good Catholick Servants he had, and to have joyn'd with the King of Navarre (with whom he did not think an accommodation impossible) and with such Foreign Forces, as were affectionate to the Crown ; yet seeing it was now expedient to submit to the necessity of the time, he humbly acquiesc'd in the good Pleasure of the King his Master.*

In this posture of Affairs the King writ to the Queen his Mother, that she might conclude the Treaty upon such Conditions, as she thought fit ; and, for a further testimony of his Candour, and sincere intention herein, sent the dispatch by the Duke of Espernon, whom all the world knew to have the greatest power with him, and the greatest Antipathy for the League ; to the end that the Lords of Guise might not in the least doubt the observance of a Treaty, that was ratifi'd on his part, by a person who liv'd in so eminent a degree of favour with him.

This employment of the Duke's, though it was only intended to countenance the Queens Negotiation, and to make it more easily succeed, did nevertheless incense her in the highest degree against him. She look'd upon his interposition, as proceeding from a diffidence the King had in her, and not daring to manifest her dissatisfaction to him, she threw it wholly upon the Duke, and took from thence a new occasion to augment the ill will she had formerly conceiv'd against him. The Treaty was notwithstanding concluded

concluded at *Nemours*, wherein the Lords of *Guise* had the full of their own demands, whether against those of the *Hugonot* Party; or in their own particular favour. They were to command the Armies, that should be set forth against the *Hugonots*; and over and above the great, and advantageous Governments they were already possess'd of, the King delivered over twelve, or fifteen of the best Cities in the Kingdom into their hands; together with vast summes of money: And then it was, that men were undeceiv'd, and that all men plainly saw they minded more their own private Interest, and the establishment of their own greatness, than they regarded the advancement of the Catholick Religion.

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The Treaty
concluded
at *Nemours*.

The Treaty then being concluded, the Duke of *Guise* came to kiss the Kings Hands at *St. Maur des Fauusses*, his Majesty so ordering it purposely to defeat the Duke of the *Parisians* applause; from whence after the Ratification of the Articles, the Duke return'd into his own Government of *Champagne*, dismiss'd with some feign'd Demonstrations of Favour, which was also on his part receiv'd with the same dissimulation.

From thenceforward the King began with great artifice to spin out the violent designs of the League, manifesting nevertheless such an animosity against the *Hugonots*, and so firm a resolution vigorously to effect what had been concluded against them, as he conceiv'd necessary to satisfy a people jealous of his sincerity, and apt to take up new suspicions upon every instigation of their own corrupted fanisie: And in order thereunto he went to the Parliament in great Formality, and State, to cause an Edict to pass against those of the Reform'd Religion; where after a revocation of the cautionary Towns, of the *Chambres Mi-parties*, of the liberty of Conscience, and of other Concessions that had formerly been granted in their Favour, they were prescrib'd by a day prefix'd, either to abjure their Religion; or to be declar'd enemies to the State, and punishable to the last degree.

The War
begun by
the King
against the
Hugonots

This first Act thus play'd, his Majesty assembled the *Provost des Marchands*, and the *Eschevins* of *Paris* to demand money of them for the prosecution of the War they had so ardently desir'd; which he also propos'd to the Clergy, who had shewed themselves no less zealous than they: but finding both the one, and the other equally cold in the business, after he had reproach'd them with their unseasonable violence, which he said, had hinder'd him from bringing about by easie, and infallible ways, the utter extirpation of Heresie (a thing he more earnestly desir'd, than any of them) he told them flatly, that since by them this bu-

Chambres Mi-parties were Courts of Justice establish'd in divers Cities of France, in favour of the *Hugonots*, of which Religion the one half were, and the other half Catholicks.

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finels was first set on foot, it was reasonable, that they who had been the promoters of it, should likewise be at the charge of the War.

His Majesty thought by grasping thus at their purses to take off their edge of fighting, and by representing to them the charge, and incommodities of War, he should at the same time imprint in them a hatred, and aversion to it. But what reasons can prevail with a pre-possess'd, and exasperated multitude? The people displeas'd at the difficulties the King laid before them, and suffering themselves to be seduc'd by the malepert Preachers of the League, who by their seditious Sermons had soon perswaded them into commotion, impos'd upon the King a necessity of beginning the War; and forgetting the respect due to the Majesty of their Prince, gave him in plain terms to understand, that he should not be safe in his own *Louvre*, if he did not forthwith betake himself to Arms.

The condition of the time, and the conditions of the Treaty lately concluded with the League, equally obliging the King to fall into speedy action, and also to serve himself with some of the Heads of that Party in this Expedition; his Majesty to comply with his own necessity, and likewise to satisfy that Article, dispatch'd the Duke of *Mayenne* into *Guienne*, against the King of *Navarre*, the Duke of *Guise* himself desiring to remain in his Government of *Champagne*, to guard the Frontiers, and that he might have in the other Armies. He was also to set on foot such persons, as he knew were faithful to him: He sent the *Mareschal de Biron* into *Xaintonge* against the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Joyeuse* into *Languedoc*, reserving for the Duke of *Espernon*, as a Servant in whom he repos'd the greatest trust, the Employment of *Provence*: A Government which being a little before left vacant by the Death of the Grand Prior of *France*, Bastard of *Valois*, had been conferr'd upon him; and a Province wherein (of all other) his Majesties Authority had the greatest need of support, having formerly been much weakned by the two contrary Factions that divided the State: Whereof one was commanded by the *Sieur de Lesdiguières*, Head of the *Hugonot* Party; and the other by the *Sieur de Vins*, the Kings Lieutenant there, but a man very partial to the League. His Majesty therefore desiring, amidst the confusion that was made by these two Parties, to secure the Countrey to himself, sent thither the Duke of *Espernon*, with a good Army, appointing *Monsieur de la Valette* his Brother, for his Lieutenant in that Service; neither was he deceiv'd in his choice: for in less than four months time, *Provence*, and *Dauphiné*

The Duke of *Espernon* sent with an Army into *Provence*.

Dauphiné were wholly settled in his obedience, the only part almost of the Kingdom, where his Majesty was effectively, and truly serv'd; and had he had many more such Servants to employ, his Affairs had certainly, and in a very little time, chang'd their face, and the Royal Authority been rescued from the Rebellious Insolence, that trod it under foot in most Provinces of France.

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The Office of *Colonel General* having given the Duke absolute Authority over the Infantry, there was great contest amongst the old Regiments, which should be prefer'd to follow him in this action, in which he made shift to satisfy the ambition of the greatest part; his Majesty (who gave him absolute power in matters of greater difficulty) being content, that his best Souldiers should serve under his trustiest Captain: so that he drew out a good part of the Regiment of Guards, of that of *Picardy*, and *Champagne*, with other Companies out of other Regiments, to the number of ten thousand Foot; to which was added twelve hundred Horse, and twelve piece of Cannon, with their Equipage.

The Duke, having about the end of Summer led his Army into *Provence*, put them immediately into vigorous Action. *Vins* was the first he undertook, who, having before been worsted by *Lesdiguières*, was in no condition of making any great resistance; and *Lesdiguières*, though victorious over the League, finding yet himself too weak to oppose the King's Army, conducted by so experienc'd Commanders, by withdrawing into his own strength, gave the two Brothers liberty to make themselves Masters of *Seynes*, *Breoules*, *Chorges*, and many other Considerable places as well in *Provence*, as *Dauphiné* with wonderful expedition: so that by these successes the two Factions, which had so long afflicted those two good Provinces, being equally suppress'd, the Duke had leisure to return to Court, where his presence was not a little necessary to countermine such Practices (of which *Monsieur de Villeroy* says in his *Mesmoires* the Duke suspected him to be Author) as were by his Enemies set on foot against him. Neither did the Duke need to make any great difficulty of retiring from *Provence*, considering the good posture he had brought Affairs into, and that he left his second self upon the place, not only in fidelity, and zeal to the King's Service, but also in valour, and experience; namely, *Monsieur de la Valette* his Brother: a man whose Vertues had acquir'd so great a Reputation with all worthy men, that he is never to be spoke of, without very worthy mention, and the highest Characters of Honour. But the Duke had

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Anno no sooner turn'd his back of *Provence*, and taken back part of the
 1586. Army with him, than the contrary Factions, encourag'd by this
 Division of the Army, made head anew: so that it was necessary
 to set another Army on foot to oppose them; the care of which
 now wholly rested upon *Valette*: nor did there need a more active
 and experienc'd Captain. His principal Exploits were against the
 League, to whose succour the Duke of *Savoy* came in person, an
 ambitious Prince, and one that watching all opportunities of en-
 larging his own Dominion, had from the Leagues first taking
 Arms, joyn'd himself with the Countess of *Saut*, the *Sieur de*
Vins, the *Compte de Corses*, and other persons of Quality of that
 side; neither has he (what Treaties of Peace soever have been con-
 cluded with the League) ever desisted from his first design of keep-
 ing that Countrey by force of Arms. But *la Valette* after having
 won from him the so celebrated Battel of *Vignon*, did so unces-
 santly press upon him, and in several other encounters obtain'd
 so many advantages over him, that he forc'd him to retire beyond
 the *Alpes*, and to let *Provence* alone. Neither did *Dauphiné* escape
 his diligence, for *Lesdiguières* finding himself too weak to meet
 him in the Field, gave him opportunity to withdraw *Geysens* from
 the Cittadel of *Valence*, which he held in the name of the League,
 having been plac'd in that command by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and
 to recover *Gap* into the King's Obedience. So that the two Factions,
 that of the League, and that of the Religion, being equally
 weakned by his Valour and Conduct; he then so establish'd
 those two Provinces in their duty, that it was afterwards no hard
 matter for him to continue them in that posture of Obedience,
 until the death of the King.

Whilst *Monsieur de la Valette* was employ'd about these brave
 Services for the Crown, *Monsieur de Villeroy*, a declar'd Enemy
 to the Duke his Brother, was no less busie, with all the ill Offices
 he could contrive, to ruine both their Credits with the King:
 Which though the Duke had long observ'd, and as long forbore
 to take notice of; yet could he at last no longer restrain himself
 from breaking out to a high, and publick Rupture with him. It
 was at *St. Aignan* that it happened, at the time the Army of *Rei-*
ters were preparing to enter the Kingdom; and that the King
 was consulting of the means to hinder their passage. I have al-
 ready given an account of the Animosities betwixt these two
 great Ministers, and the Causes that produc'd them, which per-
 haps I should not so punctually have done; neither should I now
 do it, had not *D'Avila* an Authour of great Repute for the History
 of that time enlarg'd himself more than ordinary upon this Dif-
 ference,

New discon-
 tents betwixt
 the Duke &
Monsieur de
Villeroy.

ference; as upon an accident very considerable, and of great importance to the general Affairs that were then in agitation.

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The Duke then, and *Villeroy* being upon these ill terms, the King at the especial instance of the Duke had assigned a summe of 20000 Crowns only, for the entertainment of *Monsieur de la Vaillette's* Army, a proportion very inconsiderable for the great end to which it was design'd; but very great considering the necessities the State was then in: which mony *Villeroy* (notwithstanding his Majesties Order) having diverted to the Payment of the Grand Provost, and his Archers, the Duke discover'd it to the King in open Council, complaining that a summe so disproportionable to the utility of his Brothers Services should be diverted to another use. To which Complaint *Villeroy* who was present reply'd aloud in his Majesties Presence, *That what the Duke had said, was not true.* It is easie to judge, whether the Duke, who was then rais'd to the highest degree of Favour, were surpriz'd with so tart, and so unexpected an Injury. I have heard him say, That in his whole life, he was never so sensibly offended; nevertheless he had so much power over himself, as to forbear all kind of violence in the Kings Presence, so much as from any extravagancy of words: neither made he other reply to *Monsieur de Villeroy* but this, *That the Presence of the King which had encourag'd him to give that Language, oblig'd him to be Silent: but that he should repent it.*

The King both disquieted, and displeas'd at this Quarrel, and willing to interrupt them from proceeding further, went immediately out of the Closet, expecting the Duke should follow him; but he staying behind, and being now no longer aw'd by the Reverence due to his Majesties Person, fell very severely upon *Monsieur de Villeroy* for the words past: some say he proceeded to high threats, that he had his hand up to have strook him, and that he gave him some very unhandsome language; though I never heard the Duke confess so much, in the many times he has discours'd of that business: But *Monsieur de Villeroy* immediately went and complain'd to the King of the Duke's Threats, demanding Assurance, and Protection from him; where receiving no very satisfactory answer, he waited time, and opportunity, by working his own revenge to procure his own Safety, which happened not long after, when we shall see the Duke's Valour frustrate all his Enemies Designs. But let us in the mean time return to the general Business.

We have already observ'd, that from the first insurrection of the League, the King of *Navarre* not doubting, but that all their preparations

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The entry
of the Re-
iters into
France, and
the Kings
prudent
conduct in
this War.

parations were chiefly intended against him, had earnestly solicited all the Confederates of his Religion, not only at home, but in Foreign Parts to his aid: but when he understood, that, by the mediation of the Queen Mother, the Treaty of *Nemours*, had been sign'd by the King himself at *St. Maur*; he, then foreseeing the storm that was ready to break upon him, very well knew, that he should infallibly be overwhelm'd, without a speedy succour. He therefore again press'd his Allies immediately to send their Forces, if they desir'd to find him in a condition to receive the effects of their Assistance, his Enemies so passionately precipitating his Ruine. The German Princes spurr'd on by this new Solicitation, and having yet been ancient Allies to the Crown of *France*, would, it should seem, proceed with some shew of respect, and thereupon concluded amongst themselves to send first an honourable Embassy to the King, before they would engage in so important a Quarrel. In this occurrence all the Court expected some Civil Remonstrance on the German Princes part; but they soon found themselves deceiv'd; for the Ambassadors either prevail'd upon by their Confederates in *France*, or transported with their own Zeal to Religion, and the passion they had for those of that Party, having publicly reproach'd the King with his breach of Faith towards his Protestant Subjects, it evidently appear'd, that their design was not to mediate an Accommodation; but to push things on to the decision of Arms, by giving the King a premeditated Affront. I have heard the Duke say that he was present at the delivery of this Oration, and that the King justly nettled at so saucy an Embassy, after having in the heat, and apprehension of so great an injury, spoken with greater eloquence, than ever till that time he had heard him do, he positively, and for a final answer, return'd the lye to whoever should reproach him with the breach of his Faith. The Ambassadors dismiss'd after this manner, fail'd not at their return home, to exasperate their several Princes to the last degree; who, being before resolv'd upon a War, made speedy and great Levies, and soon set such an Army on foot, as they thought, joyn'd to that the King of *Navarre* had already of his dependants, should be able absolutely to subdue the Catholick Party in *France*.

The King, as he very well foresaw what inconvenience the entry of such a multitude of strangers must of necessity bring upon his Kingdom, so did he by all imaginable ways try to prevent their coming: and seeing that nothing, but satisfying the King of *Navarre* could possibly divert that mischief, he once more try'd by the means of the Queen his Mother, if possible to

win

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win him to a timely accommodation. Which being by her undertaken, after many delays, scruples, and jealousies on both sides, a Conference was at last concluded on at *St. Brix*, a private house seated upon the Banks of *Charente* near *Coyneck*: but this Conference nevertheless being able to produce no good effect, by reason of that invincible difficulty, the difference of Religion, and the German Princes hastening away their Armies into *France*, his Majesty was forc'd to prepare himself to oppose them. A Resolution that he effected with so good orders, and so prudent a Conduct, that their defeat ought to live for a perpetual Monument of this Princes Wisdom, no man else having any voice in that deliberation. It was he alone who by his own Wise Counsels rendred all the attempts of his Enemies fruitless; it was he alone that overthrew them, and that having by his own prudent orders made them suffer those incommodities that unnerved them, and put them out of all defense, gave the Duke of *Guise* an opportunity, to win a great deal of Honour, with little trouble, and danger. So great an advantage it is to live in the publick opinion.

The King having employ'd all his care, and art to hinder the Reiters from entering into the Kingdom, and all to no purpose, and finding all Treaties, and all moderate wayes ineffectual to divert the blow, that was intended against him, he at last put on his wonted resolution, and determin'd bravely to encounter that danger, he then plainly saw he could not with all his dexterity prevent. Having therefore in this determination assembled his Council, to the end he might advise with his principal Ministers, about an Affair of this important consequence; and having there laid open the business to them, he found their opinions very different; neither is it strange that men of several judgments should dissent in a resolution of this high nature: some advised him to advance with his Army out of his own Confines, and there to expect, and fight the Enemy: others were of a contrary opinion; neither did the one, nor the other want reasons, or example to justify their advice. At last the King himself deliver'd his own opinion, which was, *To permit the Enemy quietly to enter the Kingdom, but withal to make them pass through so many difficulties, and to suffer so many necessities, that they should be already as good, as overcome, before they should come to fight.* He remonstrated to them, that to encounter them fresh, and in their trim, as they came out of their own Country, animated to War by the Interest of Religion, and by the compassion of their Confederates, were to expose things to a doubtful event. That the loss of a Battel, in the flourishing condition those of the Reformed Religion would be after such a Victory, would endanger
France,

Anno 1586. France, and the Catholick Religion. That he had a desire to preserve both the one, and the other, and to ruine his Enemies more leisurely: but withal more surely, and that there would nevertheless be Honour enough in the Victory, provided it were absolute, and entire.

* *Arriere-bans*, which upon examination I find to be in effect the same thing with our Train-bands

This being then the final Resolution, his Majesty gave order forthwith, that his Armies should be all ready in July following, to appear at *Meaux*, which he assigned for the general Rendezvous; and besides the present Forces that he intended to set on foot, he commanded that in every Province, the Nobility, and * Train-Bands should be ready to march at the first Summons. He dispatch'd also several Commissions for new Leavies, to the end, they might either serve to fill up the old Troops, as they should grow thin; or to stand for a reserve in case any thing should happen amiss to the main Army. He sent Commissaries on purpose to beat down all the Ovens, and Mills that were in his Enemies way, from the Frontier, as far as the place he had appointed for his own Quarters. He caus'd all the Grain of the Country to be fetch'd in, and stor'd up in the good Towns, with all Artificers, and Tradesmen of what condition soever. He caus'd all the defensible Cities to be fortified with Men, Victuals, and Ammunition; and on the contrary, demolish'd all such places as were not tenable, nor able to withstand a Siege. He commanded all the Bridges to be broken down, all the Fords to be spoil'd, and generally all things to be destroy'd, that might any way contribute to his Enemies advantage, or subsistence. He further sent to the Duke of *Lorain*, that it stood with his Interest, in this occasion, to do the same in his Territories; and having thus dispos'd all things, and the Duke of *Espernon* having highly applauded what he had done, he told the King with his wonted freedom, that there was one thing yet left undone; which, though it were more in his Majesties Power, and Royal Disposition, than all the rest, would nevertheless be the hardest for him to execute. The King commanded him to explain himself, and to tell him what that thing was, promising withal to satisfy him in it; whereupon the Duke growing more serious, told him, *That he humbly besought his Majesty to command his Army in Person, and alone without a Competitor that might dispute with him the Honour of a Victory, that, by his Prudent disposition of Affairs, was as good as certain to him.* Which the King solemnly promis'd him he would: but afterwards, according to his custom, giving too much ear to the Counsels of others, and not enough relying upon his own wisdom, he alter'd that resolution, and dividing his Army into two, gave the better part to the Duke of *Guise*, and so depriv'd himself of the whole glory of that Action,

to bestow it upon another. The Duke of *Guise* expert, and valiant, as any Prince of his time, had those Forces no sooner committed to his charge, but that he immediately march'd them away to the Frontiers of *Champagne*, to observe the Enemies motion, and to oblige them by his lying so near to march close together; which, considering the spoil that had before been made of the Country, was as great an inconvenience as they could suffer. The Duke of *Joyeuse* had also an Employment against the King of *Navarre*, to hold him in play in *Guienne*, and to hinder him from joyning with the Foreign Army, that came to his assistance. But the Duke of *Espernon* was reserv'd by his Majesty to attend upon his own person; as one in whom he repos'd an entire confidence, and as a man whose sole and utmost aim; the King evidently saw, was equally directed to his Majesties Honour, and to the Kingdoms safety: To him the King gave the command of the Vanguard of his own Army; in which Employment he so behav'd himself, both with his Valour, his Advice, and his Experience, that the very Historians of that time, though envious, as the greater part of men are, of the greatness of Favourites, could not forbear notwithstanding to attribute to him a very considerable share in the success of that memorable Defeat.

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de la Ligue.*

And here give me leave without being blam'd for a digression from my Subject, and that upon the Duke of *Espernon's* word, a man better read than any whosoever in the business of that time, to oppose his Testimony against a Scandal *D'Avila* has publish'd; not only to the discredit of the Duke of *Joyeuse* his Favour: but also to the infinite prejudice of his Honour. He says that the King, at the Duke's dismissal to go to the Army his Majesty had given him in command, gave him this reproach. *Che la Corte lo teneva in concetto di poltrone, e che gli era bene di levarsi questo fregio dal viso*: which is to say, That the Court look'd upon him as a Poltron, and that he should do well to wipe off that blemish. Towards the Dukes latter end, I read this History to him, which was then newly publish'd in *France*; and the Duke had very highly commended the Author, though in many particulars he had not spoken very favourably of him: above all he infinitely commended the exact care he had taken to inform himself of the secret motives, by which the several interests of that time were carried on; of which he does in truth for the most part render a very precise, and very often, a very true account: But when he heard these words, which were so highly injurious to the Duke of *Joyeuse*, he could not forbear crying out, That *D'Avila* was a liar, that he himself was present when the Duke of *Joyeuse* took his

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Anno 1587: leave of the King; that his Majesty could never have had so great a kindness for a man of whom he had once entertain'd so mean an opinion; that on the contrary he esteem'd him to be as valiant; and as brave a Gentleman, as any was in his Kingdom: And where D'Avila continues to say that he was become burthensome to the King; that the King could no longer bear it; and that he therefore sent him upon this expedition purposely to be cut off: the Duke of Espernon bore witness, that he saw the King weep at the Duke of Joyeuse his departure, than which there could not be a greater evidence of his tenderness and affection to him. That had the King had a mind to have been rid of him, and to have expos'd him to the King of Navarre's Forces, he would never have set him out with an Army, almost twice as strong, as that he was employ'd against, and made up of as good Soldiers as any were in the Kingdom: so that if he lost the Battel of Coutras, it was rather through the chance of War, or through the Valour, and good fortune of the King of Navarre, than by any default of his Army. And to answer yet further to what has been writ concerning his Favour, of which D'Aubigné only speaks by hear-say, making stories, as it is his custom at the random of his own passion, and fancy: The Duke has told me that the King was indeed grown colder towards the Duke of Joyeuse, than he had formerly observ'd him: but that he only attributed that to the Alliance the Duke had contracted with the House of Lorain, and that it was only a diminution of Favour, and never grew to a disgrace; and indeed, had his Majesty conceiv'd a positive aversion to him, would he have given such publick evidences of sorrow for his Death as he did? would he have honour'd his dead Body with that excessive Pomp, and those unusual Obsequies? which were such as gave all the Nobility occasion to murmur, having never before been allow'd to any, save to the Princes of the Blood, and to the Constables of France, exclusively to all other great men of the Kingdom. The Historians of that time have further discours'd of the jealousy betwixt the two Favourites: to which I can answer on the Duke of Espernon's behalf, that I could never find by any thing I could ever gather from him, that he had been in the least touch'd with that passion; neither is it very likely, considering the advantage the Duke visibly had in the Kings Opinion, there could be any jealousy on his part; but if there had formerly been any such thing betwixt them (as it is hardly possible but there must have been some emulation betwixt two concurrents in so high a pretense as that of a Kings Favour) the Death of the Duke of Joyeuse, and a long series of time having worn out those impressions, there now remain'd nothing more in the Duke

of

of *Espernon's* memory, than the remembrance of their near Relation, and former Friendship.

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Some time before the Duke of *Joyeuse* his Death, the knot of that Alliance had been broken by the death of *Catherine de Nogaret*, and *de la Valette*, the Duke of *Espernon's* Sister; who having at the King's motion, and to the common satisfaction of both the Favourites been married to the *Count de Bouchage*, younger Brother to the Duke of *Joyeuse*; after they had for four or five years only liv'd together in a most perfect harmony, this Vertuous Lady died, leaving one Daughter only behind her, namely *Catherine de Joyeuse*, the same, who having formerly been Dutchess of *Montpensier*, is now Dutchess of *Guise*; a Princess of undisputed Vertue, and such as has ever shone equally bright, throughout the prosperities; and afflictions that have divided her life. The *Compte de Bouchage* after having lost his Wife, finding nothing in the world either to allure him, or to comfort him, retir'd himself from it amongst the Father Capuchins; where he took upon him the Habit of that Order, and there continued some years, under the name of *Father Ange de Joyeuse*. 'Tis true, the Pope having since enjoyn'd his Superiours to perswade him abroad again, to the end he might be Head of the League in *Languedoc*, that he obey'd his command: but it was to return afterwards into the same order again, as soon as Affairs would give him leave, where he continued to his death, and died in great opinion of Sanctity.

And since, upon occasion, I have been drawn aside to mention this Marriage out of its due order, it is reasonable that I now speak of that of the Duke, which happened at this time. The Duke therefore having been offer'd a match with the Sister-in-law of his King, and having been esteem'd not unworthy to marry with the King of *Navarre's* Sister, her Brother being at that time immediate Heir to the Crown: It is to be presum'd he might reasonably pretend to the greatest Fortune whatsoever in *France* but amongst the many were propos'd to him, he prefer'd that with *Marguerite de Foix*, and *de Candelle*, Daughter and Heir to *Henry de Foix*, and *de Candelle*, and to *Mary de Montmorency*, before all the rest. The Father, and Mother of this Lady died both young, her Mother of Sicknes, and her Father at the Siege of *Sommieres*. For the Duke *de Anville* his Brother in law, having undertaken that Siege, the *Compte de Candelle* rais'd two thousand men amongst his Tenants in *Gascony* to favour his Design; a very considerable supply in the weak condition the Duke *de Anville's* Army then was; where being come, and finding the breach al-

The Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Espernon* and *Marguerite de Foix*, and *de Candelle*.

Aubigné.

Anno ready made, and the assault ready to be given, he intreated the
1587. Honour of the first Assault might be conferr'd upon his men,
 who he desir'd might give immediate proof of their Valour. A
 fatal request, which having been granted to him, his men went
 on with very great courage to the assault; where, being as reso-
 lutely receiv'd, they were at last beaten back: but the *Compte de*
Candalle, not being able to endure such a repulse, return'd to the
 Assault, and putting himself in his Doublet only at the head of
 his men, he repell'd the Enemy, and won the top of the Breach;
 when being now upon the point to carry the Town, an unfortu-
 nate Musquet shot in his Throat laid him dead upon the place.
 An accident, by which the Town, already as good as taken, was
 again lost with the life of the Conquerour. By the death of this
Compte, his Daughter being then but three years old, was left to
 the Tuition of *Francis de Foix*, and *de Candalle* Bishop of *Aire*,
 her Uncle by the Father's side, a Prelate who, having to the dig-
 nity of his Birth, added a singular knowledge in the profoundest
 Sciences, and chiefly in the Mathematicks, had the reputation of
 one of the most excellent Men, not only of his own time, but
 also of all Antiquity; Yet did not his diligence in study, though
 he were immeasurably addicted to it, hinder his due care of his
 Niece, either as to the Education of her Person, or as to the ma-
 nagement of her Fortune; for he deliver'd her over when very
 young, to the *Comestable de Montmorency* her Aunt, a Lady of sin-
 gular Vertue, who had earnestly desir'd it, that she might bring
 her up, as one of her own Daughters; which she accordingly
 did: and under her excellent Tuition this young Lady grew up
 to so great a perfection in all vertuous Qualities, that she won the
 general Applause, and was admir'd above all others of her Qua-
 lity in the Kingdom. To these eminent endowments of Mind
 she had yet the advantage of her Birth, and the reputation of her
 Fortune: For the first I shall need to say no more, than that she
 was ally'd to almost all the Crowns of *Europe*, and that from her
 Family descended the House of *Navarre*, that her Family had
 oblig'd *Hungary* with a Queen, and *France* with a *Gaston de Foix*,
 with other Captains of so incomparable Valour, as took place
 of the most eminent Leaders of their time. Their Estates had al-
 so been very great, and there yet remain'd in fair demeasnes to the
 value of above fourscore thousand Livers annual Rent; though
 to say truth, the Affairs of that Family had of late years been so
 ill managed, that there now remain'd but a very small part of
 that vast Revenue clear, and unincumbred with Debts. Her
 Estate therefore requir'd both a discreet manager to husband it,
 and

*Thom.**Bembo.*

and a man well furnish'd with money, to disengage it, and to restore it to that Splendor, and Reputation, in which it had formerly been: And if the Person of this Lady I speak of, was not endow'd with all those Criticisms of form the curious will have concur to the making up of a rare, and illustrious Beauty, she had yet so much, and that set off with so graceful, and so winning a Fashion, as oblig'd the Duke to become her Suitor; after which it was not long before the King concluded the Marriage. The Solemnity was held at *Bois de Vincennes*, the 7th. day of *August*, in the Year 1587. the King being then going against the Reiters, who were already enter'd the Borders of *France*. It is not long since I saw the Articles of that Contract, with the Inventories of the Dukes Estate, both Personal and Real, then taken in the presence of the Countess *de Ryberac*, and a Gentleman sent for that purpose on the behalf of the Bishop of *Aire*, and by his Letter of Attorney authoriz'd to manage that business. For the Bishop, what hopes soever they could give him of the obtaining of a Cardinals Hat, if he would come to Court, he could never be drawn from his Books, nor tempt'd to leave his Study: and his Ambition lying another way, that is, rather to search into the solid Truth, than the vain Appearance of things, he found a greater contentment of mind in his retirement, and solitude, than in all the lustre and bustle of the Court. There were few Writers of that time that do not make mention of the Dukes great Riches, and of the Kings unlimited liberalities towards him; and yet upon this occasion there was only found in Land, Jewels, Plate, and other Furniture, to the value of thirteen hundred thousand Crowns; which if a man consider the difference berwixt this Fortune, and those of many others, that we have since known, not only Favourites, but also men of very mean beginnings, that have been rais'd to far greater Riches, in a much shorter time, than the Duke was a Favourite, will appear no such prodigious proportion. His *Hostel* at *Paris* was also part of this Estate, which I have heard the Duke say, was then the best House next to the Queen Mothers, now call'd *l' Hostel de Soissons*, and so little inferior even to that, that after the Queens death he might have had it, advancing 10000. Crowns, in exchange for his own. I have made this observation that we may consider to what a degree of State, and Beauty the Structures of these latter times are got, when this House, that was then the second in *Paris*, has now scarce any name, amongst the many Structures that have been erected since.

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The Duke's
Estate at
his Mar-
riage.

Men have since been very liberal in their censure of the Duke's
Oeconomy,

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1587. *W* Oeconomy, ~~and~~ which many unjust to his Honour, and not very kind to him, have blemish'd with the name of Avarice: I cannot deny but that the Oeconomy of his House was great, neither do I see why that should not have its due Honour amongst his other Vertues; he being in this as much a Steward for the publick, as for his own private Interests: for who does not know that the Profusions of Princes, and the Prodigalities of Favourites, are ever to be repair'd by the Oppression of the People? He was a good Husband 'tis true, but his good Husbandry, far from the meanness of Avarice, serv'd only to maintain his greatness, and to enable him the better to support the lustre of his Expence without being chargeable to the King. It has ever been such, that from his first rise to Favour, during the whole course of his life, no man ever maintain'd a nobler Table at Court, a better Stable of Horses, a more numerous train of Attendants, and those men of Quality, and good Fashion, more stately Furniture, nor a greater number of inferiour Servants than the Duke did. His expence in Building infinitely exceeded all others of his condition, and all this without the least abatement in his ordinary way of living, without any visible incommodity in his Affairs, or without ever importuning the King his Master; which can only be attributed to his Oeconomy, and the prudent government of his Affairs, many other great Persons, of far greater Estates than he, having never been able to do such things, as he did with great ease, without apparent inconvenience, and great disorder.

The King, willing upon this occasion of the Dukes Marriage to continue his Liberalities, made him then a gift of four hundred thousand Crowns: but the Duke had never other advantage by it, than the bare testimony of his Masters good Inclinations towards him: For the Treasury being either wholly exhausted, or containing no more than was necessary to defray the immediate War, the money could no ways have been rais'd, but by a new Tax upon the People, which would have bred new Discontents; and though his Majesty notwithstanding desir'd such an Imposition might be laid; the Duke a truer Servant to his Masters Interests, than a Friend to his own, would never consent, but obstinately oppos'd it. The Papers are yet to be seen amongst those that were found at his Death, for an eternal monument of this good Masters Affection, and for a testimony of the small accompt the Servant made of a Benefit, that must be exacted with the clamours of the People, and that was likely to pull down a popular *Odium* upon his Benefactor.

Amongst the preparations that were made for the Duke's Marri-

Marriage, the King was still intent upon his business, not omitting any due care that might fit his Army to receive the strangers; who were now upon their March, under the command of the *Baron de Dona*, and were already advanc'd to the Frontiers of *Lorain*. There it was that the Germans first began to be sensible of those inconveniences his Majesties prudent Conduct had strew'd in their way, which still as they advanc'd further into *France*, where they promis'd to themselves a great abundance of all things (upon the false hopes wherewith their Leaders were prepossess'd, that the whole Court favour'd the King of *Navarre*, and that they had only the Duke of *Guise* to wrestle with) they found more, and more to encrease upon them, all things ^{being} remov'd out of their way that should any ways contribute to the support of so great a Body. And then it was that they plainly saw the vanity of those airy promises that had been made them; they found themselves in a few days oppress'd with hunger, thirst, and sickness, their Arms with rust dismounted, and useles, their Horses unshod, and themselves expos'd to all the other miseries, with which great Armies in long Marches, and in an Enemies Countrey are usually afflicted: By which misfortunes their eyes being opened, they began to fear, and to foresee those, that in a short time fell upon them: but amongst all those difficulties, that which troubled them the most, was their encounter with the Duke of *Espernon*; who, whilst they were trying to find a pass over the River *Loire*, having continually coasted them, and attended their motion with eight hundred light Horse, and five hundred Harquebusses on Horseback, and having by his activity, and vigilancy found an opportunity to beat up a Quarter of twelve hundred Light Horse, and to take the Cornets from them, they plainly saw by that action what they were likely to expect; for they had been made to believe that the Duke was won over to the King of *Navarre's* Party, a slander (which, having been first spread abroad by the League) those of the Reformed Religion made good use of, to encourage the strangers to enter the Kingdom: but they, having receiv'd so smart a proof of the contrary, were now undeceiv'd: and the more clearly they were convinc'd of their error, the more did their fears encrease; which begetting at first private mutterings, and growing on to publick murmurs, proceeded at last to an open Mutiny.

The Duke, well inform'd of this disorder in the Enemies Camp, began with great dexterity to manage their discontents to the King's advantage; he treated therefore for an accommodation, both with the Reiters, and the Swisse: the latter of which made

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The Reiters
enter into
France.

The Duke
Beats up a
Quarter of
the German
Horse.

De: Mef-
moires de
Ligne.

Anno 1587. made up a considerable part of that Army, all their Infantry almost being rais'd out of the *Swisse Cantons*; pressing nevertheless with his flying Army the Rear of the one, or the other; at the same time that he disturb'd their March, and their Quarters with his Armies entertaining them with overtures of Agreement, putting them at once in fear of the King's Force, and in hopes of his clemency: by which different ways of proceeding to one and the same end, the two Nations, equally perplex'd, at last hearkned to an Accommodation: which notwithstanding was concluded only with the *Swisse* at that time, and with them the Articles were agreed upon, and Sign'd under the King's good Pleasure, the 18. of *November* 1587. Which being afterwards ratified by his Majesty, they immediately retir'd into their Confines.

This great body thus separated from the Reiters, the remaining Army was in such perplexity, that there was now nothing, but disorder, and confusion amongst them; so that their courages being abated, by the extreme necessities they suffer'd by their being abandoned by their Confederates, who made up the best part of their Army, and by the fear of worse michiefs to come, they now thought of nothing more, than of retiring from the extreme danger they saw themselves envelop'd in: and then it was that they hearkned in good earnest to the Propositions which were then offer'd to them afresh by the Duke, though much harder than the former; neither could all the Intreaties, or Authority of their Leaders, as well French, as those of their own Nation, prevail any thing, or dissuade them from concluding a composition, and from retiring at last into their own Country. The Articles with them were Sign'd the eighth day of *December*, in the same year by the same Duke: by which it appears, that his courage, vigilancy, and Wisdom contributed not a little to the diversion of this dangerous storm, and to the preservation of the Kingdom from so powerful an invasion, as that of an Army consisting of forty thousand fighting men. Yet is it not to be denyed but that the Duke of *Guise* did also very brave service in this occasion; he defeated great numbers of them both at *Vilmory*, and at *Aulneau*: but in the condition they then were, ruin'd, and disarm'd by the King's forecast, beaten, and Disunited by the Duke of *Espernon's* Skirmishing, and Practices, it infinitely much facilitated the Duke of *Guise* his Victories, to have an Enemy reduc'd to such streights before he came to engage them.

The Reiters come to Composition, and retire.

But if the War was carried on with good success to the King in the forementioned engagements, things succeeded much otherwise on his Majesties part with the King of *Navarre*: for the Duke

Duke of *Joyeuse* having precipitated the Battel of *Contras*, the advantage of his Forces having blinded him even to a Contempt of the Enemy (an ordinary presage of Ruine to whoever is too secure of his Fortune) he there lost the Battel, with his Life, the twentieth of *October*, in the same year; together with as considerable a number of Nobility, and Gentry, as have almost fallen in one day in any one Battel in *France*.

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The loss of
the Battel
of *Contras*.

Some have believ'd that the King was neither so much displeas'd at the loss of this Battel, nor conceiv'd himself so much prejudic'd by it, as he imagin'd himself eclips'd by the Victory he soon after obtain'd over the Strangers; a deplorable effect of this Princes misfortune, who could neither be afflicted with his losses, nor yet absolutely satisfied with his success. We have already told you the Reasons the King had not to desire the King of *Navarre's* Ruine; so that he enjoyed in part his own desire in the loss of this Battel, which made for the support of the King of *Navarre*, and his Party; by whose assistance he thought with less difficulty to mate the ambitious Designs of the League: Whereas the Victory obtain'd over the Reiters, only serv'd to augment the Duke of *Guise's* Glory, who was his real, and capital Enemy. Hence therefore proceeded his disquiet, and affliction; and this was it that turn'd even the prosperous successes of his Arms to his vexation, and trouble.

His Majesty fearing lest the Duke of *Guise* puff'd up with the vanity of the popular esteem, and the opinion of his own merit, should take upon him the assurance to ask some of the Offices, which were vacant by the Duke of *Joyeuse's* Decease, conferr'd them all immediately upon the Duke of *Espernon*; who was in one day made Admiral of *France*, Governour of *Normandy*, *Caen*, and *Havre de Grace*: and the dispatches were deliver'd to him at *Gergeau*, the seventh of *November*, 1587. the Death of the Duke of *Joyeuse* hapning but in the end of *October* the same year.

The Duke of *Espernon* gratified with all the Offices vacant by the Death of the Duke of *Joyeuse*.

Neither was this the only advantage the Duke reap'd from the ill success of this Battel; for his Cousin *Bellegarde*, Governour of *Xaintonge*, *Angoumois*, and the Country of *Aulnis*, having there receiv'd a mortal Wound, and dying soon after, the Duke had also the Governments vacant by his decease conferr'd upon him: which, as we shall hereafter see, at his departure from Court afforded him the benefit of a secure, and honourable Retreat.

As also those of *Bellegarde* kill'd at that Battel.

Although the Victories obtain'd from the *German* Army were very great, and of great moment; yet were not the Designs of the Enemy utterly ruin'd by the Defeat, and Dissipation of those

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Des Mé-
moires de la
Ligue.

Monsieur
de la Valette
Defeats
part of the
Foreign
Army.
De Thou.

* The same
who in
D'Avila is
called Al-
phonso Corso.

Forces beyond the *Loire*. For the *Hugonot Party*, who were infinitely solicitous to adde all the vigour and encouragement they possibly could to their cause, were principally careful to re-inforce *Monsieur Lesdiguières*, who was effectually a very brave Commander, and one of the main pillars of their Faction. There had been therefore four thousand *Swisse* drawn out of the main Body of the *German Army*, and sent away into *Dauphiné* to assist him there, and to make him able either to oppose *Monsieur de la Valette*, or (if Fortune so favour'd their Arms) absolutely to drive him out of that Province; a Force, like enough to cut out a great deal of work in those parts: But *la Valette's* Fortune being here constant to his Valour, their coming only administred to him an opportunity, wherein to share with the Duke his Brother the Honour that was to be acquir'd in the Defeat of that Foreign Enemy: For opposing that great Body with only two thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, he cut them all off in their passage over the River *Lizere*. *Monsieur de Thou* says that there were not fifty Prisoners remaining; so that this may be reckon'd amongst the other great losses that Nation sustain'd in this Expedition. And that which makes it yet more remarkable, is, that *Lesdiguières*, and *Chatillon* being advanc'd on the other side of the River with three thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse to favour their passage, were beaten back, and constrain'd to look on, whilst their Confederates were all cut in pieces before their eyes, without being able to give them the least assistance. By this handsome action so happily perform'd, the hopes those of the Religion had conceiv'd, of reaping any signal advantage from their Victory at the Battel of *Coutras*, and by uniting with the Foreign Army, were utterly frustrated. Neither can I forbear in this place to give Colonel * *Aphonso*, afterward *Mareschal d'Ornano*, his due share of honour, who fought it with singular Valour; but still under *Monsieur de la Valette's* Conduct, and by his directions; with whom no man can dispute the absolute honour of that notable Defeat,

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After so many brave exploits atchiev'd by the King for the defense of his Kingdom, and after so considerable services perform'd by the Duke of *Espernon*, and by *la Valette* his Brother, for the publick safety; who would have imagin'd but that his Majesty should have been welcom'd home with a thousand blessings of his people, and that so good Subjects should have received the praises due to their Fidelity, and Valour? Nevertheless all these Victories, with the care, industry, and hazards that produc'd them, wrought a quite contrary effect, through the blind affection
the

the giddy multitude had violently plac'd upon the Duke of *Guise*. There was now no other discourse at *Paris* but of him; the Pulpits, Courts, and Publick Assemblies rung with his Name: it is to him only that they owe their Lives, and Liberties, and 'tis only his presence they desire. The King's own Person, and those of his most faithful Servants, are become odious to the *Parisians*. They talk high of transferring the Regal Dignity to the Duke of *Guise*. They scatter up and down Printed Libels, wherein from railing against the King, proceeding on to the King of *Navarre*; they would have him declar'd incapable of succession to the Crown, to the end there might remain no title to dispute the Duke of *Guise's* Possession. Nay to such a contempt of his Person and Royal Dignity they were grown at last, that these discourses were frequent, and loud in the Kings own Family; his most oblig'd Servants not daring almost to reply; renouncing by that poor and unmanly toleration, their own interest, whilst they abandoned that of their Sovereign and Benefactor. Neither was there any, save only the Duke of *Espernon*, a man that slighted his own danger, and despis'd the malice of all mankind, when his Masters Honour lay in the Ballance, who generously expos'd himself upon all occasions, to the publick violence, that he might preserve the integrity of his Duty. Of which to give you an instance, it hapned one day, in a great deal of company, that the Archbishop of *Lions*, a Prelate of a ready Wit, and great Elocution, but passionately zealous for the League, openly maintain'd, *That the Pope had Power to absolve Subjects from their Allegiance to their lawful Prince*: To which the Duke highly offended, as he had reason to be at so dangerous an Argument, made answer before them all, *That it would be as hard to persuade him to that, as to make him believe that the Pope could grant a Dispensation to a Prelate to lie with his own Sister*: Now you must know it was generally believ'd at Court, that this Prelate was too familiar with a person related to him in that degree; and as injuries make the deeper impression, by how much nearer they approach to truth: this so touch'd him to the quick, that he from thenceforward conceiv'd against the Duke a mortal, and implacable hatred. Neither was he long in finding out a way openly to express it; for his Arms being his Tongue, and his Pen (reputed one of the most eloquent of his time) he employ'd them both with all the rancour imaginable, to blemish the Duke's Honour; he set upon him with a thousand injurious Writings; nor did he fail, for so much as in him lay, to stir up a popular Fury against his Life.

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Neither did the Duke of *Guise* labour his overthrow with less vehemency on his part, than the Bishop did on his : and as he knew the Duke's Interest to be very great, and his spirit inflexible, and hardly to be reconcil'd ; so was he not content to endeavour his ruine obliquely, and underhand , but openly declar'd himself the Author of what he did, the better to effect his desire. And see the means he persu'd to work his purpose.

After the Reiters were driven out of the Kingdom , the Duke of *Guise*, accompanied with the principal Heads of his Party, retir'd to *Nancy* ; where seeing the great Forces he had about him, and promising to himself wonders from the precipitous affection of the People, he resolv'd to prepare some Articles, which should be presented to the King in the Name of the League : Wherein, as he conceiv'd himself in a condition to carry by a high hand, whatsoever he should propose , he principally insist'd upon the Duke of *Epernon's* removal from Court ; pretending him to be a great abettor of the Hereticks, the better to colour the persecution he intended against him : interpreting after this sort the affection the Duke had for the King of *Navarre* , and for all the Royal Family, though grounded upon principles far distant from being any ways interested in that Princes Religion, as his actions ever had, and then did most clearly demonstrate.

But as it was very unlikely that the King to satisfy his Enemies, should consent to the disgrace of his beloved Favourite , the Leaguers of *Paris*, to impose upon him a necessity of accomplishing the desires of their Party , conspir'd thenceforward to seize upon the person of the King, that so they might remove all future difficulties that might lie in the way of their Designs : neither did they fail much of executing that accursed Resolution. The Council of sixteen was at that time first set up in *Paris* ; neither is any ignorant what that Council was, how impudent their Proceedings, and how great their Authority with the People, even in the very face of the King himself. In this Council it was one day agreed upon to seize upon the King as he came from hunting from the *Bois de Vincennes* ; and it had accordingly been executed, had not the King (advertiz'd of their purpose) doubled his Guards at his return. That Plot therefore failing, there were divers other Ambuscado's laid for him during the Carnival, that often put him in great danger of being made a Prisoner to his own Subjects ; which being all happily evaded, by the timely information of one *Nicholas Poulin*, a Lieutenant in the Provosty of the Isle of *France*, who was privy to all these Cabals : Many of the Court, (who (as it is believ'd) favour'd the Designs of the League)

endea-

D'Avila.

A Conspiracy of the sixteen upon the Kings Person.

endeavour'd to render *Poulin's* Intelligence suspected, that the King discrediting his report, might at one time or another fall into his Enemies snare: But the Duke of *Espernon* in an occasion of this consequence, making no difficulty of hazarding his own life, to search out the depth of these practices, frankly expos'd himself to infinite danger, that so he might discover the certainty of so necessary, and so important a truth. Being therefore advertis'd by the same *Poulin*, that the sixteen had concluded an Assassinate upon him himself at the Fair of *St. Germain's*, whither the Duke usually repair'd to divert himself, with the entertainments of the season; he resolv'd to run the hazard, and accordingly went. The Plot was to have been executed by the Scholars, under whose name the Inhabitants of the Suburbs of *St. Germain's* were order'd to slip in to fortifie the attempt; all which being discover'd to the Duke, it was certainly a dangerous, and almost desperate adventure, he thrust himself into; and which must proceed from an unparallel'd affection, and a vertuous care he had of his Princes safety, to run so great a hazard in so critical a time, when even the Court it self was corrupted in the Conspirators favour. And the Duke might excusably enough have forborn going to a place where the danger was immediately directed against his own person, and might have made the experiment, and have penetrated into the bottom of this Conspiracy, by another, without endangering his own life: and doubtless he had done so, had he had only his own Interest to consider in the case; but then things would afterwards have been left doubtful, and the King's life had been still expos'd in the uncertainty of the truth of those cautions had been given him; which the Duke resolv'd by all wayes imaginable to put out of future danger. He went therefore to the place where he knew himself to be threatned with death; but that could not affright him, provided he might secure the life of his Master; and being thither come, found the intelligence had been given him, to be punctually true: neither did they fail much of effecting their design; for a sort of young people being gather'd about him, began to murmur, and from murmuring grew lowder into clamours, making shew at last, as if they would proceed to execute what they threatned: whereat the Duke not frighted with their noise, put himself into a posture to resist the violence intended against him; by which resolute carriage, having with as much courage, as good fortune, disingag'd himself, he leisurely retyr'd towards the *Louvre*, not a man daring to attempt any thing upon him, as if even his Enemies had been struck with a kind of reverence due to so brave, and so honourable an Action.

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*De journal
de Henry
III.*

After

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1588. After there was no further doubt to be made, but that *Poulin's* intelligence was true; and by how much the King's danger still encreas'd, by so much the greater was the Duke of *Espernon's* diligence, zeal, and ardour for the security of his Majesties Person: so that there pass'd not a night, wherein sometimes with two, sometimes with three, or four Companies of the Regiment of Guards, he walk'd not the Round into the most seditious Quarters of the City: and if at any time he had notice of any extraordinary Assembly, thither it was that he immediately repair'd with a stronger Party; nor did he ever go to rest, till he had first settled all things quiet, and had carefully provided for his Masters safety. So that it is not to be believ'd how many of the Enemies Conspiracies against the King's Person, were countermin'd, and frustrated, by his vigilancy and diligence. The sixteen seeing their Designs thus travers'd, and fearing to be prevented (for they now no longer doubted but that their Treasons were discover'd) dispatch'd away in all haste to the Duke of *Guise*, pressing him by all means, to make what speed he could to *Paris*; hoping by his arrival in the first place to be shelter'd from the King's Justice, and in the next to reap the fruits of their inordinate desires. Neither was the Duke long deliberating upon this Journey; the time as he conceiv'd, being as favourable, as he could possibly wish, for him to raise his Fortune to that prodigious height, to which his ambition had already design'd it: For the danger of the Foreign Army being already blown over, and the King of *Navarre* so depress'd since, that it was almost impossible for him ever to rise again, he thought he could never meet with so happy an occasion, and consequently prepar'd himself without further delay for his Journey. Of which resolution the King being advertis'd, and knowing that he was now on his way, and already advanc'd as far as *Soissons*, he dispatch'd away the *Sieur de Bellieure* to meet him, and to forbid him from coming to *Paris*; a command that added spurs to his desire, which usually in great spirits grows most violent, where it meets with most difficulty, and is most eager when most forbidden. But by this message the Duke presently imagining that his Designs were discover'd, and doubting that if he did longer defer to drive them on to their intended end, he was in danger to be prevented, and to see himself involv'd in the disaster, that commonly attends men who deliberate too long upon the execution of great Enterprises, he made all the haste he possibly could; and turning aside from the ordinary Road, for fear of meeting another command, which notwithstanding (his Ambition still presenting to him the image of that greatness to which he aspir'd) he was resolute not
to

to obey; he came at last with extraordinary diligence to *Paris*, surprizing all men with his sudden and unexpected arrival.

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At this time (which made still better for the Duke of *Guise*) the Duke of *Espernon* was gone to take possession of his Government of *Normandy*: where he had been receiv'd with great acclamations of the people both at *Rouen*, *Caen*, and the other principal Cities of that Province; so that all places there continued quiet, and firm in the King's Obedience, *Havre de Grace* only excepted, which alone stood out for the League.

But before the Duke's departure into *Normandy*, the King having (as it was his custom) taken him one day in his company to *Fresne*, his Majesty there in a private Conference discover'd to him the trouble, and disquiet the Duke of *Guise's* Resolution of coming to *Paris* had put him into, with the danger, to which his arrival (the absolute power the Duke had with the People duly consider'd) would expose both his Person, and Affairs; and there his mind equally possess'd with foresight, and jealousy, making him penetrate into the events of things, as if they had been present before him, he prophesied to the Duke almost all the misfortunes that befel him in a few days after. Whereupon the Duke freely told him that he saw only one way to avoid those mischiefs his Majesty foresaw, and that was to cause the Duke's Head to be strook off, even in the *Louvre* it self, should he be so impudent as to come to *Paris* contrary to his Majesties express command; an advice which he fortified with so many reasons, that the King bound himself with an Oath to do it; though when it came to the test, his resolution appear'd no more constant in this than it had done before in other occasions, as we shall presently see.

But if things were thus determin'd on the King's part, the Duke of *Guise* was no less diligent on his, and had omitted nothing that might any way conduce to the effecting of his Designs: and that he might not, at his coming to *Paris*, lie at the mercy of his Enemies, he had secretly, and by several ways sent thither divers of his best Commanders beforehand, with order to prepare all those of his Faction in readiness to appear in Arms upon the first occasion: and having thus provided for his safety, came himself to the City the ninth of *May*, in the year 1588. and attended only with * twelve, or fifteen Gentlemen, alighted at the Queen Mothers Lodgings; who though infinitely surpriz'd at his coming, went immediately along with him to the King: by whom he was receiv'd (notwithstanding that his Majesty had been before dissuaded from his first resolution) with so great a disorder in his countenance, as plainly denoted the contrary passions,

* *D'Avila* says but seven, *De Serres* says eight.

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1588. ons, that were then struggling in his mind. Which the Queen Mother perceiving, and knowing what a determination the King had put on against him; the execution of which she perhaps thought neither safe, nor easie; or perhaps willing to preserve the Duke, she took the King aside, and wrought so effectually with him, that she absolutely chang'd his mind (which was then wavering, and irresolute) from his premeditated purpose. Yet could she not so qualifye and appease him, but that he gave the Duke of Guise very manifest tokens of the highest Indignation: but after a few words, and those exceedingly bitter on the Kings part, the Duke retyr'd to his own house, where he more than ever continued his ambitious Designs, and seditious Practices. For his vast Courage, the excess of which had rais'd him above the condition, and debauch'd him from the obedience of a Subject, would (as it is believ'd) now perfect the work had been so long before contriv'd, and strike home to the main Design. All which though the King very well knew, and though he endeavour'd all he could to prevent him, and to deprive him of those means by which he was most likely to effect his purpose; yet those his Majesty employ'd, proving too weak to divert so great a mischief by their vain oppositions, only made the Torrent to swell higher, which soon after overflow'd the Banks with greater violence.

The Barri-
cades.

All the world has heard of the *Barricades* of *Paris*, a day of all others the most infamous to the *French* Name, and to the inviolate respect that Nation has ever born to their natural Princes, that ever hapned since the first foundation of that Monarchy. Of which, to write the particulars, were to deviate impertinently from my Subject: It shall therefore be sufficient to say, that the Duke of *Espernon* was not at *Paris*, when this disorder fell; but they there found his richest furniture, upon which the hatted, and avarice of the people wreak'd their utmost spleen, and extremest rancour.

The King
retires to
Chartres.

This storm of popular fury having continued the space of three days without intermission, or abatement; and the King, after the disarming of his Guards, and some other Forces he had then in *Paris*, having now no means left to defend his Person, which he saw in danger every moment to fall into his Enemies hands; the multitude preparing on every side to beset the *Louvre*, he made a vertue of necessity: and to evade the danger that still increas'd upon him, walking out at the back Gate of the *Tuilleries*, he presently took Horse in the Garden near to the Stables, and, attended only by sixteen Gentlemen, retir'd with all possible diligence to *Chartres*.

The

The Duke of *Espernon* was no sooner advertiz'd of this disorder, but that he presently hasted from *Rouen* (where the news was first brought him) to the King; and as he did believe, with very good reason, that his Majesties Enemies would not satisfie themselves with what they had already done, so he thought it fit to go well accompanied; neither did he a little revive the Court at his arrival, having above five hundred Gentlemen in his Train

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The Duke
of *Espernon's* arrival
at *Chartres*

They who have undertaken the History of that time, variously report the Duke's Reception at this place: *D'Avila* says his entertainment was very cold, and that the King looking upon him as his Enemies Pretense, for all the mischiefs they did, began to distaste him; yet he says soon after with a kind of contradiction, that his Majesty never went less in his affection to him, nor in the confidence he repos'd in him, from the first beginning of his Favour. Others write that he was receiv'd with great demonstrations of Favour and Esteem: of which both the one and the other say true; observing the due order of that little space betwixt the Dukes Entertainment at his first arrival, and that he receiv'd after he had been two hours in private Conference with the King.

Contradi-
ctions a-
mongst the
Historians
about the
Duke's Re-
ception at
Court.

It is most certain that this Prince afflicted with his Misfortunes, and reduc'd more than ever to the necessity of dissimulation, did not at first receive him with that excess of kindness he had formerly done; and it is likewise true, that apprehending at first sight some just reproach from the Duke's passionate affection to his Service, for that his Majesty had not put in execution what he had resolv'd upon at *Fresne*, his Majesty put on an unusual gravity at his arrival: But after he had talked with him, and that the Duke who was too discreet, at such a time, to offer the least syllable that might afflict his Master, had on the contrary rais'd his Spirits with new hopes, he then opened his Bosom to him more than ever; and having receiv'd his wonted good Counsels, entertain'd again the joy, and vigour, which seem'd to have been stifled in his Misfortunes, and began to meditate the means, and that with good hopes of success, of restoring his Affairs to their former Condition. And then it was that he caress'd the Duke with his accustomed freedom, honouring him in publick with as high demonstrations of Favour, as ever. It was at this Conference, that the Duke gave his Majesty an account of his Voyage, of the good condition, wherein he had left his Government, and what his Majesty might expect from thence: How all things were so well dispos'd there, that excepting *Havre de Grace*, the League possess'd nothing in that Province; and that even he who commanded there, had given very good hopes of returning shortly to his Duty: That

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the *Sieur de Carouges*, Governour of *Rouen*, formerly inclin'd to favour the League, was made firm to his Majesties Service, and that the people in general were as well dispos'd, as good Subjects could possibly be: An Account so highly satisfactory to the King, that he presently resolv'd upon a Journey into that Province; it seeming to him neither decent, nor suiting with his Honour to continue at *Chartres*; where to make a longer stay, would look, as if he were there shut up, and forbidden all the other parts of his Kingdom.

Neither was it without design, that the Duke spoke so advantageously to the King of the Forces of *Normandy*: And he could have wish't his Majesty had conceiv'd the same opinion of all his other Provinces; to the end that growing confident of his own Power, he might entertain the thoughts of Arms: For he certainly believ'd, that should his Majesty once undertake a War in good earnest, it would succeed infinitely to his advantage; that he would soon be in a condition to re-establish his neglected Authority, and to make himself fear'd of all his Subjects. But the King had already form'd other Designs, and the Duke of *Guise* seeming to him so strongly supported, that he could not depress him by open force, without endangering at once himself, and his Kingdom; he thought it safer, though less honourable, to lull him asleep with the hopes of Peace, than by open War to provoke his already approved Power.

The Duke of *Guise* also seeing the King escap'd out of his hands, and that he could no more impose upon him those conditions he had propos'd to the Queen Mother during the *Barricades*, was likewise not averse to an Accommodation. So that both Parties concurring in the same disposition, the business was quickly set on foot by the Queen Mother; who as she had been of the first, was now the Mediatrix of this Peace also. She had continued at *Paris* after the King's departure, and had not fail'd upon all occasions to possess the Duke of *Guise*, that the King was willing to be reconcil'd to him, and to forgive the *Parisians* upon their due Submission. Whereupon the Duke, the better to sound the King's intention herein, order'd the Parliament to attend his Majesty at *Chartres*, and there to offer him the first excuses for a fault which in its own nature admitted none: But the Provost *des Marchands* going before, and the *Eschevins* following after, both the one, and the other return'd with great satisfaction: Which the Duke of *Guise* seeing, and interpreting this flexibility in the King to an effect of Fear, he re-assum'd his former hopes, and again set on foot the same propositions, which he had before

so arrogantly insisted upon; to wit, that War should be proclaim'd against the King of *Navarre*, that there should be a Convocation of the *States General*; and that the Duke of *Espernon* should be banish'd from Court, with a privation of all his Offices: Upon which last Article he chiefly insisted, openly declaring, that there could be no durable Peace, nor no sincere reconciliation, so long as he had so great an Enemy as the Duke in the Kings Bosom.

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The Queen Mother, as has been said before, had long been jealous of the Duke of *Espernon's* Power, with the King her Son; neither indeed could she well brook any Favourites, but those who stood immediately oblig'd to her for their Fortune; an humour had made her so much the more impatient of the Duke's greatness, because it was an advantage for which he was indebted to none, but to his Masters bounty. She had often therefore preit the King for his removal, as the only means to satisfy the League, had propounded several honourable Employments to colour his disgrace, and not long before would have had him sent Ambassador to *Rome* to justify the King from the aspersions, the League had cast upon him to the Holy Sea: but his Majesty who was as perfect in the Nature, and Designs of the Queen his Mother, as she was in his, had still been constant to his Servants Protection; and the Duke, having been bred up in the School of so politick a Master, had learn'd so much cunning, as had hitherto ever rendered all those Artifices ineffectual, by which she had so often, and so industriously labour'd his Ruine.

But at last the Queen (knowing how important the present occasion was to the Kings Repose) embrac'd it with that fervour, that in the end it procur'd the Dukes so long wish'd for removal. She had the management of the Treaty in hand absolutely committed to her, with the choice of any two of the King's Council to assist her; of which, such as she knew were affectionate to the Duke, you may be sure must have nothing to do in this business; so that it was no hard matter, all parties concurring in the same design to conclude his disgrace: and in conclusion, the King was plainly told, that it was absolutely necessary for him to dismiss the Duke of *Espernon*, if his Majesty intended to have that Peace, he seem'd so passionately to desire.

To the same end there was then Printed a *Manifest*, subscrib'd by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, as Head of the League; wherein the whole Faction were very importunate for the Duke's total Ruine, together with *Monsieur de la Valette* his Brother; his bare removal from Court being now too little to satisfy their Malice: the

The League
Print a *Ma-*
nifest
against the
Duke of
Espernon,
and his
League
Brother.

Anno 1588. League in this sole point comprehending the suppression of the Hugonot Party (of which they said the two Brothers were the Protectors with the King) the redress of the people (oppress'd to enrich them) and the satisfaction of the great ones; who might easily be contented with those Offices, and Governments, which the two Brothers now possess to their common prejudice.

The Duke resolves to give way to the time, and to retire.

The Duke who very well foresaw that he must either comply with the time, or reduce the King to a necessity of taking up Arms to protect him (which would have made him responsible to his Majesty for any sinister event that might happen) chose the lesser evil; and would rather alone undertake the defense of his own Fortune, than be any ways the occasion of so great a mischief. He saw the Kings mind perpetually fluctuating, and continually alarm'd with the Counsels of his Enemies; which, in his Majesties astonishment, grew still more, and more prevalent with him; he saw the powerful Faction of the League wholly Arm'd against his Person; neither was there any who did not conclude his ruine inevitable in so dangerous a conjuncture, should he be once, though but a moment, remov'd out of the King's Protection: but he had courage enough to run the hazard, and his undaunted Spirit (notwithstanding he very well understood his danger) made him resolute with his own single Interest to stand the shock of all his Adversaries. I ought here to adde yet another Motive the Duke had to retire from Court; a thing which will perhaps hardly be believ'd, though it be precisely true: but it merits a due place in the Duke's History, as the noblest testimony of a generous heart, and this it was. The Duke had understood something of the King's intention to cut off the Duke of Guise, by those ways by which it was afterwards effected at Blois; and not being able to divert that resolution, he chose rather to absent himself, than to be present at an action he thought so unworthy of his Masters Authority, and Greatness, though it redounded to his own particular preservation. 'Tis true, that in the first motions of the League, he had advis'd the King to take up Arms, to chastise him; that he had afterwards counsell'd him to cut off his Head at the very Gate of the Louvre; when the Duke came in contempt of his command to raise that Commotion in Paris; and that he had offer'd himself to fight him hand to hand in Duel; but he could by no means consent that his Majesty should commit an Act so unworthy of his Name: And this in truth was as powerful a Motive as any, to oblige him to retire.

There is great diversity of Opinions amongst the Historians of that time about this retirement of the Dukes, whether, or no, it were

were frankly, and of his own motion; whether he were dismiss'd with the King's good Opinion, and Favour; or whether he went not away in a real disgrace; which they severally report, every man according to his particular passion: But *D'Avila* much better inform'd in the Affairs of the Cabinet, than the rest, inclines to the more favourable opinion, and says (very truly) that the Duke resolv'd upon this retirement of his own voluntary inclination, and that to the King's great grief; who notwithstanding, compell'd by the necessity of the conditions impos'd upon him in the Articles of Peace, consented to it: And of this truth there are two evident proofs; One, the great familiarity, and privacy the Duke had with the King some days before his departure: and the same *D'Avila* records, a very remarkable, and a very true passage upon this occasion. That the night preceding this separation, the Abbot *del Bene*, a great confidant of the Duke's, and a man in great esteem with the King, for his excellent parts, (of which his Majesty made continual use in his Politicks; a study in which he was strictly regular) was shut up alone with the King in his Cabinet for many hours; not so much as the Grooms of his Majesties Chamber permitted to come in all the while; by which he conjectures; and very rightly, that his Conference was in order to some Instructions, which were to be convey'd by the Abbot (who was to accompany him in his retirement) to the Duke, for his future Conduct, during the time of his absence: And I have heard the Duke say, that he never in all his life receiv'd so many Testimonies of his Masters Affection, as he did at this time. His Majesty being pleas'd not only to chalk him out what he would have him do, and what he would have him avoid, during his retirement; but also adding a thousand Protestations, that he would sooner abandon his Crown, than his protection; and that he had not consented to his departure, but with a resolution to recall him speedily back to Court with greater Honour, and to confer upon him greater advantages, than he had ever yet done: Commanding at the same time the Abbot *del Bene*, not to stir from him, to have a care of his Person, and to be assisting to him with his Counsels, in whatever Accidents might happen, and in all the difficulties, and dangers he well foresaw would by his Enemies be prepar'd against him. The other proof, that the Duke was dismiss'd in a high state of Favour, was this, that his Majesty made him at his departure, *Generalissimo* of his Armies in the Provinces of *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Perche*, *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, *Angoumois*, and the Country of *Aulnis*, with absolute Power to command: which certainly he would never have done, had his disgrace been really true, and not merely

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Several
opinions
upon the
Dukes re-
irement:

Anno 1588. merely dissembled to satisfy the insolent demands of the League, and to comply with the necessity of the time.

Things being thus dispos'd, the Duke went to take his leave of the King, and to receive his Majesties final Commands; where, his affection in so great an extremity, suggesting to him the honest liberty, a passionate, and faithful Subject may justly take, he freely told him, *That it was not without an extraordinary violence upon himself, that he came to beg leave of his Majesty, that he might retire into his Governments, where he hop'd nevertheless to do his Majesty better service, than if he should continue about his Person. That to his extreme grief he saw of late his Majesties safest Determinations, and the Counsels of his most faithful Servants perverted by the Artifices of those evil Ministers, who had usurp'd a greater share in his Royal Trust, and Confidence, than was consistent with the prosperity of his Affairs. That the Queen his Mother (however an excellent and prudent Princess) was notwithstanding abus'd, as his Majesty himself was. That seeing no cure for this evil, he had rather chosen to deprive himself of the Honour of being near his Majesties Person, than to be an unprofitable Spectator of those inconveniences into which his evil Counsellors were about to precipitate his Affairs. That as to that hour no man could reproach him that any of his Actions had been contrary to his Majesties Service; so he would not for the future, by a toleration unworthy a good Subject, and an honest Man, draw any jealousy upon his Intentions. That by an excess of bounty, and oftentimes contrary to his own desire, his Majesty had enrich'd him with so many Possessions, Honours, and Offices, that he had nothing left to desire of Heaven; but Moderation in a Prosperity rais'd so infinitely beyond his Hopes. That having receiv'd these benefits to no other end, than to employ them in his Majesties Service, he should be ready to surrender all upon command, if by his Spoils any advantage might accrue to his Majesties Affairs. That for the sum of all Obligation, and for a final Testimony of his Majesties good Inclinations towards him, he had only two Requests to make: the first, That his Majesty would never confer any of his Offices upon any of the League; and the other, that so often as his Enemies should by their Malice seek to ruine him in his Majesties Favour, he would please to recollect the infinite Obligations he had laid upon him; which was the greatest pledge of Fidelity, a good Servant, and an honest Man, as he pretended to be, could in his absence possibly leave with so good a Master.*

The King though already prepar'd for the Duke's departure, yet touch'd with so sad a Farewel, could not refrain from Tears; and his friendship producing the usual effects that all true friendships ordinarily do in such occasions, made him forget the conditions he was bound to perform, and once more to reiterate all

forts

sorts of perswasion to make him stay : In which importunities, though some have believ'd there was more of dissimulation, than real truth ; yet it is certain, that his Majesty in this proceeded with a most sincere affection, and that looking more narrowly into the condition of his Affairs, and considering he was about to surrender his Person into the hands of his Enemies, by whom he saw himself already environed, he could have been content to have retain'd a Servant of so approved Valour, and Fidelity about him. But the Duke having so often try'd, and so often found it impossible to settle the King's mind to such resolutions as were most proper to secure his Dignity with Honour, could never deliberate to look on, and see the continuation of those evils, for which he could neither see, nor hope for any possible Remedy.

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Remaining then firm in his resolution to depart, he made a voluntary surrender of his Government of *Normandy* into the King's hands, which was as soon transferr'd to the Duke of *Montpensier*, a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*, very affectionate to the King's Service, and Father to *Henry of Bourbon*, likewise Duke of *Montpensier* ; the same, who in succession of time came to be the Duke's Nephew by a Marriage with *Catherine de Joyeuse* his Neece, she, who (as we have said before) is now Dutchess of *Guise*. And this, of all those Offices the Duke stood seiz'd of, was the only resignation the King would consent to, whatever *D'Avila* is pleas'd to say to the contrary. He says that the King importun'd the Duke to make a surrender of all his Employments at once, excepting his Government of *Provence* : but that the Duke, who was a man of exceeding great understanding, and bred up by the King himself in all the Stratagems of State, rais'd so many difficulties, and made so many exceptions against the persons of all those who were propos'd to succeed him, that suddenly departing, before any thing was concluded, he dexterously disingag'd himself from so nice, and so dangerous a Proposition. It is certain notwithstanding that the Duke was never press'd to lay down any of his Offices : and if he did surrender his Government of *Normandy*, it was not only a voluntary act, but founded upon mature deliberation, and great judgment, as a Province that was near neighbour to *Paris*, separated many Leagues from all the rest of his Governments, and in which his Enemies had so great Interest, that his Presence would be necessary to secure it ; neither considering the strong Faction they had within, was it certain to be secur'd. So that not being able amongst so many persecutions, as he saw prepar'd against him, to maintain all his Charges at once, he rather chose to part with that he was not likely to keep, at least with-

Anno 1588. without exposing all the rest, than to abandon the other strong Holds, and Places in his Possession; which though (particularly consider'd) they seem'd to promise less, than so important a Government as that of *Normandy*; yet that by their vicinity to one another were more likely to be kept, and to be more serviceable to him.

The Duke retires into his Governments.

Thus then parted the Duke of *Espenon* from Court in June 1588. and retir'd himself to *Loches*, though far otherwise than in the equipage of a declining Minister, or attended like a Favourite laps'd into disgrace; but with a numerous train of above three hundred Gentlemen, and those of so good Quality, as that he employ'd the most of them for the raising of such Forces, as he had order from his Majesty speedily to set on foot. But that which rendred him every where more considerable, than this outward shew of greatness, was his brave, and unbated Courage, of which he had given so many signal testimonies in his Prosperity, that there was nothing left, but such a disgrace as this, to give it the utmost test, and the last tryal of a noble Constancy. Being come to *Lochis*, he presently set himself to look into the state of those Provinces newly committed to his charge; where by establishing such order as he thought convenient, by the dispatch of his Levies, and by disposing his men into the most important places, he prepar'd himself betimes to encounter such Accidents, as the severity of the time was likely to produce.

Soon after the Duke's departure, the King went his Journey into *Normandy*: where the greatest Obstacle, being now remov'd, the Treaty of Peace went on without any further impediment, and was presently after concluded; the King (who had already determin'd how to dispose of the Duke of *Guise*) making no great difficulty to grant him what he was resolv'd he should not long enjoy.

The Peace concluded, the Edict of Union was publish'd, first at *Rouen*, and then in all parts of the Kingdom; after which they immediately fell to the raising of Arms, for the utter suppression of the King of *Navarre*, and his Party. But above all things, the King was careful to hasten the necessary Dispatches for the Convocation of the *States General* at *Blois*, in the beginning of *October* next ensuing, an Assembly equally desir'd by the King, and the Duke of *Guise*; but to different ends: The Duke hoping there by the joynt suffrages of the several Orders of the Kingdom to see himself plac'd in that degree of height, to which his great Spirit, and vast Ambition, had so long aspir'd; and the King resolving there, and at that time to quench his restless and inordinate

nate Ambition in a torrent of his own Blood. Thus do we often see the purposes of the greatest Politicians deluded, who, when they think they have brought their Designs by the most infallible Rules, and Maxims of Humane Prudence to an almost certain Issue, find themselves deceiv'd, and usually meet with effects quite contrary to their expectation; giving us to understand, that we ought not to commit our actions to the blind conduct of our own frail and erroneous foresight, but into the hands of Providence, that governs all, and that brings all things to their determinate end.

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The Edict of Union being sworn, the Duke of *Espernon* remov'd from Court, and the King satisfi'd (at least in appearance) with the Duke of *Guise's*, and the *Parisians* excuses; the Duke confident in the Queen Mother, (who was of late become absolutely powerful with the King) had nothing now to hinder his coming to Court; so that upon his Majesties return out of *Normandy*, he immediately repair'd to him, and having found him at *Chartres*, he there in person deliver'd the same Apologies, he had not long before presented by the Mediation of others. All which his Majesty received with a Dissimulation, that was not only natural to him; but that by a long Practice, and by the continual traverses, and difficulties of his Reign, was grown to such a habit in him, that it was no hard matter for him to put on any kind of Language, or Behaviour, on any occasion wherein he was most likely to be surpriz'd: So that in outward shew the King was so well pleas'd with no Company (as indeed it was almost all he had) as with the Duke's, his Relations, and Confederates. Amongst which the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was now also come to Court, was entertain'd with extraordinary marks of Favour, and Respect; neither was there any Commands, or Offices, Military or Civil, granted to any, but by their recommendation: insomuch that some have thought the Duke of *Guise* by winning, and submissive carriage, had made some real impression upon the Kings Inclinations, and that his Majesty was dispos'd really to love him, as he had formerly done, if he could have moderated his Ambition, and would have laid aside those designs which rendred him suspected to him.

The Duke
of *Guise*
comes to
Court.

In a conjuncture so favourable to their Designs, neither the Duke of *Guise*, nor those of his Faction slept in their Business; but with all possible industry, still more, and more labour'd the Duke of *Espernon's* total Ruine, as a thing that imported most of all to the confirmation of that Authority, and Trust, to which they saw themselves by his removal already advanc'd: So that

Anno 1588. the King being daily afflicted with a thousand Accusations against him, and wearied by their importunities, was at last so far overcome, as to consent that many of his Offices should be taken away, being not yet to be prevail'd upon for his absolute Ruine. Whilst the Duke was present, he continually by his good Services fortified his Masters mind, against all impressions of calumny, his Enemies could invent, to the prejudice of his Fidelity, and Honour, and had ever triumph'd in his Majesties good Opinion, over the Envy and Malice of his Detractors: but he was no sooner remov'd out of his Eye, than that Confidence began to stagger, his detractors representing him for an Enemy to the Crown, a Friend to the King of *Navarre*, and one that seducing daily all the Garrisons in his Government to a Revolt, was upon the point to Proclaim open War against the King himself.

In the mean time the Duke had very good Intelligence of all that pass'd at Court; he very well knew that his Enemies made use of all imaginable ways to destroy him, that the King was by them perpetually facilitated against him; and that consequently it concern'd him in common discretion to frustrate their Designs, and to provide for his own safety in the strength of those places he possess'd: Neither was he much surpriz'd at the unexpected news of what the King had consented to against him, he was very well acquainted with the constitution of the Court, and had very well foreseen what would certainly be attempted against him; but he could hardly perswade himself, that his Majesty could ever forget his Fidelity, and good Services; yet did he not for all that neglect his own preservation, that he might live to do him one day more, and better Service: the only revenge this faithful honest Servant meditated for the ingratitude of his Master.

He fell therefore presently into Consultation with his Friends, what course he were best to take; a Debate wherein Opinions were very different: some there were who advis'd him to return to Court, representing that his presence would infallibly disperse all those shadows of mistrust, which by his absence his Adversaries had had opportunity to possess the King's mind withal; that his tried Fidelity would soon recover its former place in his Majesties Opinion, and that then he would soon be in a condition to return the mischiefs had been intended against him, upon the heads of the first contrivers. Others there were who gave him counsel to put himself into *Metz*, others to make immediately for *Provence*, and some of those there to joyn with the King of *Navarre*; That to that purpose he should first go into *Angoumois*, whither he might suddenly, and with great facility convey himself, where
he

he had a strong City to retire unto, and where he would be in a Country very convenient to favour his Passage into *Provence*; by the way of *Guienne* and *Languedoc*; the Friends he had in those two Provinces being enough to make his way, through the one, and the other, should he be put upon a resolution of retiring thither.

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The first propositions being accompanied with great, and almost invincible difficulties, the Duke wholly adher'd to the last advice, and so far follow'd it, as to retire to *Angoulesme*, without joyning himself nevertheless (though infinitely solicited so to do) with the King of *Navarre*. A thing impossible for him to resolve upon, had he been so inclin'd, for two Reasons; First, by reason of that Princes Religion, and secondly, because being a declared Enemy to the King his Master, the Duke would rather have perish'd a thousand times, than appear to favour, much less to engage with such, as he knew acted positively against his Majesties Service.

One of the Duke's old Servants * *De Guez* by name, a man of fourscore and eight years old, but notwithstanding so entire in his Judgment as discover'd nothing of the infirmities of Age, gave me not long since a full Relation of all these Circumstances. He was at this time about the Duke's Person, and (as one of his principal, and most trusty Servants) present at this Deliberation; when the Duke asking his particular Opinion of all, had been propounded to him, *De Guez* told him, that he believ'd the resolution he had already taken, to be without all dispute the best, provided it were put into speedy execution: but that it was to be fear'd, that whilst he stood deliberating with his Friends what was best to be done, his Enemies, who were very powerful, and already resolv'd what to do, might effect something to the prejudice of his Fortune; and that the least moments were to be husbanded in a business of so great consequence as this. An advice that being soon consider'd of by the Duke, he immediately commanded that every one should make himself ready to depart within two days; neither did he longer defer it, but accordingly put himself upon his way to *Angoulesme*, and that very seasonably, as by the following discourse will suddenly appear.

* *De Guez*
was *Balzac's*
Father.

But before the Duke left *Loches*, he was presented with a discourse, by way of Apology in the behalf of himself, and his Brother, against the Calumnies contain'd in the forementioned *Manifest* of the League: a piece so eloquently couch'd, and set forth with so many powerful, and so pertinent Arguments, that it is certain the Leaguers could afterwards have wish'd they had never assaulted the Duke by the way of writing, that so they might

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The Duke
publishes an
Answer to
the *Mani-
fest* of the
League.

not have drawn upon themselves so tart a Reply. I forbear to transcribe it in this place, because it would swell this Volume with things that are elsewhere, and in better language, than I should perhaps express it, to be found: But *Monsieur de Thou*, one of the most celebrated Historians of these latter times, thought it a Discourse worth inserting at length in his History; and having translated it out of the Original, into his own elegant Latine, has commended it to all the Nations of Europe, where his works are read with an universal applause. And although the Duke never thought of justifying his actions that way, and that he had so little a share in this answer, as neither then, nor ever since, to know his name, who undertook his Quarrel and Interest with so friendly a Zeal (a thing somewhat hard to believe, that a man who would oblige the Duke at so kind a rate, should deprive himself of the thanks justly due to so great an obligation) he nevertheless took it upon him, and publish'd it in his own name, that all the world might be satisfied both with his and his Brothers Innocency: and certainly it wrought upon all disinterested spirits impressions very disadvantageous to the covert practices of the League.

The Duke
arrives at
Angoulesme.

Having caus'd this Declaration to be publish'd, he departed towards *Angoulesme*, where he safely arriv'd in *July*; and where the several Orders of the City contented with great emulation, which should give the greatest testimony of joy for his Arrival. Being thither come, the Duke would needs take up his Lodging in the Castle, which although it was only a rude pile of stone, and naked of all defense, (though by him afterwards fortified, and made more considerable) and though there was in the same City a *Citadel*, much stronger, and more commodious, commanded by the *Sieurs de Bordes*, a particular creature of the Dukes; yet to shew the Inhabitants how entire a Confidence he repos'd in them, he would rather choose to lie in the other, and that with so much civility to the Town, as that he permitted not one of the Souldiers he brought along with him so much as to come within the Walls of the City.

The King
commands
the Inhabi-
tants of the
City not to
receive the
Duke.

Two days after his Arrival the *Sieurs Nesmond*, Chief Justice, and *Normond* Consul of the City receiv'd dispatches from the King, Sign'd by *Monsieur Villeroy*, wherein his Majesty positively commanded them, not to admit any whomsoever with any Forces into their City, without his express Order; whatever they might pretend, or what Commissions soever they should produce to the contrary. And indeed his Majesty had been so importun'd to exclude the Duke from this important place (being withal made

made to believe that he had only left *Loches* in order to a closing with the King of *Navarre*) that being unwilling to have that Faction strengthened, by so powerful, and so active a Confederate, he had consented to this dispatch: but the Duke's diligence having prevented this command, so frustrated the execution of it, that whereas it had before (had these orders come in time) been a very easie matter to have kept him out, it was now impossible to obey the Kings desire, he being got in, or to thrust him out again, who had already made himself Master of the place.

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But too
late.

The Consul notwithstanding communicated the Orders he had receiv'd to some of his Relations, and most intimate Friends; where the greater part of those he consulted about this business, being inclin'd to the League (and it is hardly to be imagin'd how strangely that contagion had diffus'd it self throughout the whole Kingdom, no Family almost being without one, or more of their Party; no City without some notorious Ring-leader of their Faction; nor no Province wherein their Interest was not grown to a formidable height) it was soon resolv'd upon, that (since the Kings pleasure could not now be fulfill'd in the precise Form his Letters prescrib'd) to propose to his Majesty other ways, by which (as they conceiv'd) they might work as considerable, if not a more advantageous effect, for his service, than they could have done, by that it was now too late for them to perform. The Consul therefore dispatch'd away to Court one *Souchet* his Brother-in-Law, a notable Leaguer, and a bold Factionous Fellow, to acquaint the King with his Design; which was, to seize upon the Duke's person, and to detain him Prisoner in the City, till his Majesties further Order: who accordingly arriving at Court, and addressing himself to *Monsieur de Villeroy*, made this Proposition to him, and was by him very well receiv'd. *Villeroy* promising to acquaint the King with the good affection of the Inhabitants, and to give him a speedy answer. I shall not here make shie of delivering plainly what I have receiv'd from the Duke's own mouth upon this occasion, and that without fear of reviving Animosities long ago extinct; the Duke, and *Monsieur de Villeroy* having often since (and that with some kind of delight) discours'd themselves into a better intelligence about this Subject: So true it is, that time is a Sovereign Remedy for the most violent passions, no former unkindness betwixt these two great Ministers being of force to hinder the mutual esteem they had of one anothers Vertue in their later years, from ending in a most sincere, and perfect Friendship.

The King's answer to *Villeroy* was, that he should be glad to have

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have the Duke within his power, that so he might hinder him from joyning with the King of *Navarre*; but withal, if it could not be done without endangering his Person, that they should by no means attempt it; his Majesty being neither willing to have him destroy'd, nor exasperated, but only restrain'd within the bounds of his Duty: Which were the very words his Majesty repeated to the Duke at his return to Court, graciously adding, that it was in order to a speedy recalling of him about his own Person, where he intended to use him like a Son (a title by which his Majesty was ever pleas'd to Honour him in his Letters, and ordinary Discourse) as hitherto he had ever done. But this was too nice a Commission for his Enemies to work upon, who would by all means make use of this occasion the hair-brain'd Citizens presented to them, to take a full revenge of former injuries: for after the business had been communicated to the Duke of *Guise*, it was told *Souchet* by *Monsieur Villeroy*, that it was the King's desire, they should take the Duke Prisoner, and that they could not do his Majesty a more acceptable service. Whereupon *Souchet* having reply'd, that it would be an enterprize hard to execute so, as to meet with no opposition; and that in such a case he desir'd to know how they were to behave themselves: he was further order'd to take the Duke alive, or dead; that such was his Majesty's intention, and that it was a business of so great importance, that both he, and all others, who should be employ'd therein, might certainly expect a recompense proportionable to the merit of the Action. Some have further added, and it was a common report, that a man utterly unknown to *Souchet* was disguis'd in his Majesty's Cloaths, and taught to pronounce this Command, as if it had come from the King's own mouth: but however it were carried, certain it is that *Souchet* could not have return'd more fully perswaded, than he did.

At his return he acquaints the Consul with his Instructions (at a private place without the City) who hoping to do the King a signal Service, communicated the Order he had receiv'd to forty, or fifty, all active and resolute men, of his most intimate Friends, and conferr'd yet further with some Gentlemen of the Duke of *Guise*'s Faction about it; so that having made himself as strong as he could, and having writ to the Vicount *Aubeterre*, who was Head of the League in that Province, to be ready to assist in an action so important to the Service of the King, and the Catholick Union, he at last receiv'd the Deputy into the City upon *St. Lawrence Eve*, the day following without further delay being design'd for the execution of the Enterprize.

There

There are few Historians of any note, of those times, who have not given a full description of this days business, and who have not thought it (though only relating to a particular person) an action for the Novelty, and handsome performance of it, worthy to be recorded amongst the general Transactions of that time. *Monsieur de Thou*, *D' Aubigné*, and *D' Avila*, have all made long Relations of it; and there were many Printed Reports of it current in *France* immediately after the thing was done, of which several old Copies yet remain; to all which I could refer my Reader, and spare my self the pains of repeating it over again, could a business so highly important to the Duke's Honour be left out of the recital of his Life, without making my self guilty of an omission, Posterity might justly blame me for. Take here therefore what I have collected, both from the Duke's own mouth, and from some of his Servants; who, as they shar'd in the danger of this Conspiracy, had also the Honour to do their Master signal Service in so memorable an Action.

The Duke living in great security in the City, and behaving himself very obligingly to all the Inhabitants in general, but more particularly to those he saw bore the greatest sway amongst them, spar'd no kind of good Entertainment, that he thought might win the Consul over to his Devotion: a man, who besides the addition of his Authority, was very considerable in his own Person, as being descended from one of the best Families in the City, and a man of great sagacity and valour. The morning of his enterprize therefore being *St. Laurence* day, he going early, as it was usual, to give the Duke a Visit, was by him entertain'd with extraordinary civility; the Duke not suffering him to depart, till he had made him a promise to come again to Dinner: which the Consul, thinking by that means to have his access into the Castle more open, and free, for the effecting of his purpose, readily engag'd himself to do: And in the mean time returning home, he found *Souchet*, and with him some dozen of the most resolute Fellows, and fiercest Leaguers of all the Town, got thither before him. These were to begin the work, and the others to the number of five and forty, or fifty, were lodg'd in the Houses nearest to the Castle, to be ready to second them, when they had given the first Assault. Neither were these all in the Conspiracy, for there were divers others dispos'd into the several Streets of the City to alarm the rest of the people (altogether ignorant of the Enterprize) by telling them that the *Hugonots* had taken the Castle, by the Postern-gate that look'd into the Park, and to make them by this device run to their Arms to repel them.

Things

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The Con-
spiracy of
Agoulesme
against the
Duke of
Espernon.

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Things being thus order'd, the Consul first entred the Castle, taking along with him *Souchet* Booted, and Spurr'd, as if he newly arriv'd from Court, with another in the same Equipage; and being come into the Hall, where he met with some of the inferiour Servants, he of them enquir'd for the Duke, saying, He had there two Courriers to present to him, who brought him good news from Court. Whereupon the Servants who saw him every day with the Duke, and receiv'd with great Demonstrations of Favour, and Respect, made no difficulty to tell him, that he was in the Wardrobe: But whilst they were thus talking, six more of the Inhabitants, who were also of the Plot, were come in under pretense of paying their Service to the Duke, and to wait his coming out to present themselves: And all of them, both the Consul, and the rest, Arm'd under their Cloaks with Curasses, or Coats of Mail, short Swords, and Pistols.

The three first having pass'd through the Hall, and the next Chamber, without giving any suspicion, came into the Wardrobe, where they expected to find the Duke, who by good Fortune was just gone into his Closet, having taken in with him the *Abbot d' Elbene*, and the *Sieur de l' Isle Marivault*, two persons in whom of all others he repos'd the greatest Confidence, and where they were reading a Scandalous * Libel, publish'd to the King's dishonour, that had been sent the Duke that morning. The Conspirators, without taking notice who were in the Wardrobe, vigorously assaulted the first they met; and at their first entrance letting fly their Pistols, betook themselves to their Swords, crying out as loud as they could, *Kill, Kill*: At this noise the other six (who, dazled with the Cupboard of Plate in the Hall, had staid behind to pilfer) ran presently to their Fellows, and all together joyn'd in the Assault: The first that oppos'd their Fury in the Wardrobe, was *Signior Raphael Girolami*, a *Florentine* Gentleman, and *Sorlin* the Duke's Chirurgion; the two Secretaries, who were also in the Chamber being for want of Arms able to make no resistance. But *Sorlin* drawing his Sword, gave the Consul a slight hurt in the Head; and *Girolami* on his side, having first mortally wounded three of the Assailants, was at last by a Pistol shot laid dead upon the place; so that he being dispatch'd, and *Sorlin* desperately wounded, the Consul and the rest of the Conspirators, had free access to the very door of the Closet, where they call'd out aloud to the Duke to yield, or otherwise he was dead.

The Duke had already at the first uproar, not knowing by whom he was assaulted, nor what security he might promise to himself from the assistance of his Domesticks, and Friends, Bar-ricado'd

* In which Libel the Duke of Espenon was compared to *Pierce Galloweston*, as *Jean de Serres* reports.

ricado'd up the Door of his Closet, expecting a further light into this disorder; *D' Elbene*, and *Marivault*, who were both with him, having perswaded him so to do, and with-held him from going out, until he first understood the cause of this Tumult, which was yet utterly unknown. There were two Doors to this Closet, one at the further end of a little Gallery, which was open; but there was no way to the second, but through this Gallery, which being dark, and so narrow as only to admit one a breast, made the access to the inner Door very difficult, and dangerous: so that by this means the Duke, and those that were with him, had a conveniency of making some kind of resistance, till they might be better inform'd of the business. And I have heard the Duke say, when talking sometimes of this Mutiny, that in the heat of the Action, he remov'd with one hand, and with great facility, unwieldy Truncks, and Chests, to Barricado up the Door; which, after he had a little compos'd himself, and thought it necessary to go out, they could not scarce all three, with all their strength united, remove again to their places.

At the same time that the Assault began, the * *Tocquesain* rung throughout all the Churches in the City; at which Signal, the people ran on all sides to Arms, lodging themselves in the Houses nearest adjoining to the Castle; mov'd so to do by the outcry of the Conspirators, dispers'd into the several quarters of the Town, that the *Hugonots* had possess'd themselves of the Castle.

In the mean time the Conspirators immediately appointed for this execution, and who were order'd to follow those already got in with the Consul, attempting to possess themselves of the Gate of the Castle, that they might let in the people, who came running in Arms from all parts, were oppos'd by some of the Duke's Gentlemen, who were walking without in the base Court, to attend his going abroad; of which the chief were *Ambleville*, *Beaurepaire*, *Sobole* the elder, *Lartigue*, and some others. Neither was their Design prevented without fighting; for *Beaurepaire* being kill'd with the blow of an Halbert, and some of the Guards being knock'd down by him, other of the Duke's Gentlemen, who were walking at a further distance from the Gate, perceiving what they were about, made all the haste they could, and came time enough to get in before the Gate was quite shut; amongst whom were the Count de *Brienne*, the Duke's Brother-in-law, *Miran*, *Gobas*, *la Coste*, and *Des Emars*.

All these Gentlemen being joyn'd together, and having with much ado shut the outward Gate, and left a sufficient Guard to defend it, ran up the Stairs to see what was become of the Duke;

N

where

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An Alarm Bell, which it is the custom in France to ring upon any Tumult, or Insurrection.

Anno 1588. where meeting no body to enquire of, they believ'd him to be certainly dead, and all those that were with him: But after having a little recollected themselves from the astonishment so strange a solitude had begot in them, and having gathered together such other Gentlemen, and Souldiers, of the Duke's Guard, as they could find in the Castle, they resolv'd to set upon the Consul, and his Associates, and to that purpose made directly towards the Duke's Chamber, the only part of the House from whence any noise was to be heard.

The Conspirators seeing themselves alone, the Gate of the Castle shut, the Duke's Friends, and Servants got together, and united, and (which most of all perplex'd them) that the people could not force their entrance so soon as was requisite for their safety, would yet try by the same Door by which they had entred, to recover the principal Tower of the Castle, and to make that good, till they might be reliev'd from without: But the passage was so stoutly maintain'd by the Gentlemen, and those of the Guard, who were joyn'd to them, that the Consul being mortally wounded, and some other of his Complices more slightly hurt, the ardour of their first resolution began apparently to cool, their Enemies being possess'd of the only pass, by which they were to expect a prompt, and necessary succour.

At this new uproar in the Wardrobe, the Duke having, amidst so great a confusion of voices, distinguish'd some of them to be his own people, sallied out of his Closet with the Abbot *D'Elbene*, and *Marivalt*; so that these sallying out with Sword, and Pistol, by the Door of the Closet, whilst the other Door towards the Hall was made good by the Duke's Friends, the Consul and his Complices found themselves beset on all sides; and seeing no hopes of safety by the way they had in vain, and with many wounds attempted to pass, they resolv'd to get out by a third Door of the same Wardrobe, which yet remain'd free, and that led by a back way to the forementioned Tower; and accordingly carrying off the wounded Consul with them, recover'd a little pair of stone Stairs, the only refuge was left them, and where they intended to defend themselves to the last man: neither wanted they means so to do; for being all arm'd, which neither the Duke nor any of his Followers were, and resolute Fellows, as they had sufficiently made it appear; and having only a narrow pair of Stairs to make good, they were not to be assaulted, but with infinite hazard, in a place of so great advantage: which made the Duke resolve upon putting fire to the Stairs, to the end he might there, as it were besieg'd, keep them in.

Whilst

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Whilst these things were doing within the Castle, a Maid came running, and told the Duke, that the Consul's Brother; with a great number of armed Men; were upon entering by a hole they had made in the Wall, on that side next the Curtain; which made him immediately repair thither, as where his presence was most necessary, leaving only three of his Guard to make good the Stair-foot, where the Consul and his Confederates were, that they might attempt nothing in his absence. At his coming into the Court he found the Consul's Brother, and another with him, already enter'd the place, who both of them strove with incredible valour, to make way for the rest: But the Duke having soon kill'd the first with his own hand, the other being no better handled by his Followers; and having left a sufficient Guard upon the place, he ran presently to another Alarm, no less dangerous, than this he had already taken so good order in: For the Conspirators without having (as we have said before) been able to force the great Gate, by reason of the vigorous resistance they had met there, were run to another little Postern, that no body dream'd of, with fire to burn it down; by which means, and by a petard they had also got to blow it open, they doubted not to force their entrance that way; but the Duke arriving opportunely upon the place, with some fifteen he had rallied together, after a dangerous, and obstinate Conflict, beat back the Assailants, and so fortified it for the future, that it was impossible for them afterwards to force that pass.

Whilst the Duke was thus busie without, those who were with the Consul upon the Stairs, seeing the passage now guarded by only the three Souldiers, who had been left to that purpose, attempted to make their way, and to escape, which they hop'd they might do whilst the Duke, and his Servants, were elsewhere employ'd; intending afterwards to force some of the Avenues (it being impossible they should be all well guarded, the Duke having so few about him) and to let in the rest of their Confederates to their succour: But the Duke, with marvellous diligence presenting himself in all places where there was any suspicion of danger, coming opportunely in, when they were already disputing it with his Guards; and having, by the death of one of the Inhabitants, whom he dispatch'd with his own hand, beaten back the rest, defeated them of all further hopes, of escaping out of his Power. In which encounter he ran an exceeding great hazard, for the Stairs upon which they fought, having been already loosened in the Joyns by the heat of the fire, and moreover shaken by the agitation of the Combatants, could no longer support it self

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The Inhabitants, who had this while possess'd themselves of a House call'd the *Queens Castle*, separated only from that wherein the Duke was assaulted by a little Court, and of equal height with it, by powring continual shot in at the Windows, which were very large, and high, did not a little incommode the Duke ; another inconvenience to be provided against, as it speedily was, and (as that had already done for the other defects of the place) so well, that it was almost impossible by strength of hand to force him.

The toil, and bustle of this Action having been sudden, and violent, and the Fight almost unintermitted from the beginning, the Duke and those with him found themselves so weary, and their strength so abated, that to refresh themselves, and to recover a little breath, the Duke call'd for something to drink ; but upon examination there were but four Bottles of Wine, no Water at all, and very little, and that course Bread, to be found in all the Castle ; neither was there any more to be hop'd for, the Inhabitants being as they were Masters of all the Kitchens, and other Offices, as also of a Well in the back Court, which could not possibly be recover'd from them, an irreparable, and unexpected inconvenience to the Duke and his Followers, who saw themselves at once assaulted with Enemies, within, and without, and more violently with hunger, and thirst ; two Enemies they could the worst defend themselves against ; a condition in which they continued for two dayes, and one night, and wherein the Duke's constancy is no less to be admir'd, than in so gallantly defending himself against the violence of his armed Adversaries, the necessities of Nature being much harder to be contend'd withal, than the most obstinate attempts of the most resolute Enemy.

Hitherto

Hitherto the Duke saw no signs of succour; *Tagent* his Cousin, and Lieutenant in that Government was at *Xaintes*, with the Troops, and the *Cittadel*, wherein he had a trusty Servant, had made no shew of standing for him, having not so much as made one Cannon, or Musquet shot against the City: For the Consul who was no less circumspect than valiant, having, when he first plotted the Design of this Enterprize, forgot nothing, that might any way contribute to the success, had cunningly drawn *Bordes* Governour of the *Cittadel* into the Town, under colour of some important Business he was to communicate to him, and had there seiz'd of his Person; so that at the same time the Duke was first assaulted in the Castle, they who had *Bordes* in custody, brought him before the *Cittadel*, and with a Dagger at his Throat commanded him to yield it up: but he scorn'd to do a thing so unworthy of himself in so great an exigency, and his Lieutenant remain'd also firm in his duty, though it be true that the regard he had to his Captains safety made him forbear to shoot, till the last extremity.

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As if the Duke in so eminent a peril were not sufficiently disquieted with his own troubles, he had yet present before his eyes the danger to which the Dutches his Lady was expos'd; who, being a little before the tumult began gone out of the Castle towards the *Jacobins*, to hear Mass, was seiz'd upon by the Inhabitants, as she was retiring towards the *Cittadel*, the way to the Castle being shut up: Her two Gentlemen Ushers, the one call'd *Piar*, and the other *Sequencio*, bravely offer'd to make some resistance, but were both wounded to death, whilst they held her by the Arms; so that their Blood flew upon her Cloaths: Neither was the Dutches alone arrested after this manner, many of the Dukes Gentlemen who were abroad in the Town, suspecting nothing, being also taken prisoners; of which *la Curée*, since *Camp-Master* to the Light Horse of France, was one, with *St. Mesme*, *Bleré*, the *Baron de Cose*, *de Ramel*, and many others.

In these extremities, to which the Duke was reduc'd, he let a Footman by a Rope down the Castle-Wall, on that side towards the Park, to carry *Tagent* intelligence of the danger he was in: but the Fellow was no sooner down, than intercepted by the Inhabitants, who had every where set Guards to that purpose: notwithstanding which, two of the Duke's Gentlemen, being gone early abroad a Hunting, and upon the noise of the *Tocquesain* they heard from the City, being return'd upon the spur up to the very Grasse of the *Cittadel*, to know the meaning of it, were soon enform'd, and as soon turn'd full speed to carry *Tagent* the news,

Anno news, who by them receiv'd the first intimation of the Duke's
1588. danger.

Agent, upon the arrival of these two Gentlemen, caus'd the Trumpets immediately to sound to Horse, and presently mounting with what Cavalry he had, arriv'd with all possible diligence at the Gates of *Angoulesme*: It was in a time when the Duke could hardly hold out any longer against hunger and thirst, which for two whole days he had sustain'd, without any kind of refreshment, that little provision before mentioned having been equally divided amongst his Friends, the Duke disdain'd to preserve his own life longer than he could also support so many brave persons, as so franckly expos'd themselves to all hazards for his safety.

The people had in the mean time continued their first Fury, in which they had been assist'd, and advis'd by several Gentlemen of the Countrey, who took part with the League; whereof those of chief note were *Meré*, a man who was a particular Servant to the Duke of *Guise*, and who had been bred up in his Family; *la Messeliere*, *Les-Bouchaux*, *de Macqueville*, and some others who were drawn into that Faction, by the specious pretense of Religion; a Colour by which most men of that time were pre-possess'd, and abus'd. These having invest'd the Castle on all sides, had summon'd the Duke to Surrender, with offers of free Quarter, and Bag, and Baggage to him, and his; a Summons to which the Duke had smartly reply'd, *That he would rather choose to die, than to receive the least courtesie at their hands; and that he hop'd ere long to reduce them to such a straight, that they should be glad to receive conditions at his.*

It should seem that in this occasion the Duke's Enemies would also give his Dutcheſs an opportunity wherein to manifest her generous Spirit, that she might share with her Husband in the Honour of so handsome an Action; for having already found there was no good to be done upon the Castle by any violent means they could practise against it, they threatned the Dutcheſs, that unless she did perswade the Duke her Husband to make a speedy Surrender, they would make her serve for a Gabion before the place, whither they accordingly led her; such were the Compliments wherewith a Lady of her Birth, and Quality was entertain'd by these rude people: but she, without being mov'd with their threats, made answer to those who talk'd so impudently to her, *That did the Duke her Husband's Resolution stand in need of encouragement, she should her self desire to be presented before him; that she might fortifie him to persist in his defense: but that being altogether unnecessary*

unnecessary, their menaces to her were much more impertinent; that nevertheless she could not but wonder, at their insolence, and that she durst venture to Prophecie, she should e're long make them repent it; and afterwards turning towards *Meré*, who of all others had been the most uncivil to her, she reproach'd him with his barbarous carriage, in so handsome Language, with so masculine a courage, and so graceful an indignation, as if she had foreseen all the good success, that soon after hapned in this business, contrary to all humane expectation.

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The enterprize of which we are now speaking had been carried on with that secrecie, and had so surpriz'd the Duke, and his Family, that there were only eight of his Guards to be found in the Castle, when this business began, all the rest having been trap'd in the Town; which small number were notwithstanding so conveniently dispos'd into places of most danger, and were so expert in the use of their fire Arms, that it was observ'd they never shot in vain; a dexterity that has since grown to such a habit in all who have succeeded in that employment, that they have ever signaliz'd themselves by their Activity, and Valour, above all others upon all occasions, and by those qualities acquir'd so great a reputation; that the late King intending to raise a Troop of Dragoons (as he did) for the guard of his own person, did them the honour to choose six out of the Duke's company, to settle the Order, and Discipline of that Troop.

If the Duke were himself vigorously assaulted without, he no less importun'd the Consul, and his Complices within the Castle, who nevertheless defended themselves with great resolution; but seeing themselves press'd upon by the fire, that by little and little still encreas'd upon them; by hunger likewise, and the Sword, and finding themselves weakned by their wounds to the last extremity; their Ring-leader at the point to die, and themselves out of all hopes of relief, they let one of their company by cloath cut into shreds, and tied together, down into the Castle Ditch, to acquaint the Sub-Consul, whose name was *Corlieu*, with the condition they were in; who presently assembling the people, and consulting with them about their Friends necessity, it was soon resolv'd upon, that they should come to Propositions of accommodation; in order to which the Sub-Consul presented himself before the Castle, and demanded a Conference; which being granted, the Abbot *D'Elbene*, and *Ambleville* drew near to parley with him.

But before they could come to any conclusion, the Consul, and those with him being reduc'd to a final necessity, had surrendred

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dred themselves upon the Duke's word; which notwithstanding he punctually observ'd to them without the least injury, or violence (though the Consul died of his Wounds before the end of the Action) yet as soon as he had them in his power, he order'd them to write to those of the City, what danger their lives were in, should they any more offer to assault the Castle: A Policy that oblig'd their Relations so to importune the Sub-Consul to conclude the Treaty, that he again return'd to the Castle to intreat the Duke, that *Ambleville*, and *D'Elbene* might come into the City to Treat with them, which *Ambleville* absolutely refus'd to do; it being, as he conceiv'd, inconsistent with his Honour, to abandon the Duke in a time of so great danger: So that the Abbot (sufficient Hostages being first deliver'd in for his security) was fain to go out alone, and was immediately conducted to the Town-Hall.

The Abbot had by his dexterity brought things to so good a forwardness, that the Accommodation was upon the point to be concluded, to the Duke's Honour, and satisfaction, when *le Meré*, who would by no means lose so fair an opportunity of sacrificing the Duke, to his Master the Duke of *Guise's* hatred, broke off the Treaty, by promising the people a speedy, and infallible succour from the Vicount *D'Aubeterre*; who (as he said) having receiv'd express Orders from the King, was with all possible diligence coming in to their assistance.

The Abbot then must return to the Castle, which he did, not without some danger; so high was the insolence of the people rais'd by this little beam of hope, though false, and impos'd upon them. Every one now ran again to his Arms, which they employ'd with greater violence than before; the Drums, the *Tocquesain*, and the clamours of the Seditious rabble, indifferently compelling, as well the Nobility, and Gentry, as the Commons; as well those who were averse to the League, as the Leaguers themselves to joyn in the common mischief. They hop'd by a Petard which they intended to apply to a part of the Castle-Wall, they knew to be very weak; to make a sufficient breach to enter at; which accordingly playing, and having wrought some effect, the Gentry, and the people presented themselves with great courage to the Assault; but they found greater in the Defendants, who, though very few in comparison of the Assaultants, after a long dispute, forc'd them to retire, with the loss of a great many very resolute men.

The next day about three of the clock in the morning, the Inhabitants heard the Trumpets of the Duke's Cavalry, who were led

led by the *Sieur de Tagent* to his Relief; the report of whose arrival having put life into the Commanders and Souldiers of the *Cittadel*, they began to shoot against the City, which till then they had never done: And if the arrival of this succour encouraged the one party, it no less cool'd the fury, and obstinacy of the other; who now began submissively to sue for a conclusion of the Treaty, which they had so insolently broken off the day before, and sent again to entreat that the Abbot *D'Elbene* might once more come out to that purpose; a request the Duke made then some difficulty to grant, though in truth he had the greatest reason to desire it.

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The Abbot nevertheless went out the second time into the City, but as vainly as before; for the Baron *de Touverac*, with many other Gentlemen of the League being arriv'd, and amongst others *La-Caze*, Quarter-Master to the Vicount *D'Aubeterre's* Company of *Cuirassiers*, put new vigour into the Inhabitants; *La-Caze* assuring them, that the next morning the Vicount would infallibly come to their succour, with three hundred Horse, and five hundred Foot; by which the Citizens being re-assur'd, they now breath'd nothing but War, the common people being ever as forward to entertain rash and giddy resolutions, as they are usually backwards, and cowardly in the execution of them.

The Abbot was therefore again to recover the Castle, and that with greater danger than before, being first carried to the Gates of the *Cittadel*, and there constrain'd with a Dagger at his Throat, to forbid the Souldiers from shooting any more against the City, which nevertheless they did not forbear to do: The Duke (press'd upon now more than ever by those of the City) having found means, from the high Tower of the Castle, to give a sign to the Commanders of the *Cittadel*, who might easily see it, to shoot continually, so to divert the fury of the Enemy, that so violently assaulted him; a Command so well understood, and so readily obey'd, that the confusion was now far greater in all parts of the City, than hitherto it had ever been. Neither had it ceased so soon, had not the *Sieur de Nesmond*, chief Justice of the place, a man of great authority amongst them, and no less considerable for his quality, than his Employment, with such of the principal Magistrates, as had not consented to this tumult; resolv'd to joyn all their interests together to put an end to the business.

To that purpose therefore they assembled at the Bishops Palace. This Prelate *Charles de Bony* by name, an Italian by birth, having long govern'd that Diocess with great reputation of Vertue, and Piety, could not without infinite sorrow behold these confusions;

Anno 1588. though authoriz'd by the League, and palliated with the pretext of Religion; so that in this Assembly, he, the Magistrates, and some well dispos'd Citizens, having consider'd the peril the City was in, as also their own particular danger, who were likely to be involv'd in the common ruine, uniting themselves against the seditious, with some Gentlemen of Quality of the Country (who being come in at the noise of this disorder, had stood neutrals during the whole Action) sent two of the most eminent amongst them to the Duke, to entreat him, that he would please to consent that the Capitulation, which had been agreed upon the day before with the Abbot *D'Elbene*, might be Sign'd, and Ratified by *Tagent*, who was with his Cavalry in the Suburbs; a request was readily granted by the Duke, who was now no longer in a condition, had he been so dispos'd, to refuse it.

It had now been above forty hours since the Duke, or any of those who were with him in the Castle had either drank, or eaten; their powder was all spent, the men for the most part wounded, and those who were not, so worn out with watching, fasting, and continual labour, that it was their courage only that did support them; a support that would soon have fail'd them, with their lives, had the Besiegers known their necessities, which were such as flesh and blood could no longer endure: But God, who reserv'd the Duke for better occasions, was pleas'd to deprive them of that knowledge, and so to order things, that the impatience of two short hours deliver'd him from that eminent, and apparent danger. The Abbot *D'Elbene* therefore went out the third, and last time into the City; and, together with the Inhabitants repair'd to *Tagent*; who, to the Duke's great astonishment had all this while stood an idle Spectator, without once endeavouring to enter the Town to his succour: 'Tis true, he sign'd the Capitulation, which was all the share he had in this business: But the Articles were no sooner Sign'd, than they immediately fell to breaking down the Barricadoes, the people retir'd every one to their own Houses, and the Dutchess of *Espernon* was conducted to the Castle by the aforesaid Abbot. Where being come, after she had given the Duke her Husband some tender, and affectionate testimonies of joy for his deliverance; the first thing she did, in return of the barbarous usage she had receiv'd, was to mediate their Pardons, by whom she had been so ill us'd, with the Duke; who, though he had meditated a severe Revenge upon them, who had committed so great an outrage against him, was notwithstanding content to surrender his Animosities to the generous intercession of this Vertuous

The end of
the Action.

tuous Lady. He moreover set those he had taken Prisoners with the Consul at Liberty, consented that *Meré*, with the other Gentlemen of his Party, should retire to their own Houses, giving them a Convoy of Light Horse for their defense; and by a notable effect of Generosity, and good Nature, having restor'd the dead Bodies of the Consul, and his Brother to their Relations, and Friends, he permitted them to be buried with publick Obsequies.

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Lastly, he so frankly pardon'd all the rest of the Citizens, that not any one of them, who would afterwards live in Peace, could ever perceive in him the least memory of any former unkindness; but on the contrary, receiv'd from him all the good Offices, and gentle Usage they could expect from a man, they had never offended: by which exceeding Clemency, and by the protection both the City and Country receiv'd from him, for the space of fifty years, which he afterwards held that Government, he so won the hearts of that people, that there was not one of them who would not cheerfully have ventur'd Life, and Fortune for his Service; and who have not, to this hour, his memory in great Veneration, as the Father, Protector, and Restorer of their Country.

The King of *Navarre*, who was ever so intent upon his own Affairs, as to let no occasion slip, that he conceiv'd might any way serve to advance them; foreseeing that after the Assembly which was to be holden at *Blois*, he should certainly have all the Forces both of the King, and the League bent joyntly against him, had not fail'd to send to the Duke upon his retirement from Court, (a time very proper to have taken his Resentments in the heat, had he been a Male-content) with offers of as high, and honourable conditions, as he himself could possibly have propos'd, if he would joyn with him. To which the Duke equally firm in his Religion, and Loyalty, made answer, that he did beseech his Majesty to reflect upon the infinite obligations he had to the King his Master; and then he did assure himself, that his own generosity, would for ever condemn him of ingratitude, should he abandon his Service for any persecution his Enemies could practice against him: After which, and many humble, and respective thanks for his gracious offer, he gave him plainly, and freely to understand, that he would rather perish; than to live oblig'd to any other for his protection, than to him who was the sole Author of his Fortune.

The King of *Navarre* endeavours to draw the Duke over to his Party.

The Duke excuses himself.

But this Prince not checking, at this first refusal, would yet try if in the business of *Angoulesme*, by his own Actions, and

Anno 1588. Presence, he could not work more effectually upon the Duke, than by the mediation of Agents, he had hitherto done; and to that purpose, being advertis'd of this enterprize (though at a time when he was upon the point to fall upon the City, and Castle of *Cliffon*, in the lower *Poiëtou*, very considerable places, and which in all apparence he was likely to carry) he nevertheless gave over the Design, to come to the Duke's Relief: A deliberation that some have believ'd, was not so much intended to rescue the Duke from the danger he was in, as to make use of that occasion, in the Confusion the City then was, to seize upon it to his own use, and to reduce so considerable a place into the hands of his own Party: But whatever his Design was, he met intelligence by the way, that the Duke had already disingag'd himself from his Enemies, and was settled in a posture of safety: by which though he found he should come too late to do the Duke any Service, unwilling nevertheless to lose the thanks of his good intention, he sent to congratulate with him for his happy Deliverance, which he said was so much the more glorious to him, as it was wrought out of himself, and effected by his own Valour, and Constancy; advising him withal to consider how many of the like attempts he was to expect from his Enemies malice; withal once more offering to joyn his Interests with his, and to run the same Fortune with him in all hazards. But the Duke answering still with the same civility, and respect he had done before, without suffering himself to be tempted from the duty he ow'd to the King his Master, continued constant in his Resolution, never to take part with any, who were his open and declared Enemies.

The King
of Navarre
tries again
to persuade
the Duke,
but in vain.

In this place methinks the Duke of *Espernon* is chiefly to be consider'd, to make thence a right judgment of the greatness and constancy of his mind: He had scarce been seven years a Favourite, when he saw the prodigious Engine of the League ready to fall upon him; a body so formidable, and so great, as having already constrain'd the King himself to bow before it, made all those of the Reformed Religion to tremble at its motion; no Authority was able to stop it, no Power to resist it, yet could it never startle this young Dukes constancy: But on the contrary, though he saw himself forsaken by the King, and expos'd to the malice of his Enemies; though he saw the people, in his own Governments, rais'd in mutiny against him, and all things as it were conspiring together to his Ruine; yet could he not even in these extremities ever submit to the King of Navarre's Protection, though offer'd, and so handsomely offered to him: but
though

though alone in his own Quarrel, at least without other assistance than of his Friends and Servants, he had yet the courage to defend his own Interests, and the Service of his Prince, even against his Prince himself, who was now become General of his own Enemies; Yet had he ever so excellent a Government over himself, as to do nothing contrary to his Conscience, or his Duty: So that not being to be mov'd either by the Menaces of the League, or by the Hopes he might reasonably conceive from the assistance of those of the Reform'd Religion, he subdu'd those two Passions that exercise the most absolute Empire over the minds of men, and that bear the greatest sway in all Humane Designs.

*Anno**1588.*

The end of the Second Book.

T H E



THE
HISTORY
Of the LIFE of the
Duke of Espernon.

The Third Book.



Whilst the Dukes Enemies exercis'd his Vertue with these continual troubles, they were themselves no less afflicted with their own Ambition. The Assembly of the Estates was held at *Blois*, where all things in outward shew were dispos'd in favour of the Duke of *Guise*: but still as he approach'd nearer to his Object, the greater the height, and the more difficult the access unto the place, to which he aspir'd, appear'd unto him: That one remaining step he was to climb, to reach the height of his desires, seeming to rise still further from him, as oft as he attempted to gain it, So that tir'd out with so many present difficulties, and apprehending yet more those which were to come, 'tis said he was often almost resolv'd to leave off his Designs, and to rely upon the King's Word, that had so often assur'd him the enjoyment of his present greatness, wherein also he doubted not without any great difficulty to maintain himself. The Duke of *Mayenne*, either jealous (as some have thought) of his Brothers Greatness, or else of a more moderate

The Affairs of the Court during the Duke's absence.

The Duke of *Guise* in suspense, whether or no he should pursue his Designs.

temper,

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temper, than the rest of his Family, had often advis'd him to this Resolution; but the Cardinal their Brother, and the Archbishop of *Lyons*, were the Incendiaries, that rekindled his dying Ambition, and that hurried him on to that precipice, into which they themselves at last fell with him: "They represented to him "by what infinite labours, and industry they had plac'd him in "that height to which he was already arriv'd; That if he ever "had resolv'd there to limit his desires, and to content himself "with a competent Fortune, he ought never to have undertaken "those pains, nor to have undergone those dangers he had so "gloriously, and so fortunately overcome; That the merit of his "Ancestors had left him greatness enough to satisfy an ordinary "Ambition: but that if he ever had the thought of rising above "them, as doubtless he had, the way was open to him, and that "he had already overcome the greatest difficulties: That the greater part of *France* stood for him, and that almost all Foreign "Princes, and States were favourable to him: That God himself seem'd to take his part, by giving him a negligent and voluptuous Prince; whose nature being softned, and unnerv'd by "ease, and sloth, had laid him open to his Designs: That it was "an easie matter in the condition himself then was, to make him "sure: That not suddenly to do it, it was to be fear'd the King "might recover from his Lethargy; and, looking into himself, "might re-assume his former vigour, and recover his almost lost "Authoriry: That the very fear the King then liv'd in, ought to "be highly suspected to him; That no Counsels were so violent "and dangerous, as those that proceeded from apprehension, or "extream necessity: That he infinitely deceiv'd himself, if he "thought there could be any safety for him (what promises soever "the King might make in that height to which he had already "rais'd himself: That the Fortune of a Subject was never more "unstable, and unsafe, than when it rendred him suspected to "his Prince: That he must boldly therefore step out of the quality of a Subject, if he would be out of the danger of a Sovereign. They further remonstrated to him what Opinion all Europe, who were joyn'd together in his Favour, what all good "Frenchmen, who were passionate in his cause, what all posterity " (to which he ought to have a greater regard, than to the present) could have of his courage; if the Duke of *Guise* only "should think himself unworthy of that Dignity, to which all "the world besides so passionately wish'd he might arrive: That "he ought then boldly to end, what he had so generously begun, "and so gloriously pursu'd; and that though death it self should follow

“ follow (which was not in the least to be doubted) it were not-
 “ withstanding more honourable to perish in so brave a Design,
 “ than to survive the shame of not daring to perform it.

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The Duke
 of *Guise*
 confirm'd
 in his first
 resolutions:

The Duke of *Guise*, whose ambitious and unquiet Spirit was apt enough to take fire at such Counsels, as these haughty, and mutinous Prelates were fit to give, was soon perswaded to renew his former practice; and, as if he had only suspended the prosecution of his Designs to take a little breath, that he might fall on with greater violence, he presently sent new dispatches to *Rome*, and into *Spain*, still more and more to fortifie himself in the Authority of the one, and Strength of the other, assuring further to himself at the same time, either by promises, or threats, by himself or by his Adherents, almost all the suffrages of the several Deputies of the Assembly: which the King, to whom all these practices were very well known, being enform'd of, and then seeing the manifest danger he was in of losing both his Authority, and his Crown, he determined to prevent the Duke by Counsels as severe and bloody, as his own were rash and mutinous, and to cut him off before he should have time to effect what he had so politickly, and so dangerously design'd. A resolution which, being soon agreed upon with some of the Nobility, his Majesty knew most faithful to him, had the execution of it without further delay committed to eight of the five and forty. These five and forty were all of them Gentlemen of approved Valour, and for whose fidelity they who had recommended them to the King, stood themselves engag'd; so that of this Company (to which the number had given the name) his Majesty made his most assured Guard (the greatest part of his Domesticks being become suspected to him) and as it were wholly entrusted the safety of his Person to their Fidelity, and care: They attended him where-ever he went, they nightly kept Guard in his Anti-Chamber; and (as nothing is so powerful as benefits to win the hearts, and affections of men) there was not one of them, who, besides his Salary of an hundred Crowns of Gold a month (which was very much in those times) had not over and above either receiv'd, or had not very good reason to expect, great recompenses from his Royal bounty: So that these men being absolutely ty'd to all his Majesties Interests, it was no hard matter to induce them to make an attempt upon the Person of the Duke of *Guise*, against whom the King had conceiv'd a violent, and implacable Hatred. I shall here say nothing of the manner and circumstances of the Death of this Duke, nor of that of the Cardinal of *Guise* his Brother, who at the same time came to the same violent end,

The King
 resolves up-
 on his death

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most of our Historians being particular in that Relation: but I can bear testimony that the Duke of *Espernon* did neither then, nor ever since approve of that execution; and that although he had receiv'd very hard measure from the Duke in his life, he notwithstanding had his great qualities in high esteem after his death. And indeed he had so often, and so generously employ'd those rare Endowments for the safety and honour of the Kingdom; that his Vertue could never have been too highly commended; could he have added the qualities of a good Subject, to those other excellencies which rendred him one of the greatest men of his time.

New Ministers chosen after the Duke of *Guise's* Death.

A little before the Duke of *Guise's* death, the King had dismiss from Court the High Chancellor *Chiverny*, and the *Sieures de Believre*, and *de Villeroy*; Secretaries of State; upon considerations that were then variously interpreted; though the King would have the Duke of *Espernon* believe, that the chief cause of *Monsieur de Villeroy's* disgrace was the business of *Angoulesme*; which his Majesty wholly laid to his charge; and that the Duke might the better be confirm'd in this opinion, the *Sieur de Révol*, a particular creature of the Dukes, one that was, under him, Comptroller of the Exchequer of *Provence*; and that had no interest at Court saving his Protection, was receiv'd into his place.

His Majesty had no sooner absolutely determin'd the Duke of *Guise's* Ruine, than that foreseeing the consequences so bloody an execution was likely to draw after it, he dispatch'd away Colonel *Alphonso Corso*, afterwards *Mareschal d'Ornano*; to seize upon the Duke of *Máenne* at *Lyons*, where he then resided; which, if it could have been in time effected, his Majesty had in all apparence been secur'd from the greatest part of those mischiefs which this action afterwards produc'd: but the Duke, having receiv'd the news of his Brothers Deaths some hours before *Alphonso's* arrival, was already in great diligence got to Horse, and fled out at one Gate of the City as *Ornano* entred at another to surprize him, and by that means first recovered *Dijon*, and afterwards *Paris*, without any impediment: Where he was no sooner arriv'd, than that laying aside that moderation he had euer manifested, during his Brother's Life, he declar'd himself Head of that Party, he had ever till then, to his great Reputation, seem'd to condemn; and drawing together all the Forces of the League that lay scatter'd up and down in several places, he of them, without stirring from *Paris*, made a very considerable Army.

His Majesty easily judg'd that this storm would suddenly break upon him, and fail'd not, out of that foresight, to call all his principal Servants about him, which nevertheless made up but an incon-

inconsiderable Body; and such as could no ways secure him from any attempt of the Enemy: So that he was advis'd to send once more to the King of *Navarre*, to intreat him to advance with his Troops to his succour; which notwithstanding the King not being able to perswade himself to do, (his regard to Religion; and the respect he bore to the Pope, opposing that Council) he only at that time sent Orders to the Duke of *Espernon*, who had then a considerable Force on Foot to come' over to him; though afterwards, and after many deliberations, being also dispos'd to call in the King of *Navarre*, he sent to the Duke, that before he put himself upon his march, he should first go to this Prince, to make the first overtures of this business to him. The *Sieur de Beaujeu* was purposely dispatch'd to the Duke with these Orders, which were no sooner receiv'd by him, than he departed from *Angoulesme* to go to *St. Jean d' Angely*, where the King of *Navarre* then was; and where having found him well dispos'd, and very ready to do his Majesty the Service he desired of his Person, and Faction, he immediately made himself ready to go to the King; who, seeing his Enemies now ready to fall upon him, had sent a new, and instant Express to the Duke in all haste to come, and joyn with him: which express Order to satisfy with the greatest diligence, he rather chose to leave the Negotiation he had already so successfully begun with the King of *Navarre*, to the Dutchess of *Angoulesme* (who soon after brought it to effect) than one moment to defer his attendance on his Master in so critical a time, and on so urgent an occasion.

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The Duke
call'd back
to Court,

All these great transactions hapned at Court, after the Duke of *Espernon* had retir'd himself from thence into his Governments. Neither was he in his retirement, or in his choice of the place he retir'd unto, either unactive in himself, or in a Scene improper for his Majesties Service; for he was no sooner disingag'd from the enterprize of *Angoulesme*, but that he put himself immediately into a condition to awe many of his ill Neighbours in the adjoining Provinces, so as either to continue them in, or to make them return unto their duty: For which purpose having increas'd his Forces, the first occasion he had to employ them was against those of the Religion; who having besieg'd *Perigues*, and upon the point to make themselves Masters of the place, at the Duke's approach rais'd the Siege in great disorder, and retir'd not without some considerable loss.

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Some actions
of the
Duke during
his retirement.

The Duke was after this preparing himself for greater enterprizes, when *Beaujeu* brought him those foremention'd Orders from the King; by whom having understood the great prepara-

Anno 1589. rations the Duke of *Mayenne* made to come first to *Blois*, and from thence to *Tours*, whither the King had then retir'd himself; and knowing his Majesty almost naked of all defense, and as it were, expos'd to the violence of his Enemies, he thought it necessary upon the instant to move with all his Forces that way, and at the same time by a Gentleman to give his Majesty notice of his motion, that he might receive his Majesties Commands upon the way: By which Gentleman the King sent him presently word, that the most important service he could then do him, was to put himself into *Blois*. For the Duke of *Mayenne* having resolv'd to make his first attempt upon that place, either by the ruine of the Castle to revenge in part the death of his two Brothers, who there lost their lives; or to make that City (which by its vicinity to *Tours*, was very proper to watch all advantages against the King) his seat of War; his Majesty conceiv'd there would be little security for him in *Tours*, should his Enemy possess himself of that Post, and had therefore bent all his care, and endeavour to preserve it out of the power of the League.

His Majesty would have put the *Mareschal de Biron* into that place, and afterwards, he having excus'd himself, the *Mareschal d'Aumont*; but both the one, and the other having refus'd the danger of defending, and with unequal Forces, a place, that being in it self open on all sides, was not well to be defended, and that was to expect the first fury of the League to be bent against it, his Majesty turn'd his thoughts towards the Duke of *Espernon*; and knowing that the difficulty of the undertaking would be no little motive to make the Duke embrace it, his Majesty sent him word, that the *Mareschals de Biron*, and *d'Aumont* had both of them already excus'd themselves from that Employment, and that he only remain'd, from whose Valour and Fidelity he could promise to himself so signal, and so honourable a Service in so difficult an undertaking, and in so dangerous a time; that the defense of that City was of pressing, and immediate concern; but that withal he should be infinitely glad to see him, and that he therefore left it to his own free choice, and judgment, either to come immediately to him, or to defer giving him that satisfaction, till the occasion, which at present call'd him another way, should be past, and blown over. The Duke had then in his Army four thousand and five hundred Foot, five hundred Light Horse, and three hundred Harquebusiers on Horse-back, besides other Levies he had order'd should be made in the Country, which accordingly soon after came to him; of which he detain'd three thousand Foot, with a proportion of Horse for the defense of *Blois*, and
the

The Duke's
Forces.

the rest he sent away to the King under the command of *Moncafin*, and *de la Curée*; from which Forces his Majesty receiv'd no little assistance in the occasion that soon after hapned before *Tours*.

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The Duke in the mean time, according to the King's Order, took his way towards *Blois*, and interpreting the Liberty his Majesty had so freely given him, (either presently to repair to Court, or to defer it till a fitter season) as he ought to do; he conceiv'd himself oblig'd by his duty, rather to deprive himself of that present Honour, and Satisfaction, than any ways to neglect that Service was expected from him. Advancing therefore with all diligence, and his way lying through *Amboise*, where the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons* had been detain'd Prisoner, ever since the death of the *Guises*; he (although the Bishop was his capital Enemy, and a man from whom of all others he had receiv'd the most sensible injuries) would nevertheless go give him a visit in the Castle. The sad estate, and present condition of this Prelate, had so far reconcil'd the Duke unto him, that in return of all former injuries, after he had some time entertain'd him with some consolatory Expressions, as towards his present Fortune; he afterwards made him a promise, as soon as ever he should see the King, to labour with all his Industry, and Interest, for his Enlargement; as after he did, it being one of the first Requests he made, and obtain'd, after his return to Court.

A generous
act of the
Duke.

From thence, having recover'd *Blois*, he presently fell to fortifying the place, and in few days put it into so good a posture of Defense, that it would be no easie matter to force it. He also put into *St. Oüin*, a little Town upon the Road, betwixt that, and *Paris*, the *Count de Brienne*, his Brother-in-law, and the *Sieur d'Ambleville*, with eight hundred Men, the most part Horse; which he did, not so much out of design to keep that place, which he knew was not to be defended, as for some few days to stop the progress of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and by that means to give the King some leisure to fortifie himself: A design that succeeded accordingly; for the Duke of *Mayenne* not being able to carry this place by assault, and obstinate in the taking of it, having staid to lay a formal Siege, although he took it in the end, and in it the

D'Avilas

was

Anno 1589. was however infinitely condemn'd for having so wilfully set himself upon an Enterprize of so little moment, in a time when nothing could be so advantageous as diligence to the execution of his Designs.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, measuring by this first Essay the opposition he was likely to meet withal from the Duke of *Espernon* at *Blois*, alter'd his design of attempting that place, and resolv'd without further delay to turn the torrent of his Arms upon the King himself, and against the City of *Tours*, where his Majesty then resided.

The King of *Navarre* had joyn'd himself with his Majesty but the day before, and had with his men taken up his Quarter in one of the Suburbs of the City; whom his Majesty being gone to visit in his Quarters, and walking with him abroad, the earnestness of their discourse had unawares drawn them so far out of the Suburbs, that the Avant Coureurs of the Duke of *Mayenne's* Army mist very little of surprizing them both, and consequently of making an end of the War, almost as soon as begun: but the two Kings notwithstanding being happily retir'd within their strength, the Skirmish grew hot on both sides, and then it was that the Duke of *Espernon's* Troops signalized themselves. For *Moncaßin* long, and bravely defending himself in the very face, and against the first fury of the Enemy, was there wounded in the presence of the King, who was himself Spectator of the Fight; and who, during all which with a constancy far from any shew of that effeminacy his Enemies had so often laid to his charge, himself gave the whole direction, and continu'd in the danger till the end of the Action.

Monsieur de Thou.

The Duke re-inforc'd by new Supplies.

The Duke of *Mayenne* being frustrated in his Design upon *Blois*, and baffled before *Tours*, principally through the Duke's opposition, and that of his Forces, seeing nothing was now to be effected, resolv'd to retire without attempting any thing further at that time; upon which retreat hapned the total dissolution of his Army: whereas on the contrary, the Duke of *Espernon's* Forces grew still greater in strength, and reputation; who having lately receiv'd a recruit of fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred Dragoons, the Royal Army receiv'd a greater increase from those Regiments he had brought over to the service, than from any other whatsoever. The King of *Navarre* had not yet had leisure to draw his Forces together, they being dispers'd into several parts, as was most convenient for the preservation of such places as were in the possession of the *Hugonot* Party; by which it may easily be imagin'd, the King could have no very considerable Army;

Army; yet was it necessary to make use of the disorder the Leaguers were then in, which oblig'd the King upon great probabilities, and almost assurance of signal advantages to be reap'd by it, to resolve upon leaving *Tours*; and to make directly for *Paris*. In this March the King of *Navarre* commanded the Vant-Guard of the Army, and his Majesty himself the main Battel, reserving the command of the Rear for the Duke of *Espernon*, and that in the very face of the *Mareschals de Biron*, and *d' Aumont*, and of all the other Nobility who were then about his Person.

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The Command of the Rear-guard reserv'd for the Duke of *Espernon*.

It was at this time that the Duke came up to the King, by whom he was receiv'd with all the honour, and kindness he could expect from his Majesties old Affection to him, now newly reviv'd by the important Services he had so lately receiv'd from his Fidelity, and Valour: And then it was that his Majesty, never thinking he could sufficiently evidence the esteem he had for him, endeavour'd (till better times should render him capable of a better acknowledgement) principally to satisfie him concerning all things that had past during his absence from Court, receiving him into a degree of greater Privacy, and trust, than he had ever been in, in his highest pitch of Favour.

The Duke's arrival at the Army, and his favourable reception.

The Duke, that he might make a grateful return to those infinite testimonies he receiv'd of the King his Masters great affection to him, sought on his part all occasions to please him in all things, and knowing very well he could not give him a greater, nor a more signal satisfaction, than to reconcile himself to the *Mareschal d' Aumont*, a man very acceptable to, and in great esteem with his Majesty, but who had long been upon ill terms with the Duke; he went one day franckly to his Lodging, and without regarding the formalities usual in such Accommodations, there made him offers of Reconciliation, and Friendship; the greatest violence imaginable to his own nature, of it self not easie to be reconciled (an humour in which he has ever since persisted, but too obstinately for the advantage of his own Affairs) but the desire he had to gratifie the King his Master overcame that difficulty, whose great Interest it was, that those few Servants, who continued about his Person, and were faithful to him, should live in perfect intelligence with one another. The Duke therefore having embrac'd the *Mareschal*, told him, "That he was
" come with all freedom, and candour, to desire his Friendship,
" as also to make him a tender of his; that the evil intelligence
" they had so long liv'd in could not but be prejudicial to his Majesty's Service, which they both so zealously desired to promote; That there had no offense past betwixt them, wherein
their

Monsieur de Thou.

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“ their Honours could be any ways concern'd ; that if notwithstanding he had entertain'd some little discontents , he desir'd him to forget them ; as for his part, and that sincerely, he would blot out all memory of his. The *Mareschal*, overcome by this generous, and unexpected freedom, as readily met the Duke in his courtesie, like a true *Frenchman*, laying open his bosom to the reconciliation with more sincerity , and affection than ever : Whereupon they both of them went immediately to the King, who was not a little pleas'd at an Accommodation so important to his Service ; and having been particularly inform'd of the Duke's manner of proceeding, gave it the favourable interpretation due to so noble an Action ; so that still more , and more encreasing the esteem, and kindness he had for him , he made it so highly, and so publickly appear, as gave *D'Avila* occasion to say, he was re-establish'd in the highest degree of Favour he had ever been, as it was effectually true, whatever *D'Aubigné* is pleas'd to write to the contrary.

He enters
into higher
favour than
ever.

The King's
generous
Resolution.

The same *D'Aubigné*, a man very perfect in calumny, and with which he continually bespatters all the King's Actions, contrary to the truth known and receiv'd by all the world , says further, That they had much ado to prevail with the King to march his Army out of *Tours* towards *Paris* ; that the King of *Navarre* was forc'd to use all manner of perswasion , and even a certain kind of violence to bring him to it : but besides that all our Historians are contrary to him in this, the King was observ'd after the death of the Duke of *Guise*, to be so vigorous in all his actions, that at Court they would ordinarily say, he had now re-assum'd that Lions Courage, he had for some years suppress. His whole discourse was nothing, but of reigning with Authority, and of chastising such as would not acknowledge him in their obedience, which his actions likewise confirm'd. In the attempt upon the Suburbs of *Tours*, *Mounfieur de Thou* (as being continually with the King, and particularly all that day) gives this testimony, That although in this occasion, which was very hot, his Majesty was surpriz'd in his Doublet only, he nevertheless gave orders with so much assurance, and gave so evident proofs of Valour and Constancy in so great a danger , that the whole Army took it for a happy *Omen*, and every man by his Example fortified himself with Courage and Resolution. In fine (whatever men may say of this Prince) 'tis most certain , that a Martial Disposition govern'd in him, as he had sufficiently made it appear in his Youth, when he was meerly led by his own natural Inclination : but it is likewise true, that being come to the Crown, and having learn'd
by

by the miseries of War, that Peace is the greatest good with which a Prince can gratifie his people; he endeavour'd by all means (and doubtless too industriously) to establish that happy Government in his Kingdom. To this end were all his Politicks (which as I have said) he made his ordinary, and regular study directed: but at last incens'd at the ill success of so good a Design, he absolutely resolv'd upon the taking Arms, never to lay them down, till he had re-establish'd his Authority, and that in the highest degree any of his Predecessors had ever done.

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With this resolution then he departed from *Tours* in the beginning of *May*, 1589. The first Town upon his way that stood for the League was *Gergeau*, and this little Town had the confidence to shut their Gates against the Royal Army: So much were mens minds infatuated with zeal to their Faction. The Duke of *Espernon* was order'd to go before to block up this place, and to cast up the first earth against it, which he accordingly did; and the whole Army being a few days after come up to the Siege, the King of *Navarre* advanc'd as far as the Trenches, to see what progress they had made: A Prince whose Valour and Bravery were so generally known, as that his Reputation was universally receiv'd, and establish'd in the opinion of all: But the Duke, who till this time had never had the honour to be near him in any occasion of this kind, would now let him see that he also was no Novice in matters of Warre: 'Tis true, he might have chosen a fitter opportunity of giving the King a testimony of his own Valour, without exposing his Person to so great a danger; but the heat of Youth transported him: and I have heard him discoursing of this Action, and (alwayes accusing his own indiscretion) magnifie to the highest degree, the King of *Navarre's* courage, which appear'd in great lustre upon this occasion. *D'Aubigné*, who was himself then present, gives this Relation of it; and I shall make use of his own words, being in this case not much to be suspected, since every body knows he was never very partial to the Duke.

“The King of Navarre (says he) being gone to visit the Duke of Espernon's Trenches, the Duke shewing him what he had done, leads him through the middle of the space betwixt the Trenches, and the Town, in his Doublet only, and that so unconcern'd, and so open to the Enemies view, that Houeilles the Duke's Cousin, and Camp-Master, as also another of his people fell dead at their feet; when having gain'd a Guard commanded by Belangreuille, they came out on the back side of that, and pass'd within forty paces of the Courtine which play'd upon them all the while, and laid two men more dead upon the place. The King of Navarre, and the Duke having at last

The King
marches
from *Tours*
to *Paris*.

Q

gain'd

Anno 1589. *gain'd the blind of a Garden Door. Frontenack, and another (which other must be D'Aubigné himself, who was Gentleman of the Horse to the King of Navarre) earnestly solicited the Duke to retire, which he was about to do by a way, perhaps likely to engage them in more danger than before, when the King of Navarre staid him by the Col- lar of his Doublet. This is that he says: but he adds after a thing wherein he is not so good a testimony, as of the first, and which is not so true, viz. that the King being enform'd of this Action, spoke highly against the Duke, and in terms that nothing tasted of Favour, and that so soon as he saw him, he severely reprehended him, and reproach'd him, that he would have destroy'd his Brother. 'Tis true that his Majesty chid the Duke for his rashness, telling him, That he ought to reserve his Valour for better occasions, and not so lightly to expose the Person of the King of Navarre his Brother, and his own; which were rather words of tenderness, than distaste; and it is likewise very true, that the King of Navarre's Servants murmur'd highly at it, endeavouring to possess the King, that the Duke had not engag'd him in this danger without Design: nay himself manifested something at his coming out of the Trenches; for it was told the Duke that he should say to some of his people, I think this man would be content to lose an Arm, to have my Brains beaten out; which was never the Duke's intention, he being only spur'd on by the inconsiderate heat of Youth and Bravery, without any other Design.*

The King of Navarre's first aversion for the Duke of Espernon.

From *Gergeau* the Army advanc'd towyrd *Piviers*, which immediately open'd its Gates, as also the City of *Chartres* surrendered at the first summon: but *Estampes* stood out a Siege; which being soon after taken by Assault, some of the King of Navarre's Souldiers ran on in their prevailing Fury even to the Church of that Town, there committing all sorts of insolence; which the Duke being advertis'd of, by the Guards he had plac'd at the Doors of this Church (wisely foreseeing that the King of Navarre's people, who for the greater part were men of the Reform'd Religion, would not abstain from violation even of Holy things) he ran thither himself to prevent further disorder; where being come, and seeing the Chalice, and other Sacred Ornaments of the Altars in the hands of the rude Souldier, not being able to endure that things, dedicated to so Sacred Use, should be profan'd after that manner, he furiously drew his Sword, and ran the first Offender in his way quite through the Body; which by chance hapning to be one of the Dragoons of the King of Navarre's own Guard, and in his own Livery, the Complaint was immediately carried to him, and by him as soon to the King; of which

which the Duke having also notice, he presently repair'd to his Majesties Quarter, to make his defense. There being come, and his Majesty having demanded of him the reason for what he had done, he gave him a particular accompt of the whole business: Whereupon the King of *Navarre* told him with some bitterness, *That he had no Authority over his Souldiers, and less over his Domesticks;* to which the Duke made answer with a respective, but a manly boldness, "That the trust wherewith the King was pleas'd to honour him; and the command he had given him in the Army, invested him with sufficient Authority to chastise Impious, and Sacrilegious Persons; and that moreover every good man ought to assume that Authority in Offenses of so high a Nature. Their Dispute was like to grow into hotter terms, when the King impos'd silence both upon the one, and the other, not condemning the Duke's action nevertheless; but desiring the King of *Navarre* to take care for the future, that there might be no more offenses committed of that kind. Thus by little and little secret discontents against the Duke crept into the King of *Navarre's* bosom, which many, envious of the Duke's greatness, endeavour'd to augment: neither was the Duke blind on that side, nor was it without some affliction that he saw himself so ill requited for the sincere and uninterrested affection he had ever manifested for this Princes Service in his greatest adversity: but having found by sufficient experience, that the best Offices are not always the best recorded, he contented himself with the conscience of his own integrity, and ever paying the respect due to the Birth, and Vertues of this excellent Prince, in all other concerns of his command he exercis'd his Duty to the utmost height of Authority he had ever done.

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Encrease as
the Siege of
Estampes:

The Army advancing daily towards *Paris*, the Duke had order to make an attempt upon *Montrean-faut-Yonne*, which he carried by Petard; neither was it a service of light importance; for in the sequel of Affairs, that which the Duke won in a few hours cost the King's Enemies many months, and many good men to recover it. From thence the Army being come to *Pontoise*, the Duke had there the storming of a Suburb, which was very well fortified, committed to him; and which notwithstanding he carried, though with as much hazard as ever he tempted in any action of his life. He was himself the first that leap'd upon the Rampire; and though in this assault he had above a hundred men laid dead at his feet, amongst which were many Persons of Quality, and Command, he nevertheless resolutely persisted in the Enterprize, and forc'd the Enemy at the Swords point even to the

The taking
of *Montrean
faut-yonne*.

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The Surrender of *Pon-toise*.

The Siege of *Paris*, and the death of *Henry the Third*.

Gates of the City, whither he compell'd them to retire; and where having block'd them up, he press'd on the Siege with that vigour and conduct, that the place soon after surrendered upon composition. Thus did the King find all things give place to his Arms, as if Destiny had smooth'd, and levell'd for him all the paths that lead to Death and Ruine; and in this prosperity of his Affairs, his Majesty resolv'd upon the Siege of *Paris*.

Already were the *Swisse*, and new rais'd *Reiters* come up; and joyn'd with the Body of the Army; the Officers were dispos'd into their several Quarters, and the King had taken up his own at *St Clou*, and given the Guard of them to the Duke, in order to a formal Siege. His Majesties Lodging in this narrow Quarter was at the *Hostel de Gondy*, as that which was most capable to receive him; and it was in this House of *Gondy* that (whilst this great Prince was forming the designs of restoring his despis'd Authority of chastising the temerity, and disobedience of his evil dispos'd Subjects, of rendring his name venerable to all his Neighbours, and of establishing the Peace of his Kingdom, having already almost extinguish'd all the sparks of Division that had inflam'd it) that I say an accursed Parricide in the Meridian of all his Glory, and in the Crisis of all his Designs plung'd a murdering Knife into his Entrails. Every one has heard who *Jaques Clement* was, and the black story of his Bloody Assassinate: but no one could ever yet penetrate so far as to discover by whom he was prompted on to this execrable Act. The King feeling himself wounded, drew the Knife immediately from the Wound, and strook it up to the haft in the Villains Face, at which bustle betwixt them, one of the Grooms of the Wardrobe, who guarded the Closet Door, into which his Majesty was withdrawn to give this wicked wretch a more private audience, ran in to them, as also did several Gentlemen who waited in the outer Room, who all of them drawing their Swords, by an imprudence in it self criminal, if not excus'd by the violence of their Affections, gave the Caitiffe an hundred Wounds; whereby in a moment he vomited out a life, that ought not to have been dismiss'd, till after the horror of a thousand torments.

The King, feeling himself Wounded, commanded the Duke of *Espernon* to be immediately sent for, who was then at the Post nearest to the City, putting some Troops in order, which were to fall into the Suburbs of *Paris*; but at this sad and unexpected news he ran in great confusion to the King's Lodging, whom he yet found in the same posture wherein he had receiv'd his hurt, with his hand still upon the Wound: At which sight, the Duke bursting

bursting out in tears, as fearing a sinister event, his Majesty gave him comfort, by telling him he hop'd the Wound would not prove Mortal; and saying to him further these very words, *Thou seest here (my Friend) the effects of my Enemies Treachery and Malice; but I hope God will shortly enable me to bring them to condigne punishment.* To which the Duke returning no other answer; than his tears, they laid his Majesty upon a bed, and search'd his Wound; which the Chirurgeons at the first dressing, apprehended not to be so dangerous, as it was; so that all that day was past over in this error: but that night, and the morning following, the dolours of his Wound encreasing, and at last growing to be extreme, it was then judg'd that his bowels were pierced, and that Death must necessarily, and in a few hours ensue. The King of Navarre had hasted with all diligence, at the first bruit of this accident, and being come to his bedside, his Majesty said to him almost the same things, he had said before to the Duke, and talk'd of nothing the first day, save of the exemplary punishment he would inflict upon his Enemies: but his Wound being at last judg'd to be mortal, and feeling in himself that he drew near his end, all his discourse of Punishment, and Revenge, was turn'd into that of Pardon and Oblivion: and certainly no Prince ever made a more Christian, or a more constant end. He declar'd upon his death-bed the King of Navarre nearest of his Blood, and consequently right Heir to the Crown, provided he were a Catholick; exhorting him at the same time to abjure his own Religion, and to reconcile himself to the Holy Church, commanding likewise the Duke of *Espernon* (whom he held by the hand) to serve him upon that condition; after which, and a Pious Resignation of himself, he gave up his last breath in the middle of his victorious Army.

We are now entring upon a new Reign; and one the Duke found very different, from that wherein he had hitherto liv'd; for he now not only saw himself stript of all kind of Favour: but he further saw the envy, and hatred of the whole Court directed against him. He was now no more call'd to Council, nor any longer entrusted with his Princes secrets; but on the contrary every one labour'd to diminish that greatness, to which his own Vertue, and his Masters Royal bounty had already rais'd him. But we shall see how he overcame all these difficulties: and the Justice of this new Prince at last giving the Merits and Services of this vertuous man their due, we shall see him not only support him in his own present Fortune, but also encrease it by his daily bounty, and so establish it in him, as to empower him to settle it in his own Posterity.

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Several Propositions about the new King amongst the Chiefs of the Army.

The Lords Catholick send his Majesty their Resolution.

His Majesties Answer.

The major part of the Catholick Lords submit to the King.

So soon as the King was dead, all the Roman Catholicks of quality in the Army assembled themselves together, to advise what in this occurrence was to be done for the maintenance of the Catholick Religion in the Service of this new King: And here their opinions were split into three several Councils; for some there were who thought it fit absolutely to acknowledge the King without condition, or reservation, but those were very few: Others there were who would absolutely abandon his Service, and joyn with the League; and those were fewer than the first: But the third proposition, and that which was concluded on by the most principal, and prudent Lords of the Army; amongst which were the Dukes of *Longueville*, of *Nevers*, of *Espernon*, and of *Luxembourg*; the *Mareschals de Biron*, and *d' Aumont*, the Marquis of *Ramboüillet*, and many others, was to serve the King, and to tye themselves wholly to his Fortune, provided his Majesty would please to give them some gracious assurance of his speedy Conversion. Which being deliver'd to his Majesty as their determinate Resolution, and the condition prescrib'd as it were, by the King his Predecessor, he wisely chose such a mean as seem'd necessary to him in this occasion, for the establishment of the uncertain state of his Affairs; and would by all means preserve that moderation, and indifferency betwixt both parties, as should by an equal hope in them both, keep both his Catholick and *Hugonot* Subjects within the bounds of their duty. His Answer therefore was, "That it would appear to all the world very easie, and unhandsome in him to change his Religion, only to satisfy his Subjects humour, and to receive a Law from them in a thing, which in its self, of all other, ought to be most free: That he desir'd to be instructed, and satisfied in his Conscience before he proceeded so far, as to change his Religion: That to this purpose he promis'd within six months to call an Assembly of men of known Piety and Learning, and if occasion were, a National Synod, to whose final Decree he would absolutely submit, and that in the mean time he would be careful to protect, and maintain the Catholick Religion.

After divers Messages of Treaty sent to, and fro, on either part, it at last ended in this, that many of the Catholick Lords submitting to his Majesties first Proposition; what he had then promis'd by word of mouth, was now only more formally drawn into a writing interchangeably deliver'd betwixt the King, and his Catholick Subjects, and Sign'd by the greatest part of Men of Quality, that were then in the Army: But the Duke of *Espernon* believing this delay of six months propos'd by the King, to be no other

delay, intended only to win longer time, and that at last their hopes, and expectations would be deluded, demanded some further assurance, than he yet saw of his Majesties conversion; neither could he, notwithstanding the importunities of all the Friends he had, be drawn upon other terms to seal to that Writing. And this was the true, and only reason of his refusal, and not what both *Mounseur de Thou*, and *D'Avila* have reported of it. They say that the thing which made him refuse to seal to that Instrument, was a contest which hapned betwixt him, and the *Mareschals de Biron*, and *d'Aumont*, who should sign first; these as *Mareschals of France*, and in immediate command in the Army pretending a priority; and he claiming a precedence as Duke, and Peer: a difficulty that might easily have been overcome, had that been all. But the cause proceeded from a principle of greater moment, than the trivial contest of a slight Ceremony.

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The Duke
of Espernon
stands out.

The King however caus'd him by several hands to be over and over again solicited, and importun'd, to satisfy himself as other good Catholicks had done; and as the Dukes were the best, and the fullest Regiments of the Army, and as his person, and his example (which were likely to be follow'd (as they afterwards were) not only by those under his own command, but by many others of good quality in the Army) altogether render'd him very considerable: So did his Majesty by all sorts of persuasions and promises, endeavour to detain him; but all to no purpose. 'Tis true, he acknowledg'd the King for lawful Successour to the Crown, as he had sufficiently declar'd in a time when the greatest persecutions were practis'd against him, and when he was only King of *Navarre*, by which he had in part drawn the hatred of the Duke of *Guise* upon him. And it is also true, that he had all the reason in the world to desire that Prince should now become his Master, whom he had all his life labour'd to raise to that Dignity to which he was now arriv'd: But he thought the Ruine of the Catholick Religion inevitable, should things continue in the posture they were now in; which made him rather choose to expose himself to all those disgraces he knew his Enemies were preparing for him, than to serve his own interests (whose advancement he likewise saw infallible in so favourable a juncture) to the reproach, and prejudice of his own Conscience.

The Duke
obstinate to
leave the
Army.

Fortified therefore still more and more in this resolution, he caus'd his Troops to be made ready for his departure: these, at his first coming to the King consisted of six thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse; which though they were now much diminish'd in the Service, yet were they notwithstanding in such a condition,

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The King
perswaded
to cause the
Duke to be
stab'd.

The Duke
goes to take
his leave of
the King.

The King's
angry
Speech to
the Duke.

condition, as that there were hardly so many more *French* in the whole Army, as he had under his sole command. The Marquis *de Rocquelaure*, and other of his intimate friends labour'd by all imaginable means, to dissuade him from his ill taken up resolution; but not being able to prevail, his Enemies would have perswaded the King, to have met his obstinacy with a Sabre, a Counsel the Duke was as soon inform'd of. But whether it was, that he thought this generous Prince, not to be perswaded into so foul an action; or that he thought it at that time a thing not easie to be executed, he had the assurance, notwithstanding the caution had been given him, to go take his leave of the King, before he left the Army, and to excuse his departure: A Ceremony that was pass'd over in few words; and I have often heard him repeat the manner of it to be thus. The Duke took along with him thirty Gentlemen of his Train, in whom he repos'd the greatest confidence, and of these he left some at the Doors of the King's Lodgings, and others upon the Stairs, to facilitate his retirement, if any foul play should be offer'd to him; and himself with only two more in his company enter'd the Gallery. The last Journey he made to *Paris*, he hapned to lie in the same house, and shew'd us the place where he took his leave of the King. This house did at that time belong to *Mademoiselle du Tillet*, his old, and intimate Friend; a Lady illustrious for her courage and constancy, and passionate for the Duke's Interests to that degree, that he has had few friends who have justified their affection by so great, and so continued a fidelity. The King was at the one end of the Gallery, when the Duke appear'd entering at the other, whom the King no sooner perceiv'd, but that coming up to him, with an angry countenance, and striking his stick with some vehemence upon the floor, he said. *What Mounseigneur d'Espernon, it seems you have refus'd to Sign the Writing, which has been Sign'd without difficulty by most persons of Quality in my Army, as good Catholics as your self! do not you, as well as they, acknowledge me for your King?* To which the Duke made answer, "That he was his Majesty's most humble Subject, and Servant; That there was not a person in his Kingdom, who had more ardently desir'd to see him in the place where he now was, should the King his Master die, than himself had done; That he would never do anything contrary to his Service; that he had rather die, than once to entertain so dishonest a thought: but that he did humbly beseech his Majesty to excuse him, if being of a Religion differing from that his Majesty profess'd, he could not attend his person; that being a thing he could not do, without offering the greatest violence to his own Conscience. The

The Duke had scarce made an end of speaking, when he heard a noise of armed men behind him in the Gallery; and then it was that he certainly believ'd, these were the men appointed to kill him, as he had been pre-advis'd: but he was soon deliver'd out of that fear, when he saw the King move forward with a smiling countenance to embrace them. These were two Captains of the King's Light Horse; the one call'd *le Baron de Sainte Marie du Mont*, a Norman; the others name I have forgot: who, having upon their Guard (which was at a good distance) receiv'd intelligence of the Death of *Henry III.* were come in all haste to congratulate the King with his new Advancement; and lighted at the Door of his Lodging, were come up in the same posture the news had surpriz'd them in upon their Guard to present their Duty: The Duke taking this occasion to retire, withdrew himself forthwith to his own Quarter; but before he would absolutely depart, he would first attend the Corps of the King his Master, and Benefactor, as far as *Compeigne*, whither they were carried with very little Ceremony, the disorders of the time not permitting greater; and where having paid his last duty, he return'd to overtake his Troops, which were now marching upon the Road of *Loches* towards *Angoumois*.

The example of the Duke's departure was followed by many others, so that in a few days the Army was grown so thin, that the King had scarce any save strangers left in his Camp, and even they in the end, for want of pay, disbanded as well as the rest; and then it was that the Duke's Enemies, with a redoubled malice, spoke loudest in his disgrace, and did all they possibly could to animate his Majesty in the highest degree against him. There had already pass'd (as you have heard) some secret discontents betwixt the King, and the Duke, during the life of the late King; amongst which the business of *Gergeau*, and that of *Estampes* had made no little noise; but to these many have added, and likewise some endeavour'd to possess the King, that the Duke ever impatient of a Rival in his Master's Favour, and less able to endure his Majesty who was so much above him, had in that time done all the ill offices he could invent to beget a mis-understanding betwixt the King, and him, such as might cause a separation; and certainly so effectually had they labour'd with him, as to make him believe too much; by which they had so incens'd his Majesty's mind against him, that doubtless he would have bent his whole endeavour to the Duke's Ruine, upon the late refusal he had made of his assistance, had not the necessity of his own Affairs diverted his designs another way: but all these evil dispositi-

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The Remonstrances of the Duke's Friends to persuade him to stay.

ons, though they still threatned worse consequences, could not hinder the Duke from persevering in his resolution to retire.

As his departure was of infinite importance, whether we consider it as to the Fortune of the King, and Interest of the State; or as to the Duke's own particular concern, and that there are few Historians of that, or later times, who have not taken occasion to blame the Dukes proceeding herein: I think it fit to say something here in his vindication, and to discover the reasons upon which he built that resolution; which having receiv'd from his own mouth in the same terms that I shall faithfully deliver here, every one may afterwards form what judgment of the Action he shall in his own discretion think most fit. He told me that a little before his departure, many of his intimate friends had endeavour'd to dissuade him from his Design, by presenting before him the present juncture of Affairs, so favourable (as they said) to the support of his immediate condition (so generally envy'd by all) that he could not himself have wish'd a more advantageous juncture: That as it was principally by his means, and assistance the King could build any probable hopes of effecting what he desir'd; so were there present no advantages (besides an indemnity, and oblivion of all pass'd unkindnesses, a thing in it self highly to be consider'd) to which he might not reasonably pretend: That he might now establish his own greatness in so sure a condition, that it would be no hard matter to maintain himself for the future in the same height, should the Kings humour chance to come about: That all men plainly saw how much upon his departure, or stay, depended the standing, or dissolution of the Royal Army: That upon his concurrence with his Majesty, depended that of the greatest part of the Catholicks, and the Ruine of the League, wherein were his most capital Enemies: That by his assistance men might yet promise to themselves the reducing of *Paris*, and in that the peace and settlement of the whole Kingdom: That having in his hands the disposition of things of so great utility to the publick, and so great honour to himself, he neither ought to envy his Country those advantages, nor to deprive himself of the glory of so admirable a success.

These were considerations that in their own weight, and laid home to him by men he knew to be his Friends, were not unlikely to prevail, and to have overcome his obstinacy, as doubtless they had done, had the Duke look'd no further, than his own Interest; and so he told his Friends, who had so freely argu'd with him: "He told them that he was not so little acquainted with
"the business of the world, that he did not well enough discern
all

“ all those advantages they had propos’d, as relating to himself :
 “ That he did very well believe his Majesty , assisted by his Catho-
 “ lick Subjects, might reduce his Enemies to the point he desir’d ;
 “ but that from thence would infallibly ensue the subversion of
 “ the Catholick Religion , which would likewise bring on the
 “ ruine of the State : That instead of the Peace they propos’d to
 “ themselves , after the League were reduc’d to their obedience,
 “ they would see themselves engag’d in a more violent, and obsti-
 “ nate War than before: That those of the Reform’d Religion being
 “ grown more strong, and having a lawful , mighty, and active
 “ King to head them, would doubtless establish their own Reli-
 “ gion in *France*, and constrain the Catholicks to submit to what-
 “ ever Law they would impose upon them : That it was far bet-
 “ ter betimes to refuse to countenance the evil, which lay conceal’d
 “ under the apparence of a present good, than to engage himself
 “ in mischiefs of so inevitable consequence, and to forbear a while
 “ the fruits of a specious, and alluring Peace, to enjoy it at better
 “ leisure, more permanent and secure : That the King, what pro-
 “ mises soever he had made, and what real dispositions soever he
 “ might have to cause himself to be satisfied within six months,
 “ had nevertheless been prompted by those of his own perswas-
 “ on, to demand that respite for no other end , than to keep the
 “ Catholick Forces about him, that he might make himself Ma-
 “ ster of *Paris* : That having done that , which must necessarily
 “ put an end to the War, and being wholly possess’d by creatures
 “ passionate for their ill receiv’d and new opinions , he would
 “ certainly be continued in his Error by their restless practice :
 “ That there was a necessity of a prompt, and sincere Conversion ;
 “ not such an one, as was to be hop’d for no man knew when,
 “ and that then perhaps would be luke-warm, and unsound :
 “ That whensoever that should come to pass, they should see him
 “ stake his Fortune, his Friends, and his Life, for a Prince whom
 “ he did ever acknowledge undoubted Successour to the Crown :
 “ That in the mean time he made no doubt but his Enemies (as
 “ they use to do) would lay all the disorders that should happen,
 “ at his door, and hourly incense the King against him with all
 “ the malice, and artifice they could invent ; but that he hop’d his
 “ Majesty would himself one day commend his Zeal to Religion,
 “ which ought to be the first thing in every good man’s prospect,
 “ and which was also his sole object in that resolution , wherein
 “ he would live and die : That he was retiring into his Govern-
 “ ments, where his Actions should justify the integrity of his
 “ heart, and that he would there serve the King to his utmost

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“ power, by making Warre upon those whom he knew to be
“ enemies to his Service.

This was the Duke's Declaration to his private Friends, to which his Conduct afterwards was so conformable, as sufficiently demonstrated to all the world, that he was possess'd with a better spirit, than that of Ambition. 'Tis true, his determination was in it self positive, and bold; and he had reason in all appearance to apprehend a dangerous issue, and has himself ever acknowledg'd, that according to the Maxims of humane Prudence, he herein committed a dangerous error; but that having nothing but the sole interest of Religion for his aim, he had reap'd greater advantages by it, than he durst have propos'd to himself from any other resolution; and that he did believe it was from this fountain he since deriv'd all the successes of his Life; of which the most signal was, that his Majesty himself after some time, having pierc'd deeper into the candour of his intention, receiv'd him into as high a degree of Favour, as any of his other Servants: but it was not until he had first receiv'd many infallible, and continual proofs of his Loyalty and Affection.

Having after this manner deserted the Army, he soon arriv'd at *Angoulesme*; where the first thing he did after his arrival, was to send the Pope an account of his proceeding, and that he had been constrain'd to quit the Army, being bound so to do, out of his respect to the Catholick Religion: It was also requisite he should by a Declaration purge himself from the Calumnies cast upon him by the League, who had deliver'd him to the people for a grand Confederate with the Hereticks: But other particular correspondencies he had none; for of all Foreign Princes, the Popes were only they with whom he ever held any intelligence; and whatever has been said to the contrary, he ever preserv'd his fidelity unspotted from the practices of other Princes, who daily tempted him with no contemptible offers to an intelligence with them; a vertue not to be pass'd over in this part of his Life without a worthy mention, it being in a time when few of the great ones of either party had so temperate a respect for their duty; the misfortunes of the time, and the various Factions that divided the Kingdom, seeming as it were, to give every one liberty to fortifie the interests of his own party, by all the Friends, and Confederates he could make.

The Duke having engag'd himself before his retirement from the Army to serve the King by all the ways he could, would now sit no longer idle, but gave immediate order for the recruit of his Troops; and the experience of what had formerly past, having
given

given him sufficiently to understand what confidence was to be repos'd in the people, he was now resolv'd no longer to depend upon their giddy, and voluble humour; nor no more be subject to such commotions; as his Enemies might attempt to raise amongst that credulous, and mutinous rabble. He therefore caus'd a considerable Fortification to be speedily rais'd at the Castle of *Angoulesme*, the King having given him leave so to do, as also to raise what money was necessary to the perfecting that work, upon the Province. He likewise rais'd another at *Xaintes*, so that in a short time he secur'd himself from all Surprizes, like that of *St. Laurence*: but he had scarce time to settle this good order in his Governments, when he was call'd away to look after others, and those very considerable, Affairs, that immediately concern'd the safety of the Kingdom.

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The Duke fortifies the Castle of *Angoulesme*, and the Citadel of *Xaintes*.

All the Provinces of the Kingdom being divided betwixt the King, and the League, it was to be expected that the great Cities would likewise bandy within their own Walls, and stand up for the one party, or the other, as mens passions, or judgments inclin'd them to the cause. Of this number was the City of *Limoges*, where the Bishop, who was of the Family of *Martboine*, assisted by the *Sieurs de Pompadou, de la Guerche, de Rastignac, de la Chapelle Biron*, and many other Gentlemen of Quality, favour'd also by many of the Inhabitants, labour'd all he could to make the Town, and City declare for the Duke of *Mayenne*, and his Faction, wherein nevertheless he at first met some difficulty: but proceeding from perswasions to open force, he, by the assistance of those Gentlemen, made himself Master of the City, and was upon the point to have made himself also Master of the Town; when the *Count de la Voute* eldest Son to the Duke of *Ventadour*, put himself into it, and made all possible resistance to preserve it out of their hands: Yet had he not (his Party being so much the weaker) been able long to have held out, had not the Duke of *Espernon*, advertis'd of this disorder, come in to his timely succour: But at the report of the Duke's arrival, the Leaguers immediately dispers'd themselves, abandoning the City they already possess'd; as he afterwards turn'd all suspected persons out of the Town, and settled it so well by the prudent order he establish'd there, that it never after started from its duty; but on the contrary continued so firm, and maintained it self so well, that it was almost the only City of the Kingdom which tasted not of those miseries with which the Civil War by taking, re-taking, plunder, and other mischiefs, infested all other Cities of *France*; a happiness that place principally owes to the timely succour it receiv'd from the Duke of *Espernon*'s vigilance and care.

The Duke rescues *Limoges* out of the hands of the League.

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The Duke
besieges St.
Germain,
which sur-
renders.

The example of the Capital City, contain'd almost all the lesser Cities of the Province in his Majesties Obedience; neither was there any except that of *St. Germain* which refus'd to keep within the limits of its Duty; but that, declaring for the League, constrain'd the Duke to turn his Forces that way to reduce it. *Puisferat*, a Gentleman of the Country, commanded there, who after some volleys of Cannon shot, surrendred upon conditions, that he, and his Souldiers should have free Quarter, and march away with Bag, and Baggage; a capitulation notwithstanding very ill observ'd, to the Duke's great displeasure; who having appointed the elder *Sabole's* Troop of Light Horse for their Convoy, without considering their Officer had been kill'd at the Siege, the Cavaliers, incens'd at the loss of their Captain, reveng'd his Death upon these miserable people, and cut them almost all to pieces: A cruelty some Authors have laid to the Duke's charge, though very unjustly; for had his generous heart been capable of committing so dishonourable a crime, what advantage could he have propos'd to himself, from so foul a treachery?

And now was the Duke resolv'd to have clear'd all that Province, when the disorders of his own Government call'd him back to look after his own immediate concerns. We have already given a Narrative of the Enterprize of *Angoulesme*, upon *St. Laurence* day, and further an accompt of the Clemency the Duke shew'd to those who had treated him after so barbarous a manner: of which there yet remain'd some, who (as they were most zealous for the League, and as they had been most guilty of that sedition, mistrusting by the Conscience of their own Crimes, that the Duke could never heartily pardon, and forget them) chose rather, leaving the security and peace of their own Houses, to commit their safeties to the guard of their own Arms, than to rely upon a promise they knew they could not expect in reason should be observ'd. The *Chavalier d'Aubeterre*, one of the principal sticklers for the League in that Province, having put himself in the Head of these Mutineers, and having gather'd together some other discontented people of the Country, had of these compos'd a Body of Light Horse, and some Companies of Foot, with which in this time of the Duke's absence, he committed a thousand Insolencies: nay, to that confidence were they grown of their own strength, having committed such Riots, whilst there was none to oppose them, that they at last shut up themselves in the Castle of *Villebois*, which they intended should serve them upon all occasions for a secure retreat; a place indeed of very advantageous situation, very proper for close Fight, and that

The Duke
call'd back
into *Angou-*
mois to sup-
press the
Leaguers
there.

that had all the Avenues unto it of so difficult access, that Cannon without infinite labour was not to be brought up to force it. In this place then they thought to remain in great security, and being but three Leagues distant from *Angoulesme*, did by their continual sallies very much incommode that City. The Duke call'd now home by their insolencies, sent them presently a Summons to Surrender; to which they return'd so haughty, and so impudent an answer, that he saw he must be forc'd to Besiege them, as he soon after did: and having, though with infinite trouble, planted two pieces of Cannon upon the Hill where the Castle stood, he caus'd them immediately to begin to play. The besieg'd endur'd above two hundred shot, without shewing any countenance of fear: but at last seeing a breach made, which put them out of all hopes long to defend themselves, their insolence was turn'd into apprehension, and astonishment, and their scornful language into terms of intreaty, and humble supplication, submissively begging (as the utmost grace they could expect) that they might be permitted to depart with the assurance of their lives: to which the Duke would by no means consent, nor receive them on other terms, than upon discretion; to which, after many difficulties, which they had good reason to make, they were in the end constrain'd to submit. Their Commander in Chief, Lieutenant to the *Chevalier d'Aubeterre*, call'd *Maumont*, knowing very well, that both by the Law of Arms, and by the terms of the Capitulation, he was to expect nothing but death, try'd to escape with the soonest, by causing himself to be let down by Ropes into the Graffe of the Castle: but being pursu'd, and overtaken, he died more honourably than he expected, being dispatch'd by a Pistol-shot in his head. As for his Complices, the Duke separated those who had been concern'd in the Conspiracy of *Angoulesme* from the rest, whom seeing to be men so obstinate in their malice, as neither reason could reduce, nor mercy reclaim, he caus'd eighteen to be hang'd up before the Gates of the Castle, and pardon'd all the rest. It is but a very little while ago, that an old man of fourscore and two years old, told me this story, wherein he himself had been no little concern'd, as being one of those set apart for the Rope; for having before made one in the business of *Angoulesme*; but his good fortune reserving him for one of the last that was to die, and the *Marquise de Mezieres* who was at that time Mistress of the Castle of *Villebois*, being then in the Country, and by some of the poor man's Friends apply'd to, that she would intercede for him, she had so much time as to entreat, and obtain his pardon; and this was I think the only

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Anno 1589. man of those former Offenders, who escap'd that Execution; neither indeed could such a mercy have been better plac'd, than on a man who knew so well how to husband his life, when it was once more his own, as to preserve it almost an age after. This Castle with the demean and territory belonging to it (one of the fairest of that Country) was soon after purchas'd by the Duke, and since advanc'd into a Dutchy, and Peerdom, under the Title of the Dutchy *de la Valette*: And I have often heard the Duke lament the ruines he was forc'd to make of this Castle, being before a delicate Pile of Stone, and very capacious; but never after wholly repair'd, there still remaining some monuments of the Rebellion as also of the punishment, those desperate men suffer'd, who were the Commoters of it.

This execution, that would have appear'd more like an example of Cruelty, than Justice, had the Crimes of the Offenders been less, or not repeated, strook such a terror into the rest of that Party, that they were not now so hasty to appear for a side they had seen so roughly handled; so that the Duke did now not only enjoy the repose of his Government, but gave sanctuary to many of the King's Party of the neighbouring Provinces, who were overmatch'd, or oppress'd by the League. I have already told you the occasion that call'd him into *Limousin*, and I shall now tell you of another of the same nature, and of no less importance, though it made not so great a noise in the world, that call'd him into the Government of *Guyenne*. The *Mareschal de Matignon*, the King's Lieutenant in that Province, had his hands so full in, and about *Bordeaux*, that the impossibility of his being present in all places, where his presence was requir'd, gave opportunity to *Luffan*, the Governour of *Blaye*, a man inclin'd to the League, to lend some Gentlemen of that Party some Forces, in order to the taking of *Bourg*; two little Leagues distant only from *Blaye*. This Town, though of a very little circuit, is notwithstanding of very advantageous situation; for besides that it stands upon an eminence of very difficult access, it absolutely commands the River of *Dordogne*, as it also at least awes that of *Garonne*, being not above a quarter of a League from the *Bec d'Ambez*, where these two Rivers meet to make the *Gironde*. It must therefore needs be of great advantage to the League to possess this place, by which means *Bordeaux* would be absolutely depriv'd of the succour of two so considerable Rivers, by which the City was continually, and abundantly supply'd. The Leaguers therefore, spurr'd on by these considerations, had laid Siege to *Bourg*, and were by the favour of some of the Inhabitants of their

their Party receiv'd into the Town, without any opposition; but *la Joviziere*, a man of approved Valour, who commanded in the Castle, defended himself so well, notwithstanding the ill condition of the place, and the vigour of the Assailants, who press'd hard upon him, that he gave the Duke time to come to his Relief, at whose first appearance, the Enemy retir'd; when the Duke having publicly commended the Governours Valour, and the fidelity of some honest Inhabitants who had stuck stoutly to him in this occasion, withdrew the Captain into his own Service, for the testimony he had given of his Valour, leaving *Campagno*, after Colonel of the Regiment of Guards, and since Governour of *Boulogne*, with a good Garrison in his room; as judging this place of that importance, that it ought to have a person of no less Authority to defend it against any attempt from the Garrison of *Blaye*, so near, and so dangerous a Neighbour: Yet did not the Duke keep it long in his possession; for the King not long after commanding him to deliver it up to him, he immediately obey'd, though he had in a manner himself made a conquest of it: Some say that the *Mareschal de Matignon*, jealous of so considerable a neighbour as the Duke, had earnestly importun'd the King to retrieve this place out of his hands.

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The Duke
relieves
Bourg.

The Duke having by these successes settled all his Neighbours in peace, whilst the rest of the Kingdom was in trouble, it was but reasonable that he himself should share in that felicity, wherein his Valour and Vigilancy had so fortunately establish'd others; and of this he receiv'd the first and most happy fruits by the Blessing God was pleas'd to give his Marriage-Bed; for having been already three years Married to *Marguerite de Foix*, Countess of *Candale*, without Issue, (the great, and various agitations, wherewith he had been continually exercis'd all that time, scarce allowing him the leisure to live in company with his Wife) at last this vertuous Lady in *March 1591.* was at *Xaintes* brought to Bed of *Henry de Foix*, and *de la Valette* his eldest Son, whom we have since seen Duke of *Candale*, and whose Valour has manifested itself in most parts of Europe, where he acquir'd the Reputation of one of the greatest Captains of his time: To these Military Vertues, he had yet the addition of so many other excellent qualities, that it was hard to say, which was to be most admir'd, his Valour in War, his Sweetness in Conversation, or his Prudence and Dexterity in the Management, and Conduct of the most weighty Affairs. The year following 1592. the Duke was enrich'd with another Son, *Bernard de Foix*, and *de la Valette*, who was born at *Angoulesme*, and who is now the sole Heir of that

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The birth
of *Henry de
Foix*, and
de la Valette,
the Duke of
Espernon's
eldest Son.

The birth
of *Bernard
de Foix*,
and *de la
Valette*, the
Duke's se-
cond Son.

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1591.
The Birth
of Lewis
Cardinal de
la Valette,
the Duke's
youngest
Son.

illustrious Family; a Prince whose Vertues would furnish me, with sufficient matter for his praise, did not his modesty impose my silence. The third and last was *Lewis Cardinal de la Valette*, born at *Angoulesme* the year following; one whom the Court esteem'd, and acknowledg'd for the greatest, and most accomplish'd Courtier that had there been bred for many years. He render'd himself conspicuous in his profession whilst he continued in it, by embellishing, and adorning an excellent natural ingenuity with the choicest Flowers of Divine and Humane Learning; and doubtless, had he apply'd himself wholly to his Book, might have gone equal to the most famous Church-men of this latter age: but the heat of his Courage having tempted him, out of the bounds of his Spiritual Profession, he prov'd a better Captain, than the chance of War would give him leave long to continue; for the Wars of *Italy* wherein he serv'd the State with unparallel'd Diligence, and greater Success, than was to be expected from so few Forces, as he commanded, spurr'd on his untimely Fate, as also his elder Brothers, who both of them in less than four months space, lost their lives in the same Army.

Passages at
Court in the
Duke's ab-
sence.

Whilst the Duke had been employing his Power, and Person in these foremention'd exploits, there had pass'd much important action about the Person of the King; who after the Skirmish of *Arques*, and the Battel of *Ivry*, was grown to such a height of Power and Reputation, as had put him into a condition to undertake the Siege of *Paris*; which doubtless he might then have taken, if on the one side his Majesty had been less solicitous to preserve the City (which would have been utterly destroy'd should his Army have entred by storm) or on the other side the Citizens had been less obstinate in their defense: but their despair fortifying, and hardning them against their necessities, which in truth were insupportable, they gave the Duke of *Mayenne* time to fetch the Duke of *Parma* to their Relief, which for some years prologu'd the entire Victory his Majesty might then, but for his Clemency, have obtain'd. After the raising of this Siege, the King's Army being much decay'd by the length, and ill success thereof, all the Catholicks who had thus long serv'd his Majesty, even his most particular Servants, took the liberty, highly to complain of his slow proceeding towards his intended Conversion; as also the several Societies, and Companies of the Kingdom, generally sent their Deputies humbly to beseech his Majesty to put an end to that good work, which would likewise put an end to all his own troubles, and be the only means to preserve his Kingdom; nay even the Court it self grew importunate in the same suit, and

The King
importun'd
to hasten
his Conver-
sion.

were

were already laying the design of a third Party, which would have involv'd the King in a new difficulty his Majesty had then no need of; but to prevent all inconveniencies, to stop mens mouths, and to hinder all these Court-practises, his Majesty saw it necessary to renew the War with new vigour, and by some notable, and important action, to gain a reputation to his Party. He took therefore a resolution to call all the Nobility he could win over to him, about his person, and that not so much to re-inforce his Army by their presence, as to hinder them (being at distance, and in full liberty to dispose of themselves) from joyning either with those Factions already form'd by his Enemies, or such as were now (even by those who had hitherto follow'd his Fortune) forming against him. Nevertheless his Majesty knowing very well, that the major part of those, who had separated themselves from him, had done it meerly out of respect to Religion, and that they would not easily be induc'd to return, unless he first gave them some hopes, as to that particular; he sent to assure them, that he desir'd nothing more ardently, than to be instructed in the Catholick Religion, to the end, that with the satisfaction and safety of his Conscience, he might make open profession of it to all the world. Upon this assurance of his speedy Conversion (which notwithstanding was not accomplish'd till some years after) the Duke of *Nevers*, with many other persons of Quality, came over to him; and amongst others, the Duke of *Espernon*, whom his Majesty having also invited to his Service, and who having only forsook him at the first out of scruple of Conscience, that being now overcome by the resolution his Majesty profess'd to have taken, he made no difficulty to return, and with a Train that sufficiently denoted with what passion he embrac'd his Service; bringing along with him three thousand five hundred Foot, four hundred Light Horse, and four hundred Harquebusiers, on horseback. With which Forces (which the Duke had rais'd at his own charge, and by his own credit) his Majesty being very well recruited, he resolv'd to make a new attempt upon *Paris* it self, and to assault it in four places at once: A Design he intended to execute by Ladders, and Petards, and to lead on one of the Divisions to the Assault in his own person, in which the Duke of *Espernon* was appointed to attend him; and indeed of his men chiefly consist'd that Body his Majesty would in person lead on to the Assault. A Design which, had not the *Parisians* had timely information of, had been very likely to have taken effect: but the preparation of Ladders, and other provisions for the attempt, being made at *St. Dennis*, and other adjacent places, almost in the

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The Duke
of *Espernon*
returns to
Court.

D'Avila:

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The Siege
of Chartres.

sight of *Paris*, the King's Forces no sooner appear'd, than the *Parisians* were also found ready upon their Walls, in a resolute posture of defense; which his Majesty perceiving, he retir'd without making a fruitless attempt in a Design which could not possibly, but in case of a surprize, succeed: So that this Stratagem failing, he resolv'd upon the Siege of *Chartres*, which in the end he took, but not without much difficulty, expense of much time, and the loss of a great number of men.

The Duke
goes into
Picardy.

The Duke having consider'd that he might now have a fit opportunity during this Siege to go to *Boulogne*, of which he had enjoy'd the Government during his time of Favour, to settle it in a posture of safety, he entreated leave of his Majesty that he might undertake that Journey. This place (a Town of great importance) had hitherto been commanded by the *Sieur de Bernay*, whom the Duke had formerly plac'd Governour there, and in whom he had for many years repos'd an intire confidence: but at last *Bernay*, having by some odd carriage of his, rendred himself suspected to the Duke, he was resolv'd to withdraw him from that trust: And forasmuch as *Picardy*, in the utmost borders of which this Town was seated, was very partial to the Leaguers, who were possess'd of most of the chief Cities of that Province, the Duke entreated his Majesty, that he might take five hundred of those Horse he had brought with him to the Service, for his Convoy in this expedition; a request the King made no difficulty to grant, his Majesty having no great use of Horse in this Siege: So that departing in this equipage, he perform'd his Journey without the least opposition, or shew of an Enemy, withdrew *Bernay* from *Boulogne*, and plac'd the *Marquis de Rouillac*, his Brother-in-law, in his stead, who serv'd many years after in that employment under his command: But though the Duke had met no body to oppose him, as he went through the Country; the Duke *d'Aumale*, Governour general for the League in *Picardy*, had nevertheless been meditating how to cut him off in his return, and to that purpose had call'd *Minieux*, the particular Governour of *Montreuille*, into his Design, where betwixt them it was agreed, that *Minieux* should follow the Duke in the Rear, till he had dogg'd him within sight of the Duke *d'Aumale's* Forces; so that being charg'd at once in the Rear by *Minieux*, and in the Front by the Duke of *Aumale*, it would be impossible for him, thus beset on all sides, and by Forces double to his own, to disengage himself from so inevitable a danger. And certainly had the Order been as well observ'd, as the Design was well laid, the Duke would have had very much ado to have freed himself from so mani-

manifest a peril: his good fortune nevertheless deliver'd him from it by an accident, that in it self had been like enough to have hasten'd his Ruine. This *Minieux* had for some time been the Duke's particular, and mortal Enemy; and upon the pretense of not having been well us'd by him in the height of his favour, had with great impatience watch'd an occasion like this, wherein to execute his Revenge. Wherefore lying in Ambuscado with two hundred and fifty Light Horse, upon the way the Duke was to pass, and the Duke of *Aumale* not far off in a Wood within half a League of *Pont de Douricé* with seven hundred more, *Minieux* impatient to be at it, and either fearing to lose the opportunity of his revenge, or hoping to gain a rich Booty of the Duke's Baggage, could not contain himself; but appearing sooner, than he should have done, he follow'd the Duke so close, till he was advanc'd within almost Musquet-shot of his Rear, which (the Bodies being so near) occasion'd many light Skirmishes betwixt them; until at last the Duke nettled to see himself so pursu'd, and trifled withal by his Enemy, commanded *Montestruc* his Kinsman to go charge them with forty Horse, himself at the same time seconded by the *Baron de Chasteliers* (since *Baron d'Ars*) by *Gohas*, and *Miran* the chief Officers of his Party, giving so brisk a Charge into the Enemies Body, that they were instantly put to rout. The fight was not very obstinate, by reason the Commanders of the other side were either wounded, or slain in the first Encounter, and there was none to Rally, or Command; *Minieux* and his Son, *Conteval* his Lieutenant, and fifteen, or twenty of the chief Commanders were trodden under foot, and the rest betook themselves to flight. The Duke, who would not engage himself too far into a Country where he had no other business, than to pass through it, thought it not convenient to follow the pursuit; but contenting himself with those prisoners he had taken upon the place, though they were exceedingly wounded, he went on his way; but one of his Gentlemen (*Bois Rufier* by name) being stragled out to discover the Country, fell into the Duke of *Aumale's* Ambuscado; who, being carried by those had taken him before the Duke, was by him examin'd of his quality, and who he was for? who answer'd, That he belong'd to the Duke of *Espernon*, shewing him at the same time the Duke's Vant-Guard, which began to appear upon a little eminence hard by. The Duke then further demanded of him, if he had seen *Minieux*? to which he answer'd, That *Minieux* was the Duke of *Espernon's* Prisoner, and withal recounted to him the manner of his Defeat; which the Duke of *Aumale* was no sooner enform'd

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An attempt upon the Duke of *Espernon* by the Duke of *Aumale's*

Minieux routed by the Duke, and taken prisoner.

of

Anno of, but that conceiving it was not convenient, to engage in an
 1591. uncertain Fight, where he had promis'd to himself a certain Vi-
 ctory, he retir'd, without once daring to attempt any thing up-
 on the Duke, highly condemning and complaining of *Minieux*,
 who by his rashness and impatience, had ruin'd so hopeful a
 Design.

The Duke, having thus rid his hands of his Enemies, went to
 put himself into the danger of his Friends; at least those who
 ought to have been so, being engag'd in the same Service: but
 I dare not here publish all I know of this business, lest I should
 revive the memory of an Action, that was then condemn'd by
 the King himself, and that cannot be approved of now. I shall
 only tell you, that the Duke having carried his Prisoners into
Corbie, they were there peremptorily demanded of him, and upon
 his refusal violently taken and detained from him: A dispute that
 was on both sides carried on with such heat, as brought the Duke's
 Person, who could not with any thought of patience endure so
 great an affront, into very great danger: and the odds against him
 was so great, that nothing could have been expected, but certain
 death, had not the *Sieur de Humierres* the King's Lieutenant in
 the place, and the *Sieur de la Boissiere* his Brother-in-law inter-
 posing, hinder'd the violence was preparing against him, and me-
 diated an Accommodation; which, though it could not oblite-
 rate the memory of the offense, kept matters notwithstanding
 from proceeding to the last Extreams.

The Duke's
 ill usage at
Corbie.

The Duke
 shot into
 the mouth
 at *Pierre*
Fonds.

Neither was this the last danger the Duke escap'd in his return:
 for as he proceeded on his way to *Chartres*, where the Siege still
 continued, he heard the Marquis d'O his old friend was very bu-
 sily at the Siege of *Pierre Fonds*, which he had undertaken; whom
 the Duke going to visit, he was by him entreated to stay there a
 few days, and by his Authority, and those Forces he had then
 with him, to help him to bring his Enterprize to an honourable
 issue; which the Duke as frankly consented to, and went im-
 mediately into the Trenches, to take a view of the order of the
 Siege: where presenting himself with his usual bravery to open
 view of the Enemy, and without other Arms, than his Corset
 only, he receiv'd a Harquebus-shot in his mouth, that passing
 through one of his cheeks, shatter'd his right jaw, and coming
 out at his chin, flatted upon his Gorget: A shot that every one
 believ'd had certainly dispatch'd him. But being carried to his
 Lodging, and his Wound search'd, it was found to be no-
 thing dangerous; and in a few days he was in a condition to
 mount on horse-back.

After

After all these good and evil adventures, the Duke being at last arriv'd at *Chartres*, he went presently to give the King an accompt of his Voyage, not forgetting to make his complaint of the injury done him at *Corbie*, withal humbly entreating his Majesty would be pleas'd to do him Justice; which the King had in part already done, having order'd his prisoners immediately to be restor'd: but their Wounds were such, that they all dy'd of them, soon after they were left at *Corbie*; so that they who had committed the injury not long surviving, the Duke's Quarrel was at an end, and all thoughts of revenge were soon extinct, and for ever buried in oblivion.

The Siege of *Chartres* continued yet some time after the Duke's return, which *la Bourdaisiere*, Governour there for the League, had so bravely defended, as often made the King to repent that undertaking, having lost before it the *Sieur de Chastillon*, eighteen Camp-Masters, and, as may well be imagin'd from thence, a great number of common Souldiers: Neither did those Forces the Duke of *Espernon* had left with the King scape better than the rest, the King (willing to husband the lives of his own Servants in whom he yet repos'd a greater trust, than in the Duke) continually exposing them to the greatest danger. Of these *Beaujeu*, *Mascaron*, and *Blumet*, three Colonels were there slain, and also many other Officers; by whose valour, amongst the rest (who perhaps had better fortune) the place was at last (notwithstanding their notable resistance) reduc'd to the necessity of a surrender. From thence his Majesty pass'd over into *Picardy*, where he besieg'd, and took *Noyon*, and secur'd many other considerable Cities of that Province to his obedience: when having after all made a little digression into *Champagne*, the year, and that *Champagne* ended together; it being necessary to dispose the Army into several Garrisons to refresh them: So that the Duke, seeing the time of the year for further Service was now past, ask'd leave of the King to retire into his own Government to recruit his Troops, that they might be in a better condition to serve his Majesty the year to come: to which his Majesty willingly consented, dismissing the Duke with great testimonies of an entire satisfaction in his service, and an absolute oblivion of all past unkindness.

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The Duke
returns to
the King.

Chartres after
an obstinate
Siege
surrendered
to the King,
and soon after
Noyon.

The Duke
of *Espernon*
retires into
his own Go-
vernment.

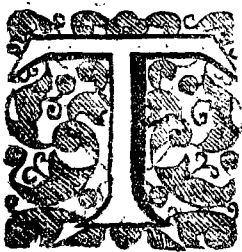
The end of the Third Book.

T H E



THE
HISTORY
Of the LIFE of the
Duke of Espernon.

The Fourth Book.



HE Duke solicitous by his Services to dispossess the King of those evil impressions, his Majesty had, through the ill Offices of some, conceiv'd against him, to the prejudice of his Loyalty and affection; did now resolve to raise far greater Forces, than before, for the Summer to come.

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The Duke,
prepares to
return to
the King.

Neither had his Majesty on his part conceal'd his most secret Designs from the Duke's knowledge; but on the contrary had invited him again into action, and had reserv'd an Employment of great trust, and Reputation for him in his Army. The Duke also was prepar'd to go, and expected with great impatience his Majesties Order, for his setting out; when he receiv'd the sad news of the death of *Monsieur de la Valette* his Brother. This Lord, after he had beaten the Duke of Savoy out of Provence, and made him sustain such losses, as had forc'd him to retire into his own Dukedom; after he had settled Provence and Dauphiné in his Majesties Obedience, and almost rooted out all the seeds of the League in those two Provinces; after having by Treaties car-

Is hindred
by the death
of *Monsieur de la Valette* his
Brother.

Monsieur de la Valette's exploits
in Provence,
and *Dauphiné*.

T

ried

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ried on with infinite Conduct, and Prudence, interested the Republick of *Venice*, the Dukes of *Florence*, and *Mantua* in his Majesty's Quarrel, and obtain'd from these Princes security for thirty thousand Crowns a month, to transport the War into the Dutchy of *Savoy* it self; of which also he was to have the management (by so powerful a diversion to oblige this Ambitious Prince to defend his own Territories instead of invading his Neighbours:) Being, I say, upon the point to execute a design so honourable in it self, and so important to the Crown, he would yet first absolutely cleanse *Provence* from the contagion of the League, that he might leave no Enemy behind to beget new mischiefs, when he should not be near to suppress them. To this end therefore he drew his Army into the Field in the beginning of *January*, and went to besiege *Roquebrune*, that stood for the League: A place, which though little, was nevertheless so strong, that *Monsieur de la Valette's* Battery, having plaid upon that side which was best fortified, and not working that speedy effect he desir'd, he would remove it to the other side; and in his impatience to put an end to an enterprize so much inferiour to his greater designs, would himself help to remove the Cannon to a more advantageous place; where being expos'd to the Enemies view, open, and in his Doublet only (a vanity that has lost many of our best Captains) he receiv'd a Musquet shot in the head, the eleventh day of *January*; of which within thirteen hours after he died.

*Monsieur de
Lesse.*

All the Historians of his time celebrated the Vertues of this great man with the highest Characters of Honour; the King himself appear'd infinitely concern'd at his death, by which he was depriv'd of a valiant Captain, and a faithful Subject: Nay even his Enemies lamented his loss (so great an interest has Vertue in generous minds:) but the Duke his Brother was afflicted to the last degree. He had ever lov'd him to an example of Fraternal Affection, had never made any distinction betwixt the interests of so good a Brother, and his own; he had invested him in a very considerable share of his own fortune, he had bestow'd upon him the Government of *Provence*, with the Office of Admiral of *France*, he had been continually assisting to him with his Purse and Credit, and had ever made him a partaker in all the advantages of his Master's Favour: benefits, of which *Monsieur de la Valette* had, on his part, made so modest, and so vertuous an use, that he thought himself oblig'd (having no posterity to provide for) to husband them for the Duke his Brother's Service: Which gratitude to his Benefactor was rewarded by a good fortune to himself; for having little frequented the Court, the discontents and disgraces

disgraces which sometimes perplex the Duke could never reach or reflect upon him, who had continually been abroad in action, and that with so good success, that his merit made him by every one thought worthy of that greatness he possess'd; so that he was favour'd, and esteem'd by all good men, without the least mixture of hatred, or envy. Neither was he, on his part, wanting to his own Reputation and Interest; but ever behav'd himself in all his Employments with infinite moderation, sweetness, liberality, and noble Courage: Vertues that establish'd him in his Government with such Authority, and that rendred him so considerable to the Princes bordering upon *Provence*, that their respect to him begot in them a singular regard towards the Duke his Brother; whom no man was willing (upon a light occasion) to offend, lest this (whom all the world knew to be so kind a Brother, and so good a Friend) by an injury offer'd to so dear a Relation, might be tempted into extremities, that usually are the effects of so just a resentment. It appears therefore by this, how great a support he was to his Family: but this unfortunate blow depriv'd the Duke at once of so considerable a Fortune, of so powerful an Assistant, of so honourable Employments; and of the person of all others most dearly beloved by him. The Office of Admiral of *France* was presently, and that by the Duke's consent, conferr'd upon *St. Blancart*, since Duke and *Mareschal de Biron*, his Kinsman, and intimate Friend; who (as we have already observ'd) put himself into the Duke's Service in the beginning of his Favour: but who afterwards, by his good Services had advanc'd himself very high in his Majesties esteem. Some have said, that the King (to whom the Duke's greatness was become suspected) had a good mind, at the same time, to have dispos'd of the Government of *Provence* also: but that having consider'd most of the principal Cities of that Province were in the custody of the Duke's Friends, or their Substitutes, who had serv'd Volunteers under *Monsieur de la Valette*; that the Forces, there residing, were made up of their Creatures, such as only serv'd upon the two Brothers account; it was to be fear'd the Duke's Discontents would be humour'd by his Friends, who might interest themselves in his Disgrace: So, that his Majesty thinking it neither convenient, nor safe, as Affairs then stood, directly to disoblige the Duke, was forc'd to comply with the necessity of the time, and to consent, to what he could not well hinder without endangering the Affairs of that Province.

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The Office
of Admiral
conferr'd
upon *St.*
Blancart.

Monsieur de la Valette was no sooner dead, but that all his Officers assembled themselves together, to advise, what, upon this accident

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accident, they were best to do; where, without much debate, it was concluded, that to express the affection, they had ever born their dead General, and the respect they had for the Duke his Brother, to whom they would that affection should now descend, it was fit to send to the King, humbly to entreat his Majesty, that he would send the Duke of *Espernon*, to command them in the place of *Monsieur de la Valette*; declaring freely withal, that under the command of any other they should not so chearfully continue those services, they had for the time past so successfully perform'd; and accordingly with this Message they dispatch'd away the *Sieurs d'Esgarrebacques*, and *de Mesplés* (two of the most eminent amongst them both in Valour and Condition) to the Court.

The Duke
demands of
the King
the Go-
vernment
of *Provence*.

The Duke of *Espernon*, being advertis'd of the deputation of these two Gentlemen to the King, by the *Sieur de Peyroles* (dispatch'd to him at the same time by the Chief Officers of *Provence*) sent himself also to sollicite his Majesty, for that they had so favourably pursu'd in his behalf: Representing to him, "That the Government of *Provence* could not be reputed vacant, whilst he was living, who had put it into his Brothers hands, upon no other account, than to preserve it in his Majesties Obedience; whilst himself, with such as depended upon him, expos'd his Life, and Fortune elsewhere, for his Service." That the first, and true title, to that Government remain'd in him, and that since he was so unfortunate as to survive his Brother, he had that confidence in his Majesties Justice, that he would not add to his affliction by depriving him of an Employment, he had only transferr'd to another, that he might himself be at more liberty to do him more, and better service: And, as if the Duke had been already assur'd of his Majesties Favour to him, or that he would not seem in the least to suspect it, he publish'd his resolution of going into *Provence*, and made great preparations in order to that expedition. The King foreseeing that the Duke would, of all others, be the most acceptably receiv'd by that people; and knowing also, that in the confusion the Kingdom then was, the Government of *Provence* (wherein the Duke of *Savoy*, and the League had made a dangerous progress since the death of *Monsieur de la Valette*) could not be maintain'd as it ought, otherwise than by the Duke's Interest there, thought fit not to contradict his claim; and consequently, about the end of *March* the same year, sent him a Commission to go into *Provence*, in quality of Captain General of all his Forces there, without revoking the title of Governour, which had been granted to him

by

by *Henry* the III. as also without any confirmation of it; but commanding by particular dispatches all the Cities, and all his Servants in that Province to acknowledge, and obey him, giving the Duke in this some seeming satisfaction, till he might find a time and opportunity gently to withdraw him from thence.

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The Duke, having thus obtain'd leave of the King, prepar'd himself with all expedition to depart from his Governments of *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois*; but not before he had first settled his Domestic Affairs; the chief of which was the Inheritance of *Monsieur de la Valette*, who, some days before his Death, had made a Will, wherein, 'tis true, he had made the Duke his Heir; but with so little advantage to him, that the very particulars of the Will, exceeded the value of his Estate. He had given great Legacies to all his Friends, and to all his Servants, of which he had not omitted one, who was not very liberally rewarded. He had moreover given many pious Legacies for publick Buildings, Foundations of Convents, and Hospitals; and with all this liberality, left so many Debts behind him, that the Duke was advis'd not to meddle with the Inheritance, as a thing that would certainly be a burthen to him: But he, far from embracing an Advice, which, though prudently enough given, he thought would not be honourable for him to follow, could not think his Brothers intention sufficiently fulfill'd, if he did not add something of his own to his Liberalities: A Resolution he so peremptorily executed, that all those who were mentioned in the Will were satisfied, before the Testator's personal Estate could be priz'd, or his Revenue gather'd in.

Having thus settled this business, whilst his Friends were busie levying such Forces, as he intended to lead into *Provence*, he had now nothing left to do; but to begin his Journey, except to take a review of his Army: Of which the Cavalry was commanded by the *Sieurs de Chalais, d'Ambleville, d'Ars*, (who is still full of vigour at the writing of this History; and I think the only Cavalier remaining of all the Officers of that Army) *de Touverac, de Miran, de Gobas, de Bordes, d'Estausan, de Puygaillart*, young *Masses, de Boisseau*, and some others; each having a hundred Light Horse in his Troop. The Infantry had for Camp Masters, the *Baron de Mata, Bonnouvrier, Pernes*, and *la Roderie*; the names of the rest I could not learn, time having worn out their Memories: But the Commanders and Souldiers were such, that it was not possible to see any where a more complete, nor a more spritely Body. There remain'd in *Provence* of those who had kept themselves together, since the death of *Monsieur de la Valette*, his own Troop of *Gens-d'Armes*, and that of the *Baron de Montaut* his Cousin,

The Forces
the Duke
carried with
him into
Provence.

And what
he found
there.

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Cousin, consisting each of two hundred *Cuirassiers*, with that of the Marquis de *Cadenot*, consisting of one. The Troops of Light Horse under the command of *Belloe*, of *Ramefort*, of *Lyons*, of *St. Andiol*, that of *Buons*, with his Regiment of Foot, commanded by the *Chevalier de Buons* his Brother, with the Regiments of *Merarques*, and *de Valaveyre*. Soon after the Duke's Arrival in those parts, he was yet re-inforc'd with fifteen hundred Foot, which the *Sieur de Gouvernet* brought him out of *Dauphiné*; and the Constable his Uncle, to whom he gave a Visit as he pass'd through *Languedoc*, furnish'd him with three hundred Light Horse, under the Command of the *Sieurs de Poyraux*, *de Montesson*, and *d'Entragues*. So that he no sooner came into *Provence*, but that he had above ten thousand Foot, besides what he was supply'd withal from the Garrisons of the Country, which made up three thousand more, and at least fifteen or sixteen hundred Horse. The *Mareschals de Camp*, to those Forces he had rais'd himself, were the *Sieurs de Megrin*, and *de Bonnouvrier*, and of those in *Provence*, *Montaut*, and *le Passage*, who having serv'd in the same quality under his Brother, he thought, by no means fit to be disobligh'd.

So many, and so vast Leagues, made at the Duke's own charges, could not but very much exhaust his purse, which had before been weakned by the excessive expense he had been at for the Service of the two Kings: For in his Voyage to *Henry the III* at *Tours*, he had (as has been said) rais'd six thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, and in the last *Campagne*, he had brought to *Henry III*. four thousand Foot, and eight hundred Light Horse, which could not be rais'd without infinite expense: So that it is no wonder, if he was now reduc'd to borrowing, as indeed he was, and did borrow a very considerable summe at *Angoulesme*; where one particular man, *Francois Redout* by name, *Sieur de Nevillac*, lent him, at his departure from thence, fifty thousand Crowns; and which more oblig'd the Duke (a thing I have often heard him speak of with great commendation of this Gentlemans proceeding) so generously, that he would not so much as accept a bond for his Security, but only a *Memorandum* of three or four Lines; so great a Confidence he had in the Duke's Integrity: Nor was he deceiv'd, his mony being punctually repaid at the appointed day.

The Duke
enforc'd to
borrow mo-
ny.

The Duke
departs
from *Angoulesme*.

Things being thus order'd, the Duke departed from *Angoulesme* the fifth day of *June*, the same year taking his way through *Perigort* towards *Quercy*; but there was no little contest betwixt his Honour and Affection in taking leave of his Dutchess, whom
her

her Vertue, and Fruitfulness, had rendred to him more dear than ever; and who on her part, as if she had foreseen this parting should be their last, as indeed it was, could by no means consent to this separation, though they were at last both of them constrain'd, to yield to the necessity, his Duty and Honour impos'd upon him.

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There accru'd no little advantage to his Majesties Affairs; by this Armies taking the way of *Quercy*; for the Marquis de *Thermine*, since *Mareschal* of *France*, gave the Duke notice as he was upon his March, that the Forces the League had in *Languedoc*, under the command of the Duke de *Joyeuse*, had besig'd *Villemur*, which though a little Town, was nevertheless very considerable for its situation upon the River *Tarn*, and for its vicinity to *Tholouse*, being but four Leagues distant from thence. *Renies* a Gentleman of great Valour, who had the command of that place, upon the first Alarm, had put himself, with about fifteen, or sixteen Gentlemen of his Friends, into it: but it had been impossible (having no body, but the Inhabitants to assist him) to have defended it long without relief, and that no body, but the Duke, was able to give him: Which Father *Ange de Joyeuse* a Capuchin, the Duke's Brother-in-law, and then at *Tholouse*, fearing he would do, and having intelligence of the Duke's motion that way, he went, and met him upon his March, where he not only endeavour'd to dissuade him from that Design; but also by all manner of Arguments to draw him over to the League: conjuring him by all the ties of Friendship, and by the most instant intreaties he could use, neither omitting the respect due to Religion, nor the obligations of Friendship, and Relation, to divert him from his purpose; but all in vain: for the Duke setting aside all those interests of Friendship, and Alliance when they came in competition with the Duty he ought to his Prince, was deaf to all Arguments and Entreaties, and in spite of them, and him, advanc'd directly towards the place: But upon his Arrival, the Enemy, not being able to dispute it with him, immediately retir'd to *Tholoze*, giving the Duke, by that means, free liberty to fortifie the Town; which he did so well, as soon after gave the King's Party opportunity to gain in that place a very signal Victory, by the death of the Duke de *Joyeuse* himself, and the absolute defeat of his Army.

The Duke
relieves
Villemur.

But it was not in this occasion alone that the Duke's Armies were employ'd in that Country; for the power of the League being as considerable there, as in any Province of the Kingdom, their Designs were not limited to the reducing of *Villemur* only; they

Anno 1592. they had moreover almost block'd up *Montauban*, which City (at that time reputed one of the best in *France*) was in great danger, if not speedily reliev'd, to be lost. On one side it was saw'd by *Moissac*, on another by the Castles of *Monbeton*, of *Mauzac*, and *de la Court*, besides many other little places fortified round about, by which the Garrison, and Inhabitants were so straightned, and kept in, that they were reduc'd to great extremity, and scarcity of all things. This, the Duke being advertis'd of, and being also solicited by the Inhabitants, to free them from these troublesome Neighbours, he presently went about it, and to that purpose presented himself first before *Moissac*, which surrendring at the sight of the Cannon, he remov'd from thence before *Mauzac*, which did the same: but the other little places, not being so considerable, as that his presence was necessary to reduce them, he left that part of the work to the *Sieurs de St. Megrin*, and *de Bonnouvrier*, *Mareschals de Camp* to his Army; himself, whilst his Forces were employ'd about those petty Enterprizes, making a step into *Gascony* to Visit *Madam de la Valette*, his Mother, and to invite his Friends in that Country to go, and share with him in the Honour of serving his Majesty in *Provence*.

The Duke relieves *Montauban* by the taking in several Castles from the League.

By this little digression into *Gascony*, the Duke had an opportunity yet further, to re-inforce himself with some particular Servants of his, with whom, having rejoyn'd his Army, he found now nothing left to do, that might impede his March; so that he proceeded without longer stay, on his Journey to *Provence*, where being arriv'd, and appearing with so gallant, and so numerous an Army, it gave no small reputation to his Majesties Affairs; nor strook no small astonishment into the League: and, as he, in his experience very well knew, that this reputation was no ways to be kept up, but by some honourable Exploit, he undertook divers Sieges at his first Arrival (notwithstanding the season of the year was far spent, it being now *October*) whereof that of *Montauron* was the first. This City, though in its situation and strength incapable of any notable defense, was nevertheless by the Commanders, (who had eighteen foot Companies there, which the Duke of *Savoy* had put in, to entertain the Duke of *Espernon* in his first heat) thought tenable enough, and that the number of their men, which were nine hundred resolute Souldiers, would supply the defects of the place; or that (at the worst) the Duke of *Savoy*, being so near, and in the head of an Army, they might defend themselves, till he should come to their Relief. This Garrison the Duke of *Espernon* at his Arrival presently summon'd to a surrender, at the same time representing to them, that

The Siege of *Montauron*.

that they were in a place, that could not possibly resist the Force of great Shot, the Houses of the City making up the greatest part of their Wall; and that they would do better not to put him to the trouble of bringing up his Artillery, than by doing it to oblige him to use them otherwise, than like Gentlemen, and Souldiers: To which they (defying him, and despising his Admonitions) return'd this peremptory answer, That they had undertaken to defend that place, and would maintain it, or perish, and make it good with their lives to the last man; An Answer that quickly set the Duke to work, who immediately beleaguere'd the Town; where the Cannon having in a few days made a wider breach than was necessary, the besieg'd desir'd they might Capitulate. To whom the Duke sent word, There was now no Capitulation to be granted to them; that they had lost that privilege, and that he would not receive them upon other terms, than upon surrender to mercy; that they were best therefore to deliberate, whether they would run the fortune of an Assault, or presently submit to that Condition, it being the only, and final Favour they were to expect.

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Whilst these matters were in agitation, the Duke of Savoy, who had engag'd these men in this desperate place, and knew, as well as any, the danger they were in, was advancing with three thousand Foot, and five hundred Light Horse to relieve them; which the Duke of *Espernon* was no sooner enform'd of, but that leaving a sufficient Force to maintain the Siege, he went out to meet him, and bravely offer'd him Battel: But the *Savoyard*, not daring to run so great a hazard, retir'd without any further attempt; so that the Besieg'd, being out of all hopes of Relief, were forc'd to surrender to the Duke's discretion, where their Insolence, and Rebellion receiv'd their due reward, and that in as high a degree, and with the greatest rigour, the Law of Arms does permit: whereby they were made miserable examples of the greatest cruelty. All the Captains found in the place, to the number of fourteen; were immediately hang'd up, and five hundred common Souldiers sent to the Gallies at *Taulon*; the rest either escap'd in the time of the Capitulation, or were slain, during the Siege: A severity that ought not to have been practis'd, upon our own Nation. But the Duke would by this give the Duke of Savoy to understand, that he, having violated the publick Faith, and his League with the Kings of *France*, as he had done, he would have no fair Quarter with him, nor use him otherwise than as a mortal Enemy to the Crown, and Kingdom.

The Duke
of *Esp-*
non's leve-
rity.

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After this Action, the Duke conceiving himself no less oblig'd to protect his Majesties good Subjects, than to suppress his Enemies; his first care was to secure the Officers of the Parliament of *Provence* (such as had declar'd for the King from the beginning, and had retir'd themselves from *Aix* (the seat of Parliament) from the time the City had revolted to the Duke of *Savoy*) in some place of safety: For this purpose he could find no place so fit for strength, and conveniency as *Manosque*, where he seated them in great security, and honour. And that the time might not pass away without some shew of Action, whilst the season would not give him leave smartly to follow the War; he in this dead time of the year, with a strong party of Horse scour'd the Country all over the whole Province. Neither was this an unnecessary, or an unprofitable diligence, by which he confirm'd those Cities, already declar'd for the King, in their duty; and also frighted those inclining to a Revolt into better Resolutions: But the greatest advantage he reap'd by it was, that by this means, he inform'd himself, upon the particular places themselves, of the general estate of the whole Province; and moreover, kept his men in action, like a Captain that very well understood Order and Discipline to be the only things, that establish, and support an Army; and the pest of great Bodies to be sloath and liberty, which debauch Souldiers from their Duty, and have often been observ'd to dissolve, and disperse the greatest Armies, when the Souldier has been suffer'd to enrich himself by idleness, and license, upon the plunder of his Quarters. He therefore provided for the subsistence of his men, by imposing Contributions upon the Province, which nevertheless was not done without the advice and consent of the Officers of Parliament; by whose Authority, as well as his own, he order'd a certain rate of all things in the Markets, and that at so indifferent a price, that the Commons found a greater convenience in the Quartering of Souldiers, than in being without; so quick a return they had for their Corn, and other Provisions, and so certain was their pay. To this the Assessments, design'd to defray these Provisions, were so equally laid upon the whole Country, that no man could complain he was oppress'd: nor was there any who did not find his advantage in this necessary evil. In fine, all things were settled so much to the general conveniency, and satisfaction of all, that I have an hundred times heard the Duke wish for such an establishment in *Guienne*: but the contagion was there already spread too far, and had taken too deep root, to admit so happy a reformation. By this prudent disposition of things, the Souldier found himself provided

provided of his share of all things necessary where ever he came, according to the order prescrib'd: Neither was he to exact more upon pain of death; a penalty that without mercy follow'd the offense: by which severe Discipline, the King's Party, in those parts, were in a short time observ'd to be very much increas'd.

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The Duke, solicitous to maintain this Reputation of the Royal Arms, by some notable enterprize, resolv'd to make an attempt upon the City of *Arles*; neither did he herein make an ill choice, it being one of the most considerable places of *Provence*, seated upon the Banks of *Rosne*, and inhabited by above three hundred Families of very good quality, who here made their ordinary residence; besides a vast number of Citizens, and inferiour people. This City, like all others which are situated upon Navigable Rivers, and daily expect to be supply'd with fresh Provisions, kept very little before-hand in store; which the Duke being well enform'd of, contented himself with shutting up the River only above, and below, and cutting off the Succours of the adjacent Countrey, by Quartering several Troops on both sides the River: by which means, without much trouble, or any considerable loss in a month, or five weeks time, this strong City was reduc'd to a necessity of surrender, and to shake hands with the League, for whom they had hitherto been zealous to the highest degree. They came therefore to a Capitulation, in which the Duke was content to accept of thirty Hostages for their future good behaviour, and with that caution to ease them of the burthen of a Garrison; which in truth at that time, before he was well settled in his Government, he could not well have spar'd, nor without manifest prejudice to his Majesties, and his own private Affairs. Nevertheless what good security soever the Duke thought he had taken to bind them to their Duty, the Inhabitants made no scruple afterwards, in the Revolt of the Cities of *Provence*, by their Rebellion to expose the lives of so many men of Quality, who had generously stak'd their persons for the good of their fellow Citizens, to the Duke's just indignation; though he by a clemency much more extraordinary, than the severity he had shew'd at *Montauron*, dismiss'd the Hostages to their own houses, without so much as putting them to ransome; which in an occasion of this nature is no usual Favour.

The Siege
of *Arles*.

Arles sur-
rendred.

After this success, the Duke yet undertook the Siege of *Antibe*, a place wonderfully well fortifi'd, seated upon the Sea shore, and favour'd with a very good Port; which the Duke of *Savoy*, since his last taking of it, to assure his possession, had so fortified, and mann'd, that he thought it impossible to be taken. The Duke of

The Siege
of *Antibe*.

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Espernon notwithstanding presented himself before it, where having summon'd the Governour to a surrender, and his Trumpet being sent back with a scornful answer, he proceeded to a formal Siege, advancing by Trenches, raising of Batteries, and duly observing whatever the Method, and Discipline of War prescribe in the most difficult attempts. The Town was defended for a while, but the Governour in the end retir'd into his Fort, where he thought he should be in a condition to make the Duke spend his time, and consume his Army unprofitably, and to no purpose.

Antigné.

This place had besides its own strength, and advantageous situation, this further convenience, that every night, by the Duke of *Savoy's* order, a Gally set out from *Nice*, that brought all the refreshments to the besieg'd, they could desire, carried away their Sick, and Wounded, brought them in fresh Souldiers, and provided all things necessary for them; which so continual Succour, and seasonable Supplies, swell'd the Governour with an opinion, that the Duke could never force him: Neither was the Duke displeas'd at his confidence, hoping that this security of his would at one-time or another contribute to the success of his Design. He therefore continued his approaches, and try'd all ways imaginable to effect his enterprize; when at last his Cannon having batter'd the Curtain in a place not much frequented, he perceiv'd, that those within kept no guard there; by which he believ'd they had not observ'd that breach, and immediately resolv'd to make his advantage of that negligence. To this purpose therefore he sent a Serjeant to discover the breach, who accordingly having gone in, and return'd by a hole big enough for a man to pass at his ease, he made his report to the Duke, that there was so little order in the place, that no one so much as thought of repairing that Breach, and that there was no Guard at all kept there. Upon this intelligence the Duke resolv'd, that an Assault should the next morning be made, on that side the Fortress; which, that it might the better succeed, a general Assault was to be made shew of, that the Defendants, being every where employ'd, whilst they were deluded by false Alarms, fifty good men, chosen for the purpose, seconded by an hundred more, and that hundred by a greater number, might creep up to the Curtain, and slip in at the Breach; a Design that took effect: In the execution of which, the Alarm having surpriz'd the Governour in Bed, and he running out in his Night-Gown, and Slippers, to see what was the matter, was in that posture taken; as the Fort it self was by Assault. And here, though by the Law of Arms all things were at the Conquerours discretion, the Duke nevertheless proceed-

*Antigné taken
by Assault.*

ing

ing in that moderate way he had taken up, after his severity at *Montauron*, absolutely forbid all unnecessary slaughter, contenting himself with detaining the Governour, and some of his Officers, prisoners. The Duke of *Savoy*, who had made this place his chiefest Arsenal, had furnish'd it so well with Artillery, that the Duke there found thirty brass Pieces, of which fourteen were Royal Culverines, or Bastards, with great store of Ammunition, which did him no little service in the prosecution of that War, against the Duke of *Savoy* himself.

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1592.

The Gally from *Nice* fail'd not the next night to come according to her custom; and, if it had been thought of, to have answer'd her Signal by the usual counter-sign, had infallibly been taken with the place: but in the heat of the Victory, no body having remembred it, she retir'd safe to *Nice*, those who were in her, by the omission of the Signal, and by the noise and confusion they heard in the Town, concluding the Fort, and all, to be certainly taken.

From *Antibe* the Duke went to *Cannes*, which had revolted after the Death of *Monsieur de la Valette*, a very good Port Town, which nevertheless surrendered at the first Summons: So that hunting, and every where unkennelling the *Savoyards*, at this successful rate, who had possess'd themselves of most of the best Cities of *Provence*, he gave *Monsieur de l'Esdiquieres*, who was newly entred into *Savoy*, and who was deputed for that Service by the Treaty, made a little before betwixt *Monsieur de la Valette*, and the foremention'd Princes of *Italy*, great opportunity to make a notable progress into that Dukedom.

The Surrender of *Cannes*.

Neither was it by these diversions alone that he favour'd *l'Esdiquieres* invasion of *Savoy*, but by a more important assistance: for when the Duke of *Savoy* (driven out of *Provence* on the one side by the Duke of *Espernon*, and call'd home on the other to the defense of his own Dukedom, by the dangerous progress *l'Esdiquieres* had there already made) return'd upon him with all the Forces he had; doubtless *Monsieur l'Esdiquieres* had been in apparent danger of some notable Defeat, if at his request, and in so urgent a necessity, the Duke of *Espernon* had not assisted him with twelve hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse; which he sent him under the command of the *Chavalier de Buons*, and to make the obligation the greater, had not also procur'd him from the Constable (with whom the Duke had a very great interest) almost as many more Forces, by which he was not only rescu'd from the present danger, but likewise put into a capacity of attempting greater things than he had yet done. A courtesie very ill requited, as we

Monsieur de Thom.

shall

Anno 1592. shall see in the following Revolutions of *Provence*; the Duke having afterwards no such enemy as he, whom he had so seasonably assisted, in a time of the greatest necessity and danger.

Anno 1593. The success that hitherto had attended the Duke, gave so great a reputation to the Royal Arms, and had so discountenanc'd the Enemy, that there scarce remain'd a place in the whole Province, that durst shut their Gates against him: So that after the Duke of *Savoy* was retir'd (as you have heard) into his own Country, the Duke had leisure, and without much difficulty, to recover *Frejus*, *Cicutat*, *Cisteron*, *St. Tropes*, with many other important places that had revolted after the death of *Monsieur de la Valotte*, and to make himself Master of all *Provence*; *Aix*, and *Marselles*, only excepted.

The Duke reduces several revolted Towns.

These two were the Capital Cities of the Province, the first considerable for its circuit, and the seat of Parliament establish'd there; and the other, for its greatness also, and for the number of Inhabitants; but principally for the Port, reputed one of the best upon the Mediterranean Sea. These two Cities so far forgot themselves, their Duty, and Allegiance, that after the death of *Henry the III.* (animated by an indiscreet zeal to Religion, which was ever the Leaguers Pretense, to abuse the simplicity of the people) they rather chose to create an Usurper in the person of the Duke of *Savoy*, and to submit themselves to his invasive Government, than to acknowledge, and obey their own lawful, and natural Prince. At the instigation therefore of the Countess *de Saut*, of the *Count de Carces*, and some others of Quality in the Country, who were fierce for the League, they sent a Deputation to this Duke, as far as *Turin*; where, by the mouths of two Commissioners of Parliament, and many other Officers, and in the name of the people, they made him a voluntary tender of the Principality of the County of *Provence*. Whereupon the Duke, in acknowledgment of so free, and unexpected an offer, had not only receiv'd them into, and promis'd them his own protection; but likewise that of the King of *Spain* his Father-in-law, coming himself in person to take possession of his new Province, where he had, almost in all places, been receiv'd with all the honour and applause he could possibly expect, or desire. An act becoming a giddy and rebellious people; who coming afterwards to recollect themselves, to consider what they had done, and how great a fault they had committed against their Faith and Duty, were yet resolv'd to persist in their Rebellion, and by taking measure of their own offense, apprehending no possibility of pardon, determin'd to rely upon their own strength; and creating courage

out

out of despair, were resolute to suffer the utmost extremities, rather than to recede from what they had so infamously, and immaturally done. All which, although it was very well known to the Duke of *Espernon*, and likewise what resistance was to be expected, from men made desperate by their own Crimes: yet had he the courage to make an attempt upon these two great Cities, if possible, to reduce them to their obedience, which, had Fortune contributed any thing to the greatness, and bravery of the Design, had certainly taken a happy effect.

○ The Duke having, upon mature deliberation, resolv'd upon these two Enterprizes, would begin with that of *Aix*, as appearing the easier to be accomplish'd, *Aix* wanting those Succours by Sea, which *Marselles*, upon occasion, was certain to have: But his Forces, being too few to form a regular Siege, against so great a City, he was fain to supply that defect by erecting many Forts against it; which, shutting up the Avenues, were, notwithstanding his want of men, sufficient to block up the City. Betwixt these Forts, in a place of advantage, he caus'd a Grand to be erected, that is to say, a greater Fort, after the form of a new City, opposite to, and within a Musquet-shot of the old; where the greatest part of his Infantry were bestow'd with great convenience, and from whence the Duke could so perfectly discover, whatever could be practis'd against him by the Enemy, that it was impossible so to surprize him, but that he would be ever ready to relieve any of his Quarters with great facility, should any thing be attempted against them. The Cavalry, that could by no means subsist in the same place, were dispos'd into several Garrisons, some nearer, some further off, according as there was convenience of Quarters, of which those under the command of *Chastelliers*, *du Passage*, *de Buous*, and *de Ramefort* were the nearest, where they wanted no opportunities of signalizing their Vigilancy, and Valour: An order so admirably establish'd, as in time reduc'd the City of *Aix*, to such extremities, that they must certainly have fall'n into the Duke's hands, had not the Inhabitants declar'd a resolution of submitting themselves to none, but the King; where notwithstanding the Duke was the only Author of their submission, as he was of all other advantages the King obtain'd in *Provence*, though still the artifice of his Enemies so skreen'd his merits from his Majesties observation, that he receiv'd very little thanks for his labour.

The Duke began to build his Fort in June 1593. The Count de *Carces* near ally'd to the Duke of *Mayenne* (being Son by a former Husband to the Dutchess his Wife) commanded in the City, where

Anno

1593.

The Duke makes an attempt first upon *Aix*, and after upon *Marselles*.

Forts built against *Aix*.

Anno
1593.
The Enemy
endeavours
by frequent
sallies to
hinder the
Duke's
Works.

where the Inhabitants under his command, back'd by some Foot Companies belonging to the Duke of Savoy, which yet remain'd in that Country, were so brisk, as, at the Duke's first sitting down, by frequent Sallies to disturb his Building; but were ever beaten back with so great loss, that they were at last content to sit still, and suffer what they found they were not able to oppose. And here I find my self upon a Scene of Honour, where the best Pen might be worthily employ'd: where notwithstanding, should I make particular mention of all the Skirmishes, Combats, and brave actions that hapned upon this occasion, I should fall into the error, which of all others I most pretend to shun, and trouble my Reader with a long, and perhaps a tedious Narrative; though some of them are of so shining a Reputation, as can, by no means, be pass'd over in silence.

A great fall-
ly made by
the besieged

Whilst the Duke therefore was very busie about raising his Fort, the Count de Carces, who would try all possible ways to hinder that work, sallied out of the Town at broad noon-day with 400 Gentlemen, of which number was the Count de Suze, Bezaudun, Camp-Mareschal, S. Marcelin, and Reglanette, with many more Gentlemen of Quality, who followed by 2000 men, what of the Inhabitants, and what of the Companies in Garrison, went with a design to overthrow the Works already begun, and if possible to compel the Duke to retire. A Design, that as it was brave in it self, so was the time wherein it should be executed as prudently chosen; for at so unexpected an hour most part of the Duke's Souldiers were either sleeping in their Huts, or gone abroad to Forrage so that the Duke had very few about him: Neither, if the Infantry were in such disorder, were the Horse in a greater readines, which constrain'd the Duke, who had mounted at the first noise of the Alarm, being able to get but very few together, with those few to expose himself to withstand the first fury of the Enemy. Chastelier (whom we have already begun to call the Baron d' Ars) hearing in his Quarters a noise, and uproar, such as is usually occasion'd by tumultuous Sallies, with the Sieur de Buons, were the first, who with their Troops came in to the Duke's succour, whom, as soon as come, he commanded to charge the Enemy; whilst himself, who had soon rallied all who were in a condition to fight, following them close at the heels, fell so furiously into the Body of the Assailants as made all give way before him. The Count de Carces, seeing his men so roughly handled, endeavour'd to recover an Hospital in the mid-way, betwixt the Fort, and the City, with an intent there to rally his men, and to make good the place: but the Duke falling in pell-mell amongst them,
forc'd

forc'd him to continue his flight to the very Graffe of the City, where many of his men were slain; by which ill success the Enemy having lost above 400 men, they were for the future better advis'd, than to make any more such sallies, and suffer'd the Duke, in great security, to continue his work under their noses.

Anno
1593.

Whilst every one thought the Duke wholly intent upon this Design of *Aix*, and that mens minds were suspended in expectation of the event of that enterprize, he conceiv'd there was an advantage to be made of this general belief, that seem'd to facilitate an attempt upon *Marselles* it self; which, as it was very improbable by open force to take any good effect, so was it to be carried on with great prudence, and secrecie, to make it succeed: He therefore gave private Instructions to all such Commanders as he intended to make use of in this Enterprize, to make ready 3000 chosen Foot, and 400 Light Horse, as also to prepare three Petards, with which in the beginning of a very dark night, he silently rose from his Quarters, marching his men the direct Road to *Marselles*. He had not as yet discover'd his Design to any, when being advanc'd about half a League on his way, and thinking it now high time to put his Friends out of suspense, who knew nothing whither they were to go, he call'd all the Chief Officers of his Party about him, and in a short Harangue, told them, "That if he had not sooner discover'd his Design unto them, it was not for any diffidence he had of their fidelity, which was already sufficiently known unto him; that after the many testimonies they had, upon all occasions, given him, of their Worth, and Valour, he had more reason to seek opportunities wherein he might manifest his gratitude, than to expect any further proof from them: but that as secrecie was the great promoter of all Enterprizes of the nature of this, wherein he now intended to employ them, he would not, should any disaster happen, that the least colour of blame should reflect upon any of them; but much rather be wholly imputed to Fortune: but nevertheless all things being so well order'd, as he conceiv'd they were, there was no doubt to be made of a successful issue: That he therefore conjur'd them resolutely to undertake an action of the greatest advantage to the King, to his Majesties Affairs, and to their own particular benefit, and honour, that could possibly be propos'd: That every one there knew *Marselles* to be one of the most important Cities, whether consider'd in the commodity of its Haven, or in its vicinity to Foreign Countries, in the whole Kingdom: That this City reduc'd by the King of *Spain's* promises, and the Duke of *Savoy's* together,

An attempt
upon *Marselles*.

Anno

1593.



“ together, had already put her self into their protection ; and
 “ persisting in her obstinacy , was ready to open her Gates to
 “ Strangers, to receive their Garrisons, and to give away her li-
 “ berty to them, after having violated her Faith, and Duty to her
 “ lawful Sovereign : That should strangers once get entire pos-
 “ session of that City, it would be lost for ever, and that there
 “ would be no hopes ever to drive them from so advantageous a
 “ post, what attempts soever could be made, against a place so
 “ strong, and so easie to be reliev’d : That next to the publick
 “ concern he consider’d the reducing of this City as a certain and
 “ firm establishment of his own interest in *Provence* ; and that
 “ they themselves ought to look upon it as a pledge, whereby that
 “ fair, and rich Province would be assur’d unto them , and that
 “ would give them an entire authority over the people, who after
 “ so brave an exploit, would no more be able to vie Merit, or
 “ Valour with them, as they had formerly done : That such as
 “ had undertaken Enterprizes of this nature were wont to ani-
 “ mate their companions with hopes of Booty ; but that for his
 “ part he should take a contrary way : That it was not his intent
 “ to ruine *Provence*, nor the City of *Marselles*, but to preserve both
 “ the one, and the other for the King, to establish himself there
 “ in order to his Majesties Service, and to procure for them other
 “ advantages, and by other means suiting to their great merit,
 “ and the service they had perform’d : That this City once taken
 “ there could be no more fear of wanting provisions for the Ar-
 “ my, the conveniency of the Port bringing in all things neces-
 “ sary in great abundance, that the evil-affectedness of the people
 “ would for the future be able to produce nothing to their preju-
 “ dice, they having in their own hands either the Keyes of the
 “ *Province* to let in all necessary Succours, or otherwise the Chains
 “ that would tye them fast to their duty : That above all things
 “ therefore he most earnestly desir’d them to restrain the insolence
 “ of the Souldier, whom notwithstanding he did not thereby
 “ intend to hinder of the benefit they might justly make of the
 “ Inhabitants Estates, which were already forfeited to them by
 “ by their Rebellion, and of which they should soon be possess’d
 “ by the Victory : but that he desir’d they might be fairly divi-
 “ ded amongst them, that they might the longer enjoy what they
 “ got, and not lose, and destroy the spoil, as it often falls out in
 “ the sack, and plunder of great Cities : That he would not upon
 “ this occasion suggest unto them the remembrance of their ac-
 “ customed Valour, that he knew by good experience such exhor-
 “ tations were altogether unnecessary to them in bold, and dange-
 “ rous

“rous attempts ; and that he only conjur’d them to follow his
“example now, as hitherto they had follow’d his Person , and
Fortune.

Anno

1593.

The Duke, having thus prepar’d his Friends for the Enterprize, continued on his way ; when, being come within sight of the place, he himself, with those that had charge of the Petards, advanc’d up to the Gate : Of these the first Petard play’d to as good effect, as was to be expected, having made a hole in the Gate wide enough for a man easily to get through, which, though made wider by the second, yet did not the Gate fall down, being supported by a great iron Bar behind : The Duke therefore call’d for the third Petard, but in vain ; no Petard being to be heard of, no more than the man to whose trust it was committed ; which made them try to break the Bar with Axes, that they might have the passage more free to relieve some of their men, who were already got in by the hole of the Gate : But the Inhabitants, rous’d at the first noise of the Petards, running to their Arms, made a stout opposition ; where, having but few to deal withal, the Assailants were with great ease beaten back, and the Gate as suddenly Barricado’d up. It is not to be imagin’d how infinitely the Duke was afflicted at this ill success, and the more, because he thought he had made himself, as it were, Master of the event by the prudent conduct of his Design ; though he has since thought himself happy in failing of his purpose (so much should men suspect their own desires in the choice of things that concern the conduct of their lives) it being to be fear’d, that had the Duke been establish’d in the power the winning of this City would have seated him in, and receiv’d those affronts, and that ill usage from Court, he afterwards did in the revolutions of *Provence*, the sence of those injuries might have prompted him to do things no ways suiting with his Duty, as we shall see he was soon after tempted to do. I do much wonder that none of our Historians have so much as mention’d this Enterprize, who have some of them been very particular about many others of the Duke’s of much less importance ; whose omission of this has engag’d me to insist longer upon it, than otherwise I should have done ; that so brave an Action might not be buried in oblivion : of which the bare Project could not have been meditated by a mean courage, nor the Design carried on so far by an ordinary prudence.

The Duke, being retir’d to his Fort very much discontented at his evil success, would revenge himself of that disgrace by new, and brisker attempts upon the City of *Aix* : Wherefore having intelligence that the Inhabitants already began to feel themselves

The Duke
returns to
Aix.

Anno

1593.

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straightned for want of Victuals, he, to take from them all future hopes of supply, immediately fell to destroying all the Fruits, and Corn of the Country round about; and, not content to do them this mischief without, plaid so many Cannon-shot into the Town, that not a man durst appear in the streets, or abide in the upper rooms of their houses: But the besieg'd, ingenious in their Revenge, contriv'd a way to pay him back some of his Balls by a Counter-battery from the great Tower of the Church of *Nostre-dame*; a Pile of great note, and fame, as well for its exceeding height, as for the excellency of its Architecture, and Beauty. To the top therefore of this Tower, they made shift to crane up two Culverines, and had a Cannoneer so expert, as not only levell'd them right against the Fort, but even against the Duke's own Tent within it, where he made the strangest shot, that perhaps ever flew from such an Engine. This Cannoneer, under the protection of some little Truce (of which there happen many in such Sieges, either for the carrying off their Dead, or some other occasion) had, unknown, crept into the Fort, and had there diligently observ'd every part of the Duke's Quarter: He had also discover'd that the Duke every afternoon us'd to play at Cards in the Parlour of his Tent, and had observ'd so much as the place where his Chair was constantly set. Having thus inform'd himself of all these circumstances, he return'd to the City, where, after he had levell'd his two Guns to his own desire, he was so confident of his skill, as to offer odds, that in one of two shots he was about to make, he would either kill the Duke of *Espernon*, or very much endanger his life; when immediately giving fire, he prov'd in part as good as his word, the shot lighting directly into the place, to which it had been by his eye before directed. The Duke was at this time playing at *Primero*, and set betwixt two Gentlemen, one called *le Poivy*; the others name I could not learn, who were both of them beaten to pieces, one over, and the other under the Duke; who by an incredible vigilancy of Fortune, being at that instant bow'd down upon the Table, to draw the money he had newly won upon a rest, escap'd that fatal blow; yet though he escap'd death, it was not without two great wounds, one by a piece of one of the poor Gentlemen's Bones, that pierc'd deep into his Belly; and the other, by another piece of a Bone, in his hip; of both which he carried the marks along with him to his Grave.

The Duke's  
miraculous  
escape.

Those of the Town who were soon aware of the lucky hit their Cannoneer had made, believing the effect of it to be greater, than indeed it was, would not let slip an opportunity, wherein they

they conceiv'd something might be executed to their own advantage: wherefore they immediately sent out *St. Romans*, one of their *Mareschals de Camp*, with an hundred and fifty Light Horse at one Gate, and *Bezaudun* with the like number at another, to try, if in the confusion they heard in the Fort something might not be attempted with success, who, had they found a fit advantage, were to have been seconded by the entire Forces of the City; but the Duke, notwithstanding the pain of his Wounds, omitting nothing of his usual care, was no sooner taken up from the ground, where the shot had beaten him down, than he commanded every one to stand to his Arms; by which means the Enemy, whose design it was to have come upon the Surprize; seeing the Duke's Forces ready to receive them, retir'd without fighting, being soon undeceiv'd in their false hopes, both of the Duke's death, and of the Defeat of his Army.

Anno

1593.

The Inhabitants of *Aix*, imagining the Duke slain, make another sally.

The Duke's Wounds, which every one at first judg'd to be mortal, made his Chirurgeons resolve upon removing him out of the noise, and tumult of the Fort, into a Farm hard by; a place which to them seem'd to be very secure from any practice of the Enemy: But this opinion, instead of giving him that quiet, and repose they kindly intended, had once more like to have cost him his life; for the besieg'd, who watch'd all opportunities of making continual attempts upon the Duke's person, having observ'd that the place to which he was retir'd, although covered by the Fort, was nevertheless at a good distance from his Camp, and only guarded by a small party of Horse, resolv'd to try, either to take him alive, or at least to kill him in his Quarters. To this purpose therefore, sallying out of the Town with 400 of their best Horse, they furiously set upon the Duke's Horse-Guard; who were all presently cut to pieces, and *Camseque* who commanded them laid dead upon the place. *D'Ars*, whose duty it was to relieve them coming fortunately in upon their Defeat, renew'd the Fight, where he so bravely withstood the Enemies fury, that after his Brother *Céré*, had been wounded and maim'd with infinite Blows, and himself beaten from his Horse, and remounted by one of his Compagnions, he gave *du Passage*, one of the Duke's *Mareschals de Camp*, time to come in to his succour; by whose assistance the Enemy was at last forc'd to retire, leaving many of their men dead upon the place, as the *Baron d'Ars* in this conflict lost the most part of his Troop.

The Duke in a new danger.

This Cannon-shot which at the little distance of 200 paces had only wounded the Duke, was not so favourable to the Dutchess his Wife, whom it kill'd out-right at the distance of 200 Leagues.

This

Anno

1593.



This Lady had been brought to bed (as has been said before) this same year 1593 of *Lewis*, since Cardinal *de la Valette* whom the grief for her Husbands absence (which was nothing diminished by the course of time) had still so far kept back from the recovery of her former strength, after her lying in; that what was only a little indisposition at first, being much increas'd by her melancholy, grew to such a distemper, as made her Friends at last begin to apprehend a mortal consequence from her disconsolate life. To divert this ill humour therefore, they often perswaded her to go abroad, sometimes to Church, sometimes on Visits; when being gone out one day to hear Mass, at her return she espied one of the Duke's Foot-men, who, unknown to him, had been, by some of his Officers dispatch'd away to *Angoulesme*, on purpose to prevent any false rumors, that might there be spread concerning the Duke's accident, and so discreetly to acquaint the Dutchess with what had hapned, that she might not unseasonably be surpriz'd with the news of his mischance; an honest, and a prudent care in them, though her destiny rendred all these precautions fruitless, and vain: for she had no sooner cast her eye on the fellow, who, being but newly arriv'd, had as yet spoke to none, but that she call'd him to her, suddenly demanding of him her Letters from the Duke: to whom, the poor Lacquy surpriz'd, and daunted at her demand, innocently related that the Duke was wounded, and by a Cannon-shot: But, as if that word had been the shot it self, the Dutchess sunk down in a swoon, as one, that, apprehending a Cannon shot could be no less than mortal, would not survive him she concluded to be dead, and who was far dearer to her, than her own life. In which condition she was presently taken up by her people, and carried home; where all possible means was us'd to bring her to her self, as at last she was; though it was only to make her more sensible of death, which followed the ninth day after she had heard the unhappy news. Before her Death she made a Will, wherein she bequeath'd whatever was in her gift to the Duke her Husband; to whom, recommending her Children, as the common pledges of their mutual affection, she conjur'd him, for their sakes, never to marry again. Thus died this young, and excellent Lady, in the six and twentieth Year of her Age, after having manifested an indifferency for life, becoming her masculine Courage, and Resignation unto Death, worthy her great Piety, and Vertue.

The Death  
of the Dut-  
chess of  
*Espenon*.

The *Sieur du-Masses*, Lieutenant for the King under the Duke in that Government, dispatch'd a Courier to the Duke, to acquaint him with his loss, as also with the Dutchess her dying request

quest unto him ; who , after having given publick testimonies of his affliction, than which nothing could be greater , he vow'd to observe what she expected from his fidelity to the last hour of his Life : A promise that he as faithfully observ'd , though in the space of fifty years, that he surviv'd this excellent Lady, he was offer'd many and great advantageous matches, which he still refus'd ; ever professing that the respect he bore to his dead Ladies last request, did, and should with-hold him from embracing a new Wife, and from embarquing in a new Fortune.

Anno  
1593.

Fortune had hitherto so favour'd the Duke in almost all his Enterprizes, that his Affairs had been carried on with great prosperity and success, and the Provisions he had drawn from the Province, or bought with his own mony, had kept his Army in so good Discipline, and Obedience, that the Provincials had tasted very little of the incommodities of War : Yet wanted there not some unquiet Spirits, who, enemies to the peoples peace, as envious of the Duke's good Fortune, endeavour'd by all imaginable ways to debauch from him the respect, and good will he had by his noble carriage acquir'd from the greater part of the Country, and from the better sort of men, perswading them, that his severe and hasty humour proceeded from a purpose he had to usurp an absolute Authority over them ; and, rendring his best intentions so suspected to the people, as made them at last refuse to pay their accustomed Taxes. It was by so much the easier to corrupt these undiscerning spirits, by how much a certain emulation has ever been observ'd to be betwixt the *Provincials* and *Gascons*, as seems to have been hereditary, if not natural, to those two people : So that the *Provincials* not being able to endure the dominion of those with whom they had ever disputed the prize of Glory, and Valour, were easily tempted to shake off the yoke that either was, or was pretended to be impos'd upon them : After therefore (as has been said) they had denied the Duke those Contributions, which, until then, they had willingly paid, most of the Souldiers of the Country who were in his Army retir'd themselves, and some of the chief Nobility pretended to favour at Court by accusing him of inordinate Ambition ; though all his endeavour to make himself considerable in *Provence*, was only in order to his Majesties Service. The Duke seeing things in this ill condition, would by force have reduc'd them to their former posture : but this remedy (which was by no means proper for the constitution of that people) ripping up the memory of the severe punishments he had in such cases inflicted upon several men in divers places, serv'd only to make them desperate in their disobedience, and to incense them to the last degree.

Anno  
1594.

The *Provincials* Revolt  
from the  
Duke.

Thus

Anno  
1594.

Thus did all those, who had manifested an animosity against the Duke, begin to apprehend falling into his power, amongst which the Leaguers were in the greatest fear; who, as their obstinate Rebellion had made their fault much greater, than theirs, who like Souldiers had defended *Montauron*, so did they fear a worse punishment, if worse could be, than had been inflicted upon them. They saw their City of *Aix* reduc'd to the last extremity; neither would those within stay till they could come to their Relief. The *Count de Carces*, a particular Enemy to the Duke (besides the hatred that diversity of interest does usually beget) above all things dreaded to fall into his hands: so that Friends, and Enemies, those who pretended to be Royallists, and Leaguers conspiring together to hinder the Duke's further advancement, he saw, almost in a moment, all *Provence* in Mutiny, and Insurrection.

King Henry  
the III.  
turns Ro-  
man Catho-  
lick.

The King had already publickly embrac'd the Catholick Religion, of which he had made open profession at *St. Dennis*, the five and twentieth day of *July* this same year: whose Conversion having taken away all manner of pretense from such as had declar'd they forsook his Majesties Service upon no other account, than the Interest of Religion; the Inhabitants of *Aix* conceiv'd they could now no longer continue in their Rebellion, without manifesting to all the world that they were sway'd by other considerations, than those they had already declar'd; to which the *Count de Carces* (making use of this time, and occasion) adding his perswasions, one while representing to them their Duty to their Prince, and another the severity they were to expect from the Duke of *Espernon*, animated, as he must of necessity be, by the hatred they had in this Siege express'd against his Person, he at last prevail'd with them to send away speedily to the King, to assure his Majesty of their Fidelity and Obedience. This was the first thing that discover'd a disunion in the League: of which, though the Duke of *Mayenne* highly complain'd to the *Count de Carces*, reproaching him with weakness, and charging him with all the miscarriages that should after happen to their Faction; yet was he deaf to his reproaches, and the fear of falling into the Duke's hands, as he was upon the point to do (the City of *Aix*, not being able longer to hold out) being more prevalent upon him, than the respect of his Alliance, he resolutely persisted in his first Design.

Monsieur  
de Thou.

But the *Count de Carces* was not satisfied with hindering the Duke from making himself Master of the City of *Aix* only, the hatred he implacably bore him proceeding yet further, and to contri-



contrivances of more dangerous consequence against him. There was none who did not believe the King had a jealousy of the Duke's Designs; amongst whom, the *Count de Carces*, who understood it better than the rest, easily persuaded himself that his Majesty would not suffer the Duke to encrease his Reputation, and Power in *Provence*, by the taking of *Aix*, one of the most important places of that Province: And he further knew the Duke would as hardly consent to have his Conquest, so near effected, forestall'd, and the prey snatch'd out of his hands: So that in this diversity of pretensions, he doubted not, but that the King's aversion to the Duke, as also his mistrust of him, would be infinitely encreas'd; which in the end succeeded as he had foreseen, and projected. The Estates of the Country, assembled at *Aix*, appointed Deputies to go make a tender to the King of the obedience of their City, provided his Majesty would please to protect them against the Duke of *Espernon*, whose power, they said, was grown formidable; and his insolence not to be endur'd. 'Tis true, he had acted vigorously against them, but they would not say, That had he proceeded with greater moderation, they would ever have return'd to their obedience, or departed from the Faction, whose interest they had so precipitously, and rebelliously embrac'd.

Anno

1594.

Designs of  
the *Count de  
Carces*  
against the  
Duke.

The Deputies found it no hard matter to obtain from the King what they desir'd, as to the acceptation of their City, which his Majesty was very glad should return into his obedience: but for what concern'd the Duke of *Espernon*, against whom their deputation was chiefly directed, they could nothing prevail at this time; not that they fail'd on their parts with their utmost endeavour, and eloquence, to render his Actions, and fidelity suspected, to set the Kings heart more, and more against him: But whether it were that his Majesty would not give credit to so partial, and so passionate accusers; or (which is more likely) that in the present posture of his Affairs, not yet well settled, he thought it not convenient to disoblige the Duke to such a degree; he would by no means gratifie them in that part of their deputation, that pointed at the Duke's removal from his Government. He saw him powerful in the Country, supported with great Relations, and possess'd of many strong holds; in which condition it had been dangerous to provoke him to the height: wherefore he thought it best to choose a mean betwixt these extremes, and to give the Deputies some satisfaction, without touching the Duke's Authority in *Provence*, excepting in the City of *Aix* only; which, at the Deputies request his Majesty would not absolutely leave at his discretion.

Anno

1595.

Y

His

Anno

1595.



His Majesties Conversion had as yet produc'd no great advantage to, nor no great alteration in his Affairs, saving that he had thereby assur'd many good Catholicks to his Service, who before were a little distracted in their Duty, and suspended betwixt Loyalty and Religion: But the League still remain'd in the same vigour, and the Spaniards hopes were yet as great as ever to carry the Election of their *Infanta* to the Crown, in the approaching Assembly of the counterfeit Estates of the League at *Paris*. All propositions of Accommodation with the Duke of *Mayenne* had prov'd ineffectual, who was the more inflexible to Peace, by how much his Kindred, and Confederates (the *Count de Carces* excepted) continued firm in their union, which also of it self was not very likely soon to dissolve, where there were so many pretenders to the Crown, to which five, or six of the Family at once aspir'd. In this conjuncture of Affairs, the King willing to make much of those few Servants he had, and principally of the Duke, that he might win time to order him at a better advantage, when the State should be settled in a better condition, wholly referr'd all differences depending betwixt the Duke, and the *Provencials*, to the *Constable de Montmorency's* Arbitration: A man of all others, the most fit to accommodate those Differences, who being a near Ally, and a passionate Friend to the Duke, and his Interests, could no ways stand suspected to him; and who his Majesty knew would be well lik'd of by the *Provencials*: a people the *Constable* by bordering upon them had had many opportunities several ways to oblige. Neither did his Majesty altogether so trust to the Referee he had in publick honoured with that Office, but that he at the same time sent private instructions to *Mounseur l' Esdiguieres*, and to Colonel *Alphonso d' Ornano*, to have an eye to the Duke's Actions; and in case they saw him obstinate to the taking the City of *Aix*, or that the *Constable* should in his Arbitration be partial to him, that then they should openly undertake the protection of that people, and by all means assure to his Majesty the possession of that City.

The King sends secret Orders to *l' Esdiguieres*, and Colonel *Alphonso d' Ornano*.

Yet were not these orders, how secretly soever deliver'd, so closely carried, but that the Duke had immediate knowledge thereof; at which unexpected unkindness being infinitely surpriz'd, and wounded to the quick, to see his Services, and good Intentions rewarded by so apparent a mistrust, he took up Resolutions, which though I shall by no means pretend to justify, yet that the condition, and misfortune of the time may something serve to excuse: There was scarce a great man of that Age that was not of opinion a man might lawfully defend his own Fortune, even against his Prince;

Prince, an error with which the Duke also, having been pre-possess'd, and therein, by a number of ill examples, confirm'd, he was resolv'd not to refer the Controversie about *Aix*, nor the interest he had in *Provence* to arbitration; but to maintain himself in that Interest, and Authority, with all the Force, and Power he had: which made *l' Esdiguieres*, who was soon inform'd how little the Duke was dispos'd to submit to the King's order, after having conferr'd with *Seignior Alphonso*, and concluded about the course they were to take, to retire into *Dauphiné*, there to prepare himself to pass over with all expedition, and with all the Force he could make into *Provence*.

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1595.

Whilst these little contests in *Provence* had been thus carried on, which had taken up some time, the King's Affairs about his own Person were advanc'd into a much better condition: The Deputies of *Provence* had been dispatch'd to Court in *January*, at which time the League being at their height, his Majesty thought it not convenient to give the Duke any publick discontent: but from that time three months were now elaps'd (for this hapned at the end of *April*) in which time the King had found a way to possess himself of the City of *Paris*. The possession of this great and populous City had drawn many others along with it into his Majesties Obedience, and divers persons of great quality had follow'd the examples of those Cities: the Spaniard now was possess'd of few, or no Towns in the Kingdom, and the League was so strangely declin'd, as to be only now almost supported by the single Family of *Lorain*, which was it self also upon the point to disunite; so that the King being no longer necessitated to dissemble, began now to require of the Duke a more absolute obedience, than hitherto he had done; when having rais'd him many enemies in the Country, and appointed *l' Esdiguieres*, and *Ornano* with great Forces to make head against him, he did not now so much fear his revolt, as formerly; nor consequently so much care to disoblige him.

The Duke, who by the commotions of the people, by his Majesties positive command, and by the preparations that were made against him, very well saw what he was to expect, would, notwithstanding how great soever his danger seem'd to be, rather choose to perish in *Provence* in the defense of his Honour, and Command, than to go to Court, there to expose himself to the malicious Offices of his Enemies. He very well saw the best he was there to expect, was to be stript of his Government; to which he conceiv'd he had a better Title, than to any other member of his Fortune. He had, in the time of his Favour, purg'd

The Duke is resolute to maintain himself in his Government.

Anno

1595.

The King  
resolves to  
remove the  
Duke from  
the Govern-  
ment of Pro-  
vence.

Monsieur  
de l'Esdi-  
guieres en-  
ters with an  
Army into  
Provence,  
against the  
Duke.

that Province of the Factions of the League, and the Reform'd Religion; he had since maintain'd it against the Duke of Savoy, and the League combin'd together: It had cost him his Brother's Life, much of his own Blood, and many of his Friends, and Servants: so that what propositions soever could be made unto him, he intended never to quit claim to his title there, and stood resolute to bury himself in *Provence* rather than by leaving it, to satisfy his Enemies longing, who were hourly importunate with his Majesty to remove him thence. In which resolution being every day more and more confirm'd, he gave the Constable (who as I have said was to mediate the differences betwixt the *Provincials*, and him) plainly to understand his determination; entreating him at the same time not to take it ill, if he did not submit a thing to Arbitration, which he could by no means ever consent to part withal. Neither was it any hard matter for him to satisfy the Constable who was infinitely affectionate to his person, and who had much rather have had him for his Neighbour in *Provence*, than any other; a consideration that perhaps especially mov'd the King to call the Duke from that Government; his Majesty not conceiving it convenient, that two persons so intimate, and of so great Reputation as they both were, should possess two so considerable, and so near neighbouring Provinces.

*Monsieur de l'Esdiguieres* observing how little the Duke was inclin'd to an Accommodation, and suspecting that the Constable forbore to press him to it, only to give the Duke more time to make himself Master of *Aix*, began to march with three thousand five hundred Foot, and eight or nine hundred Horse towards *Provence*, and by the way was reinforc'd with some Troops that had serv'd the League under the command of the Count de *Carces*, and who were exceeding glad to be employ'd against the Duke. *Lasin* (since famous for having been the Instrument of the *Mareschal de Birons* Ruine) hapned to be at this time in *Provence*, who, having some command in the Country, and having frequently convers'd with the Duke about the management of Affairs, had a great Ambition to have the honour of composing these Differences: wherefore knowing *Monsieur de l'Esdiguieres* to be upon his March, he went out to meet him; to whom he undertook, provided he would advance no further, to perswade the Duke absolutely to submit to the Constables determination: But *Monsieur de l'Esdiguieres*, supposing that to shew himself with his Forces upon the Frontiers of his Government, would sooner encline the Duke to that resolution, advanc'd as far as the Banks of the River *Durance*, which separates *Provence* from *Dauphiné*; where what he design'd

to

to hasten an Accommodation, he soon saw serv'd only to put things into a worse condition, and to make the Rupture wider than before.

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There had been of old a certain emulation betwixt these two great men, and their Vertue having begot in each of them a great esteem for the other, they had long, and equally desir'd an occasion, wherein they might make a decisive trial of themselves, to see which by his merit could get the start in the race of Honour, and stand fairest in the worlds Opinion: A noble, and vertuous jealousy of one anothers Reputation; yet was there at this time something of feud in the case, the Duke complaining that he had not receiv'd from *Monsieur de l'Esdiquieres* the return, nor acknowledgement he expected, for the good Offices he had done him in the business of *Savoy*; to which were also added the Difference in Religion, and the Diversity of Interest, things that were never observ'd to promote Accommodations, nor to unite the wills, and inclinations of men: by all which, the Duke being animated against *Monsieur de l'Esdiquieres*, perhaps more than he should have been against any other, he had no sooner notice of his motion, than taking his approach for a defiance, he would let him see, that he was neither astonish'd at his Reputation, nor daunted with the Forces he brought along with him; and therefore immediately arose from his Fort of *Aix*; where nor daring, as it was not fit, to leave his Quarters weakly guarded, he took the Field with only 3000 Foot, though in Horse he was equal to *Monsieur de l'Esdiquieres*, and with these small Forces bravely fac'd him; who having already pass'd the River, there was so little to part them, as reduc'd them both to almost a necessity of fighting. In this little Battel therefore the Duke advanc'd to begin the charge, which though it was of no great continuance, ended nevertheless with the loss of many men on both sides, and wherein the Duke shew'd himself no ways inferiour to his Adversary either in Courage, or Conduct, which is all I shall say, that I may not appear interested, and partial.

The Duke goes out to meet *Monsieur de l'Esdiquieres*.

All the Historians who make mention of this Action do say, that the two Armies retreated without any considerable advantage on either side, that in truth the Duke of *Espenon* carried away many prisoners of eminent Quality; but that *Monsieur de l'Esdiquieres* remain'd Master of the Field; by which report they seem to give him the advantage of the day. *Monsieur de Thou* writes to that purpose, and so does *d'Avila*; though it be nothing strange in the last, who, excepting in things, that meerly concern the Affairs at Court, does, as to the rest, only translate the other, and wholly follows

*Anno* follows his relation in what concerns the business of the Provinces of the Kingdom. As to *Monsieur de Videl* who has writ the life of the Constable *l'Esdiquieres* exceedingly well, and paid to the memory of a good Master the gratitude of a passionately affectionate and faithful Servant; I must commend him for writing to his Benefactors advantage in an occasion wherein he might with great truth do his memory honour: but to make a right judgment of this action, it will be convenient to relate the circumstances of it, after which it will be easier to conclude, to which side the Victory enclin'd.

A true account of the Action.

*Monsieur de l'Esdiquieres*, having pass'd the River *Durance*, took up his Quarters at *Ourgon*, and the circumjacent Villages, where the fertility of the Country abundantly provided for him: but the Duke on the contrary, who came to meet him, being constrain'd to Quarter in a very ill Country, as at *Eguiere*, *Sennas*, *Lambescq*, and other places thereabouts, his men suffer'd great want, and inconvenience; A consideration that besides the promptness of his nature, made him eager to come to the trial of Arms: In which resolution advancing still towards the Enemy, he at last discover'd him, standing in a place of singular advantage behind a great Ditch, which the torrent of Land floods had worn, and hollow'd into the form of a regular entrenchment. *l'Esdiquieres* at the Duke's first appearance immediately drew up into Battalia behind the Ditch, sending out his Vant-guard only to fight, wherein he had indeed dispos'd his best men, under the command of his Nephew *Morges*, in whose company (to his own misfortune) was *Bèzandun*, who had formerly been *Mareschal de Camp* for the League in *Provence*. The Duke, seeing this Vant-guard come up with a countenance to fight, made his also advance to meet them; which he would himself in person lead up, as he did, and made so gallant, and so fortunate a charge, that after a short, but brisk dispute, himself bravely fighting at the head of his men, they totally routed the party, and drove *Morges* wounded into the very Ditch, that parted the two main Bodies, kill'd a great many men (as he also lost some) and carried away very many Prisoners, without leaving so much as one of his own men in the Enemies hands: Yet had *Monsieur l'Esdiquieres* the patience all this while to see his men beaten, and trodden under foot, without once offering to come out of his Trench; or, though he made some light skirmishes about the skirts of the Ditch, without expressing any inclination to a total engagement; A coldness that the Duke very well observing, and satisfied with his own success, which he had infinitely hazarded, should he have made any further

ther attempt upon the Enemy in a place of so great advantage, contented himself with only facing some hours in the Field, to try if *l'Esduignieres* had any mind to repair his loss; but to no purpose, he still keeping the same station, and being by no provocation to be tempted, out of the advantage of his Post. And this is the truth of what pass'd at this occasion, as I received it from honourable, and not to be suspected, testimony, who were present at the engagement, and who impartially related the story: though the sequel it self makes it plain enough; for had *Monsieur l'Esduignieres* had the least imaginable advantage, is it to be suppos'd that he would have suffer'd the Duke to have carried away so many, and so considerable Pris'ners before his face, as the Historians themselves confess to be taken in this Battel? No doubtless! neither was it such a triumph for him to remain Master of the Field, the Duke never intending to stay upon the place of Battel; the ill Quarters he had been enforc'd to take up withal, upon his March, in a very unfruitful Country, not permitting him to stay long there without he intended to destroy his men: to which consideration was also added, that he was in danger of losing his Fort at *Aix*, left but slenderly guarded, by drawing so many men from thence upon this occasion; and therefore it especially concern'd him not longer to expose a place of that importance, which was indeed the main cause that made him to return, but not retreat.

Amongst the Prisoners taken at this Battel was the *Mareschal de Camp Bezaudun*, whom I nam'd but now; a Gentleman for his Parts and Courage of high repute amongst those of his own Faction: but he would yet make himself more remarkable, by professing, and that in publick, an implacable hatred to the Duke's Person; neither were words sufficient to express his Malice, nor did he think it enough that he had by divers calumnies bespatter'd the Duke's Honour, unless he made his injuries more publick, by printing several Libels, of which he declar'd himself to be the Author, which indeed, was one thing that had cherish'd in the Duke an animosity against him: but there was yet another by which he was more justly provok'd, and of which, those who have condemn'd the Duke, for causing him to be, as they say, unhand somely slain, have made no mention. I think it therefore very fit to insert it here, to vindicate the Duke from the aspersion has been unjustly cast upon him, about this Gentleman's death.

*Bezaudun*, formerly in some engagement had the fortune to take a Gentleman Prisoner, whose name was *D'Estampes*; a man for whom the Duke had an exceeding kindness, and whom in the beginning of his restraint *Bezaudun* had us'd with great civility;

but

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1595.



The Duke's  
Victory fatal to *Bezaudun*.

*Anno* but suspecting soon after, and perhaps upon too light grounds, 1595. that his Prisoner had not observ'd a due regard to the honour of his house, he forthwith resolv'd to take a severe revenge: To which purpose causing himself to be carried in a Chair into the Market-place of *Aix*, being unable to walk by reason of some Wounds he had receiv'd, he there caus'd his Prisoner to be brought before him; where having demanded of him, in the presence of a great many people, whom the novelty of the action had assembled together, if he complain'd of his usage, *D'Estampes* made answer, that he was so far from complaining, that he had highly commended it, and should do so as long as he had life. You should not then have given me cause to complain of you, says *Bezaudun*, and withal cry'd, kill him; which inhumane Sentence was scarce pronounc'd, but that the poor Gentleman was, by some *Bezaudun* had brought along for that purpose, immediately run through, and through, and laid dead upon the place. This barbarous act, that possess'd with horror all such as beheld it, being soon brought to the Duke's ear, he then made a vow, that if ever the Murderer fell into his hands he should receive the same measure. And such was *Bezaudun's* ill fortune, to be presented to the Duke in a time when the murder of his Friend was yet fresh in his memory; for the Prisoners taken in the Battel, being immediately, and upon the place brought before him, and amongst the rest *Bezaudun*, completely arm'd, with his Bever down; and the Duke asking (as he had of the rest) who he was, the Prisoner himself made answer, that he was *Bezaudun*; at which the Duke turning aside his head, as loathing the sight of a man so odious to him, and against whom he had so often publish'd an implacable hatred, could not forbear to express some dissatisfaction with those who had receiv'd him to Quarter: whereupon one of them, without more express order, discharg'd a Pistol in his head, by which he was laid upon the ground; the second was discharg'd by a Brother-in-law of his own, and both mortal. Thus have you the truth of this business; which, had it been carried with less cruelty, had doubtless been more to be commended, though the many offences and injuries the Duke had receiv'd being duly consider'd, it may in some sort pretend to an excuse; especially the fact having been committed by no order from the Duke, but by Servants of his, who conceiv'd it would be an acceptable service to him: Neither is it to be denied, but that the War has produc'd many other actions of this nature, wherein as great severity has been practis'd upon far less provocation;



The Duke after this Battel perceiving *l' Esdiguieres* to be palpably favour'd by almost all who had formerly stood for the League in *Provence*, (many of them having list'd themselves under this *Hugonot* Captain) as also by those who were affectionate to the King, seeing an Army likewise on foot against him twice as numerous as his own, and not knowing in whom he might confide, even his own Friends, and Servants being startled, to see the King's Authority, and name made use of against them; began now to see that, to keep those few friends, and places he had left, from revolting from him, it was absolutely necessary to submit to an Accommodation: and to this he was the rather induc'd by the necessity he saw of abandoning his Fort of *Aix*, it being impossible for him to keep that, without putting the other places he held in the Province to manifest hazard, his Forces being too few to defend them all against so many enemies, as were conspir'd to his ruine. He therefore at last hearkened to *Lafin*, who from the beginning had made himself an importunate Mediator for an Accommodation, and in conclusion wholly referr'd himself to the Constables award; by whose determination, which was deliver'd in *June*, the Duke was oblig'd to give up the Fort of *Aix* (the main thing in contest) into the hands of *Lafin* himself, by whom it was to be kept with 400 men, to be sent out of *Languedoc*, until it should please his Majesty further to signify his Royal Pleasure, as to the maintaining or slighting of that Fort, that in the mean time there should be a general suspension of Arms in *Provence*, during which all things should continue in the same posture they then were.

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1595.

The Duke  
at last is ne-  
cessitated to  
an Accom-  
modation.

The Duke submitting absolutely, and without reserve, to this Decree, accordingly deliver'd up the Fort of *Aix* unto *Lafin*, who enter'd into it with the appointed number of men: but whether it were through the Officers foul play in their Musters, or that the treachery of *Lafin* himself (of both which the Duke complain'd) made him neglect to keep his Garrison in its full appointment, so it was that in a few days they were reduc'd to half their number; neither does *Mounseieur l' Esdiguieres* stick to confess, that he himself had a hand in the business, that he had privately supply'd the Fort with Souldiers of his own, who still were to run away by his private order.

In the mean time the Duke of *Espernon*, under the assurance of this Truce, liv'd in great security, and believing that nothing was to be suspected to the prejudice of a Treaty, argu'd, and concluded as it were in the presence of all men, took this opportunity, a little to divert, and repose himself, after the continual action he had

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The Duke  
goes over  
to *Languedoc*.

been turmoil'd in since his first arrival in *Provence*, and to that purpose took a Journey into *Languedoc*, either as he himself pretended to make a visit to the Constable; or, as it was said by others, upon an amorous accompt to visit a Lady he had an acquaintance withal in that Country: but whatever was the occasion, the absence of their Leader, together with his example, made most of his Souldiers to take the same liberty, rambling every one a several way: an advantage that *Mounſieur l' Eſdiguieres* very well knew how to manage; neither did he neglect it, though what he did would have been interpreted breach of faith, had less than the King's command stept in to excuse it.

A remarkable  
Duel  
betwixt two  
of the  
Duke's; Cap-  
tains.

In this Journey to *Languedoc*, there hapned a very remarkable quarrel betwixt two Officers of the Duke's Army, who went along to attend him; the one was *Lioux*, a *Gascon*, the other *St. Andiol* a *Provencial*, both of them Captains of Horse, and equal in quality, and esteem; though in this occasion the chance of Arms shewed it self partial to *St. Andiol's* side. These two Gentlemen upon some slight dispute, having agreed to fight, went out of the Town together, to end their difference; where *St. Andiol* being the stronger man, after some wounds given, and receiv'd on both sides, closing with his Enemy, trip'd up his heels, disarm'd him, and made him ask his life; which being done, he was so far from the insolence of a conquerour, that, desiring no other triumph than his own private satisfaction, he restor'd *Lioux* his Sword upon the place, with all the complement, and civility usual amongst men of honour upon such occasions. But how modest soever *St. Andiol* was in his Victory, the business could not be so secretly carried (they returning both bloody from the Field) that their friends took not notice of what they had been about, who as soon enform'd the Duke thereof; desiring withal, that he would interpose his Authority to make them friends: But the Duke, out of respect to the Constable would transfer that good office to him, who as readily undertook it, and who having his two Sons in Law the *Count de Auvergne* (since Duke of *Angoulesme*, and the Duke of *Vantadour* in the house with him, sent for them, and the Duke of *Espernon*, to be present at the reconciliation. *Saint Andiol* was the first call'd in, who, being examin'd what had pass'd betwixt *Lioux* and him, made answer, "That it was true, some  
" little dispute had hapned betwixt them, which had oblig'd him  
" to seek the satisfaction of a Cavalier; but that it was already  
" determin'd, without any advantage on the one side, or the  
" other, that he was satisfied that he must ever declare *Lioux* to be  
" a very brave Gentleman, and that he was his Friend, and hum-  
ble

ble Servant. After this Declaration, every one concluded it would be a matter of no great difficulty to reconcile them, and expected *Lioux* would as readily embrace his adversaries friendship, as he had franckly offer'd his, *Saint Andiol* being reputed one of the bravest Gentlemen in the Army. He therefore was next call'd in, and that rather to hear himself commended upon *Saint Andiol's* testimony of his Valour, than to be question'd about a thing, of the truth whereof they thought themselves already sufficiently enform'd. They therefore, upon his coming in, told him, that *Saint Andiol* had given an account of what had pass'd betwixt them, that he had assur'd them, they parted upon equal terms, that he was his Friend and Servant, and that therefore nothing now remain'd, but that they should embrace, and be good friends. To which *Lioux* made answer, "That before they proceeded so far, there must be a truer relation given of the issue of their dispute, than, for as much as he yet heard, he could consent unto. An answer that surpriz'd the whole company, who fear'd it might beget a new quarrel; when *Lioux* continuing his discourse, declar'd how every thing had truly pass'd; acknowledging that he ow'd his life to his enemies courtesie; but complaining withal, that *Saint Andiol* should make so light of his Victory, as to deprive himself of the due honour of it; yet magnifying his noble behaviour towards him after so ingenuous a manner, that having by his franck, and generous confession wip'd off all disesteem, that usually (how brave soever) cleaves to the losing side, he won himself, by his handsome carriage, as great a reputation, as if he had been more fortunate, and shar'd in the glory of a victory had been obtain'd in single dispute over his own person.

From the time that the Fort of *Aix* had been deliver'd into *Lafin's* hands, *Mounseur de l'Esdiquieres* had retir'd himself into the City, where he had been receiv'd with all the reputation, and respect due to the Deliverer of a people, as they look'd upon him to be, and where, whilst he lay watching all occasions wherein he might weaken the Duke's power, or lessen his repute (which he call'd executing his Majesties Orders, and advancing his Service) he had intelligence of the slender, and careles Guard was kept by *Lafin* in the Fort of *Aix*, as also in many other places, which as yet were in the Duke's possession: wherefore making use of this negligence, and pretending some of the Duke's people had broken the Truce (in having (as he said) taken some of his prisoners) he took the Field upon the sixth of *July*, and without resistance took the Fort of *Aix*, and favouring the revolt of *Frejus*, *St. Paul*, *Troye*,

The Fort of *Aix* surpriz'd by *Mounseur l'Esdiquieres*.

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Anno 1595. *Mirabel*, and *Cannes*, gave the Inhabitants of all those Cities opportunity, to drive out the Duke's Garrisons, and to withdraw themselves wholly from his Party, and Obedience. As for the Fort of *Aix*, it was no sooner in *Monsieur de l'Esdiquieres* hands, but that he deliver'd it up to the discretion of the Inhabitants, who were so diligent in the demolishing of it, that in two days time there scarce remain'd any footsteps of a work the Duke's whole Army had for three months together, with great, and continual labour, been industrious to raise.

The Fort of *Aix* demolish'd.

Many other places revolt from the Duke.

*Toulon* soon after follow'd the revolt of the other forenamed places, which was, of all others, a loss of the greatest importance to the Duke. *Esgarreaques* was Governour of the place, a man that had long serv'd in that employment, both under *Monsieur de la Valette*, and under the Duke himself in great esteem of Courage, and Fidelity: but at last the alliance he had contracted with the House of *Souliés*, a Family that were nothing kind to the Duke's Interests, having given his Adversaries, or rather his Envyers a pretense to render him suspected to the Duke, he, to secure the place, and to keep *Esgarreaques* within the bounds of his duty, caus'd a Cittadel to be drawn out, and to be begun in his own presence, wherein he plac'd *Signac*, the Governours Capital, and Mortal Enemy, with a sufficient Garrison both to secure the Cittadel, and to awe the City: But *Esgarreaques*, either really provok'd by this ill usage, or else in this declining condition of the Duke's Affairs, willing to disengage himself from his Service, making that his pretense, so soon as the Duke's back was turn'd, assaulted *Signac* in his new Cittadel; where, the Fortifications being imperfect, and the access open, and easie on all sides, he without much opposition took the Governour prisoner, and made himself master of the place; putting himself immediately after into *Monsieur l'Esdiquieres* protection, which, in the Language of the Country, was to submit himself to the King.

The Duke returns into *Provence*.

The Duke having intelligence of these disorders, of which his own absence had chiefly been the cause, upon the first report thereof left *Languedoc*, and made all the haste he could into *Provence*, to apply, if possible, some remedy in this untoward posture of Affairs; though all he could do at his return, was only to stop the Gangreen from going further, and to keep the Province from a general revolt: yet either not believing, or not seeming to believe, that his Majesties Order was in any of these transactions, he began to prepare himself to recover by force of Arms, what by treachery and surprize had been taken from him, when finding his Friends and Followers startled, and wavering at the very sound of

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of the Royal Name, which his Enemies had made use of in all their designs, he thought it necessary, before he fell to action first to undeceive them, and to clear that error. In an eloquent Speech therefore he briefly laid before them, “ The signal Services both  
 “ his Brother and himself had done for the King in the conserva-  
 “ tion of that Province, and that in the greatest confusion of the  
 “ Kingdom, and at the lowest ebb of his Majesties Affairs; the  
 “ Obedience he had manifested to all his Majesties Orders, and  
 “ Commands, how severe soever they had been, and how preju-  
 “ dicial soever to his own private Fortune. That as an evidence  
 “ of his Duty, and submission to his Majesties Royal Pleasure, he  
 “ had but lately surrendred the Fort of *Aix*, that is to say, had di-  
 “ vested himself of the possession of that fair City; the Conquest  
 “ of which, was, by their Valours made certain to him. That not-  
 “ withstanding so many, and so recent testimonies of his Loyalty  
 “ and Obedience, with which he knew his Majesty to be very  
 “ well satisfied, his Enemies still shrowding their malice under  
 “ the shadow of the Royal Name, the better to effect their own  
 “ designs, had debauch’d, and reduc’d from him most of the pla-  
 “ ces he had lately been possess’d of. That this affront reflected up-  
 “ on them, indifferently with himself, since it had been with their  
 “ Blood, together with his Brothers, and his own, that those con-  
 “ quests had been dearly bought. That therefore the injury being  
 “ equal both to him, and them, he hop’d they would assist to re-  
 “ venge them, and to maintain his Fortune; which, as he ow’d it  
 “ in part to their Valour, so did he not so passionately desire its  
 “ support for any interest of his own, as to have means thereby to  
 “ shew himself grateful to those who had been constant, and faith-  
 “ ful to him, in all the disgraces he had fall’n into, and in all the  
 “ attempts had been practis’d against him.

His Friends being by this short speech reassur’d and confirm’d in their Fidelity and Obedience, and having thereupon express’d as great a Devotion to his Service, as he could expect from men who had long been affectionate to him; he forthwith took the Field to go seek out *l’Esdiguieres*: but he, after he had deliver’d *Aix* from the Fort, that had so long kept them in subjection, and clear’d the neighbouring Campagne by the revolt he had procur’d of the foremention’d places, retir’d into his Government of *Dauphiné*, without engaging himself further at this time in the Affairs of *Provence*; by whose retreat, the Duke, having none left to oppose his designs; seem’d to be now in a condition not only to redeem his late losses; but also to make a new, and a further progress into the Country, than he yet had done; and doubtless he had

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The Duke of Guise made Governour of Provence.

The Duke of *Guise* at last undeceiv'd, and better read in the *Spanish* artifice, which had so long abus'd him with vain propositions of Marriage with their *Infanta* so soon as they could procure his Election to the Crown, and perceiving also the declining condition of the League, which every day went less in reputation, was in the end, with his Brothers return'd into the King's Obedience: to whom his Majesty (hoping the revolt of a man of his Authority, and Condition from his Enemies Party, would draw the greatest part of those who had set up their rest upon the Fortune of the Duke his Father, over to his own) had granted very advantageous conditions; and besides the Cities of *Rheims*, *Chalons*, *Rocroy*, *St. Disier*, *Guise*, and other places, which had formerly been settled upon his Father, and his Uncles, conferr'd particularly the Government of *Provence* upon him. The Government of *Champagne* had formerly been in the possession of the late Duke; but his Majesty, having since his advancement to the Crown, gratified the Duke of *Nevers* with that Office, he rather chose to dispossess the Duke of *Espernon*, who by a thousand calumnies had been rendred suspected to him, than to disoblige the Duke of *Nevers*, whom himself had settled in that trust. Neither was the Duke of *Guise* unsatisfied with the exchange, who (besides that it was in it self at least equal with the other) had, by this mutation a great opportunity, under the shadow of the Royal Authority, to depress one of the most powerful, and profess'd enemies of his House, and Name: so that well pleas'd with his new Employment, he only waited his Majesties order to begin his Journey into *Provence*, and by assistance of the Royal Arms to put himself into possession of his new, and well lik'd of charge: But his Majesty who had much rather by little and little to have withdrawn the Duke of *Espernon* from thence, than to kindle a new War in that Country, and so soon again to put a Sword into the Duke of *Guise*'s hand, who was so lately return'd into his obedience, had first try'd the way of negotiation (as you have heard) and after made use of Arms under the conduct of *Mounseieur l'Esduignieres*; by which various ways having found he could neither reduce the Duke by reason, nor so depress him by force, but that he was still in a condition there long to subsist, he at last took a resolution to put an end to the work, and to effect that by fine force, which he saw was neither by Treaty, nor by indifferent Forces to be brought about.

His

His Majesty had in the beginning of this year proclaim'd a War with the King of *Spain*, which notwithstanding, before he would begin, or advance into the Enemies Country, he would first settle his own Affairs at home, and visit some parts of his Kingdom, which as yet he had never seen since they were reduc'd to his Obedience, by his presence to encourage and confirm them in their duty to him; of which the City of *Lyons* was one, and thither it was, that his Majesty, after having chas'd the Duke of *Mayenne* out of *Burgundy*, repair'd, and where he arriv'd in *September*, 1595. To this place *Monsieur de l'Esdiquieres* being also come to kiss his Majesties Hand, and to give him an accompt of the Affairs of *Provence*, he was thither follow'd by the Deputies of that Parliament, and of some other Cities of that Province, in hopes that under his countenance, and Interest at Court, their complaints against the Duke of *Espernon* would be the better heard, by which his Majesty being tyr'd, vext at the continuations of these troubles, and animated against the Duke by the reiterated ill Offices of his enemies, fearing also that the ill usage the Duke had receiv'd from them, might during his rupture with *Spain*, provoke him to joyn with the *Spaniard*, so as to receive them into those Garrisons he held in *Provence*, he then took up that final resolution to suppress him by Force, and by Arms to reduce him to his Duty. Of this War the Duke of *Guise*, as Governour of *Provence*, was to have the conduct, whom nevertheless his Majesty judging too young to manage, without the assistance of some more experienc'd Captain (especially having to do with the Duke of *Espernon*) he made choice of *Monsieur l'Esdiquieres* for that purpose, by the title of Lieutenant General in *Provence*, under the Duke of *Guise*. Neither could his Majesty have made choice of two Captains more animated against the Enemy they were to undertake, the first being prompted on, besides the interest of his establishment in that Province, by the antiquated and irreconcilable hatred of his Family, the other by his jealousy already mention'd, and by the conscience of those recent injuries the Duke had receiv'd at his hands.

And here, though every one might reasonably conclude that this torrent of Arms was likely to overwhelm the Duke beyond all possible evasion, or recovery, yet was his courage, and assurance no less eminent in this, than it had been in other occasions of this nature. 'Tis true that he had discreetly endeavour'd to divert it, by going to present himself before the King at *Lyons*; where he doubted not to clear those Accusations his Enemies had so falsely contriv'd, and so maliciously preferr'd against him: But such was his

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The Duke  
of *Guise*,  
and *Monsieur l'Esdiquieres* go  
against the  
Duke of  
*Espernon*.

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Anno 1595. { ill fortune, that he met intelligence upon the way, which assur'd him his Majesty was suddenly, and unexpectedly call'd thence into *Picardy*, by the inroads the *Condé de Fuentes* had made into that Province, and by the danger the City of *Cambray* was in, which at this time was closely besieg'd by the *Spanish* Forces: So that he was constrain'd to return back into *Provence*, not without extreme affliction to see his Majesty so positively bent to his ruine, with this hope nevertheless, that time would at last justify his intentions, especially if he could in the interim maintain his Affairs in any tolerable condition: a consideration that made him resolute to defend his declining fortune more vigorously than ever; yet not with any design to do any thing contrary to his Majesties Service, but with an intent, if things came to the last push, rather to make a voluntary surrender of his Government into his Majesties own hands (as he afterwards did) than to suffer himself tamely to be stript of it, by his mortal, and implacable Enemies.

The Duke resolute to stand upon his defence.

The Army design'd against him entred into *Provence* in *November* 1595. where the Duke had Friends, and strong Holds enough to have held them long in play, had they, to whose fidelity he had entrusted the chiefest of his Castles and Towns observ'd the Faith they had sworn unto him: but their revolt soon made him understand, the influence of the Royal Name, and how unhappy a thing it is, to have that appear against a man, how innocent soever his intentions may be, and how well soever dispos'd to his Princes Service: for the Duke of *Guise*, and *Monsieur de l'Esdiquieres* no sooner appear'd in *Provence*, but that there was a contest amongst the Duke's greatest Confidants, who should first go over to them. Amongst these the *Sieurs de Buons* Brothers, the men of all others in that Country to whom the Duke had given the highest testimonies of Honour, and Friendship, were the first who forsook him, and who, besides the prejudice they did him by their ill example, carried over with them the two Regiments they commanded in his Army, which was no little blow to his Affairs in a time when it was no easie matter for him to raise new Forces.

The Duke abandoned by most of his friends.

The next in order that follow'd this vertuous example was *Ramefort*, one who had been of longest acquaintance, and intimacy with the Duke, and whom he in his time of favour had oblig'd by many benefits, and had since in *Provence* committed *Cisteron*, one of the chiefest places he held there to his trust. This man nevertheless no sooner knew the Duke of *Guise* to be come into the Country, but that he sent to treat with him about the surrender of the place, upon condition that he should still conti-

nue



tinue Governour there for the King. *Peyroles* did the same for his Garrison of *Riez*, he continuing still Governour of the place, to be held, and maintain'd for the time to come, in his Majesties name, as *Cisteron* was by *Ramefort*.

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The loss of these two places having infinitely surpriz'd the Duke of *Espernon*, who by this carriage plainly saw how little assurance he could promise to himself from the rest of his Friends, he began to apprehend an universal Revolt; and in this apprehension, scarce knowing any more in whom he might confide, or whom he might reasonably suspect, he chiefly began to mistrust the fidelity of *Mesplés* the Governour of *Tropés*, one of the principal places that remain'd in his power, and in which upon the worst of accidents he thought to find his chiefest refuge, and safety. This Gentleman a *Bearnois* by Birth, and a man of singular Valour, had, by his gallant behaviour in several occasions, wrought himself much into the Kings opinion, and esteem; from whence the Duke apprehending (perhaps too lightly) that possibly he might quit his Interests, to be allur'd over to his Enemies side by the sound of the Royal Name, he resolv'd to remove him from that command, as he presently did; and that, as he conceiv'd, without any injury, or offense, having done it without noise, or giving the least evidence that his Faith was any way suspected to him: but *Mesplés* (perhaps glad of so good a pretense to abandon the Duke, whose Affairs he saw daily declining) taking his unjust suspicion for the highest injury, and the removing him from his Government for the greatest Affront and Indignity he could possibly receive, resented both at so high a rate, that from that time forwards he became one of his most violent and implacable enemies. He went upon the very instant to seek out the Duke of *Guise*, where being arriv'd, he immediately put himself into his Service, and having long commanded in *St. Tropés*, and at leisure consider'd all the weakneses of the place, advis'd the Duke presently to besiege it, assuring him that it would infallibly be taken; which the Duke giving credit to, immediately order'd him Men, and Cannon, to force the place, whilst he himself went upon the enterprize of *Marselles*, which he likewise brought to a fortunate issue. This Design upon *St. Tropés* had like to have occasioned betwixt these two Dukes a memorable engagement; for the Duke of *Espernon* not being able to suffer such a place to be lost, without endeavouring at least to relieve it, had suddenly gather'd together all the Forces he could make thereabouts to that purpose; but all those amounting to no more, than about some 300. Light Horse, 60. of his Guards, and betwixt four or five

The Duke of *Espernon* enters into a general mistrust of all his followers.

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1595. hundred Foot, he was like to do no great execution; yet was he resolute, notwithstanding the infinite danger, to have made a brave attempt; when those about him, seeing that only the desperate condition of his Affairs prompted him to that precipitous resolution, not only dissuaded him from his purpose; but in a manner constrain'd him to think of making his retreat: In which also the danger was excêeding great; for *St. Tropés* being but four Leagues distant from *Marselles*, whilst *Mesplés* was busie about this petty Siege, the Duke of *Guise* had made himself Master of that great, and populous City; where, having a good Army at his Devotion, and receiving intelligence from *Mesplés*, that the Duke of *Espernon* was with a very inconsiderable Party about *St. Tropés*, he made with all possible diligence to find him out, and to fight him. As the Duke of *Guise* was advancing with this Design, the Duke of *Espernon* was upon his Retreat, which (that craggy and mountainous Country affording him no other passage) he was forc'd to make by the same way, by which the Duke of *Guise* was coming against him. The Duke of *Espernon's* Forlorn-Hope was that day led by *St. André*, who, so soon as he discover'd the Enemy, gave the Duke present notice thereof; who, not so much as dreaming of any such Encounter, was a little surpriz'd, and in some perplexity, what course he had best to take. His design before was to have refresh'd his men in the Village *Du Val*; but that being now possess'd by the Duke of *Guise*; and he not being in a condition to dislodge him, who was much stronger than himself, he was forc'd to lay aside his thoughts of repose, and to think of a speedy retreat. Neither was this without great difficulty to be effected, there being no place near he expected should receive him, and the Enemy being already in sight. In which general confusion and astonishment, a Souldier of the Country who was then with the Duke, advis'd him to retire towards *Berjau*, undertaking himself at the same time, to be his Guide. *Berjau* was a little Town in the Duke's possession, but it was four long Leagues from the place where they then were, and the River *Argence* was betwixt them and it, which was no where passable but at *Pont de Carces*, the Lord of which was no friend to the Duke, as may be gather'd from what has gone before: Yet was the Souldier's proposition nevertheless embrac'd (for in extreme necessities and dangers, the first Counsels whatever they be are commonly accepted) the Guide therefore put himself in the Front, and the Duke followed after, leaving the *Baron d' Ars*, and *Miran* to bring up the Rear. In the mean time the Duke of *Guise* advertis'd, by the Avant-Coureurs of his Army, that the Duke  
of

of *Espernon* was so near, made all the haste he could to overtake him; which notwithstanding he could not so suddenly do, but that the Duke had already pass'd the River without difficulty, or danger, which the Duke of *Guise* perceiving, and attempting to follow after, that he might engage him before he could put his men into order, was receiv'd on the Duke's part by a counterfeit charge, which was put so briskly home, that the Duke of *Guise's* Forces, who were not half got over the Bridge, astonish'd at so unexpected a resistance, fell foul upon one another, in which confusion above thirty Troopers threw themselves headlong for fear into the River, and were there drown'd, some also were slain; and certainly had the Duke engag'd with all his Forces, he had put *Monsieur de Guise* into a very great disorder: but he conceiving he had nothing more to do, than to make good his own retreat, thought it sufficient by charging, and amusing the Enemies Van, to win time for those few Foot he had to get the start; wherein if the Duke committed an oversight, *Monsieur de Guise* committed afterwards a greater; when after this little skirmish, having without opposition march'd over the rest of his Army, it had been no hard matter for him, had he made any haste, to have overtaken the Duke, who march'd no faster than a trot; whilst following leisurely after, without pressing him to fight, he gave him leave to make his retreat in great security without the loss of any, save some few of his worst mounted men. Thus the Duke of *Espernon* lost at once both the Town of *St. Tropes*, which was a very good one, and the Governour, who was a Gentleman of great worth and merit; the one by the prevailing Arms of his Enemies, and the other perhaps by his own fault: he was at least condemn'd by his Friends, and Servants, for entring upon too light grounds into a jealousy of this Gentleman's faith: And certainly if ever we should make head against our diffidences, and mistrusts, it ought chiefly to be, when we most labour under affliction and disgrace; every thing at those times being suspected to us, and our judgments, weakned by grief and disaster, being then most apt to be impos'd upon by the lightest impressions.

After the taking in of these places, the Duke of *Guise*, *l'Esdi-guieres*, the Count de *Carces*, and the other Chiefs of the Enemies Army retir'd themselves to *Aix*, there to deliberate about the Affairs of *Provence*, and of the means by which they were to work the Duke of *Espernon's* absolute, and final ruine. He had at this time upon his hands at once the Duke of *Savoy*, the Duke of *Guise*, the League, *l'Esdi-guieres*, *Ornano*, the *Pro- vencials*, and (which was of more dangerous consequence

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A Skirmish  
betwixt the  
Duke of  
*Guise*, and  
the Duke of  
*Espernon*.

All things  
averse to  
the Duke in  
*Provence*.

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A Plot against the Duke of Espernon's life.

A Quintal is an hundred weight.

than all these known, and declared Enemies) his own Friends and Followers were wavering and uncertain to him: yet, as if all these, who were all men of great quality, and many of them of great interest, and reputation in the Country, had been too few to do his business, a wretched Fellow, bred from the Lees of the common people, obscure, and of no name till then, would likewise put his helping hand to the work; who alone, and contemptible, as he was, put the Duke into more manifest danger of his life, than so many, and so powerful enemies arm'd, and confederated to his ruine, as yet had ever done. His name was *Bartholomew Bigne*. a native of the fore-mentioned Village *du Val*, and a near neighbour to *Brignoles*; whither the Duke having retir'd himself after the loss of the before-mention'd places, and having there assembled all his Forces together, to make head against whatever new attempts might be preparing against him; this cursed Villain, who had never received any particular injury from the Duke, but meerly prompted on by the malignity of his own nature, and a national hatred against him, having long deliberated by what way he might infallibly destroy the Duke, bethought himself at last of this impious, and abominable mischief. He shut up in two Chests three Quintals of Powder, to purchase which he had laid out all the mony he had, or could procure; and having observ'd the place where the Duke usually kneeled at Mass in the Church of *Brignoles*, he entreated the Curate thereof to give him leave to bring the two Chests into his Church, wherein he pretended he had lock'd up the best of his Goods, to preserve them from the hands of the Souldier: which the Curate readily promis'd him he should, provided he might first search them, to see what they contain'd: but *Bigne* finding that to be a condition, that by no means suited with his Design, left off the Curate, and seeing some other way was to be found out to bring his purpose to pass, fell to hammering out new projects; which were the less hard for him to contrive, by how much the same evil spirit, who had suggested to him the heart, and boldness to meditate so great a wickedness, was now also ready to prompt his invention, and to instruct him how to execute his execrable purpose by a new way, where his first design had fail'd. Out of hopes then of effecting his business in the Church, he by the means of the Mistress of the House where the Duke lay, and with whom *Bigne* had been formerly acquainted, wriggles himself into the company of the Duke's Baker, and in discourse offers him three Sacks of Corn to sell, where betwixt them the Bargain was soon strook up, and that being done, the Traytor losing no time, the next day brings his

his three Sacks to the Duke's Lodgings, about the time he was to come from Mass, and to go to dinner, and sets them in a little place under the Chamber where the Duke us'd to eat. Where after he had dispos'd them as he thought most conveniently for the execution they were to do, he goes to seek out the Baker to come look upon his Bargain. In every one of these Sacks he had put an hundred pound of powder, with only a little Corn at the mouth to serve for shew, that if by chance the first Sack that was open'd should fail of its effect, no discovery might be made of the Treason; but that they might go to the next. Amongst the powder in every Sack he had convey'd the wheel-lock of a Pistol, ready wound up, and tyed to the string of the Sack, after such a manner, that it was impossible to open any one without pulling down the spring that was fastned to the Cord, and giving fire to the powder; the three Sacks also were set so near to one another, that any one of them taking fire, the others would also blow up, and so the three Quintals of Powder must infallibly play at once. Things being thus order'd, *Bigne* waits near to the Duke's Lodging, untill he was come in, and had the patience to stay till he saw him set down to dinner; when having him now in the Trap, and that the Duke, as he thought, could not possibly escape, he then went to seek out the Baker, to make him at once the Traitor, and the betrayed, and the innocent instrument of his own, and his Master's ruine. The poor Baker was not hard to be found, at a time of the day when usually all the Duke's domesticks met together; so that having presently met him, *Bigne* goes along with him to the Mistress of the house, desiring her to open the door where the Corn stood; which she accordingly doing, and he seeing things now brought to that pass, that the effect was, as it were inevitable, himself insensibly, and unobserv'd slips out of the House, and got into the Fields, making with all diligence for *Aix*. The Baker in the mean time, with two young fellows that belong'd to him in his Office, went to visit the Sacks, where going to untye the first, he had scarce toucht the string, but he was immediately consum'd by the devouring flame: Neither did his men escape any better; and the violence of the powder was so great, that it blew up the floor where the Duke sate at dinner, with the story above it, the roof of the house only remaining firm. All those who were above with the Duke, were blown up to the roof, and thence tumbling headlong to the foundation, were many of them crush'd to pieces under the ruines, the Duke only by a miracle of Fortune remaining still sitting, and upright in the midst of this subversion; for his Chair being plac'd upon a great Beam

that

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The Duke's  
wonderful  
escape.

that butted upon the Chimney of the Chamber, and the fire not having force enough to blow up that, which at both ends was strongly fastned into the Wall, the flame only burnt his hair, and his beard, without any further harm to his person. That which hindred the powder from doing greater execution, and from blowing up the whole house, as in all probability it was like to do, was, that the Windows being all open, the flame found a passage that way, and by that lost much of its force within; otherwise the house, and all within, had certainly been tost into the Aire, and consum'd in a moment.

*Bigne*, who from without the Town had seen his mine play; believing the effect to be infallibly such, as he had propos'd to himself, ran in all hast to *Aix* to carry the news of the Duke of *Espernon's* certain death to the Duke of *Guise*; to whom withal he declared at large the whole circumstance of his design, not without the amazement and horror of all that heard him, that any man could be guilty of so barbarous and inhumane a fact. As for the Duke of *Espernon*, he was a man so well prepar'd beforehand against all the accidents of fortune, that he soon recover'd the astonishment this surprize had put him into; and doubting it might be a stratagem of the Enemy in the disorder, and confusion, that must necessarily attend so sudden a mischief, to make himself Master of the place, made all the Souldiers he had in the Town immediately to repair to their Arms; whilst himself mounted on Horseback, and attended by some Gentlemen his friends, went to visit the several Posts of the City, to see that all was quiet there: where having found all things right within, and that nothing of suspicion appear'd from without, it must of necessity be concluded that the mischief arose, and that the Conspiracy must have been made within the Walls of his own Lodgings. Diligent search was there therefore presently made, and the woman of the house examin'd, who ingenuously confess'd the bargain about the Corn betwixt *Bigne* and the Baker by her means: whereupon they desir'd to see the place where the Sacks had been set, but there was neither Sacks, nor the men who had open'd them to be seen, the fire having so consum'd them, that scarcely their bones could be found. They then sent to *Bigne's* house, who was fled, and his house left void, his Goods and Family being remov'd to *Aix* the night before: So that no further doubt being to be made of the Author of the Fact, the Duke's heart began to be at rest; which before was a little unquiet with the suspicion, that some of his own people might have had a hand in the Plot.

Some who have made reflections upon the Duke's life, and the many

many Accidents by which it had often been brought into extreme danger (which were at least as many as any other great mans of his time) have sometimes drawn the several hazards he has run, into comparifon with one another, as he himself amongst his private friends (fo pleafant is the memory of dangers paff) upon occasion delighted to do; though he ever declar'd the confpiracy of *Angoulefme*, to be the greateft peril he had ever been in; next to which he plac'd that of *Corbie*, where he confest his fear to have been much greater, than in the former, though the bufinefs never arriv'd at that degree of danger, that was manifef in the other accidents of his life. As for the precipice of *Lyons*, the Cannon-shot before *Aix*, and the Mine of *Brignoles* but now mention'd, though he acknowledg'd his danger in all thofe to have been extreme, and that in all apperance, it was hardly poffible he could efcape; yet the fuddennefs of them took away the fenfe, and his good fortune, opportunely interpozing betwixt him and thofe mortal accidents, prevented his apprehenfion, and gave him no time to fear; whereas in the other two, he had had leifure to fee his approaching ruine, and death coming upon him in all his ugly fshapes, efpecially in the bufinefs of *Angoulefme*, which he could not confider as one, but a concatenation of many, and thofe mortal dangers, that fucceeded one another for above forty hours together.

Anno

1595.

Reflections  
upon the  
feveral dan-  
gers of the  
Duke of Ef-  
pernon's life.

At this very time, and in the height of thefe untoward occurrences, *Mounfieur d' Offat*, fince Cardinal (a perfon equally to be commended for the integrity of his life, and the excellency of his learning) writ very bitter things to the prejudice of the Duke's Loyalty and Honour; which, though by the care of fome of the Duke's Friends, they were fuppreff in the firft impreffion of his Book; yet having fince been added in a particular fheet, I think my felf oblig'd not to fuffer the publick to be impos'd upon by fo grofs calumnies, and that it is my duty to interpoze the truth in the Duke's defence. This Prelate then, after having writ favourably enough to the King concerning the Duke, in his Letter of the 22. of *December*, 1594. that having given Pope *Clement* the VIII. an account of all things his Majefty had given him in charge concerning *Mounfieur de Guife*, and the Government of *Provence*, his Holinefs fighing, replyed, *And what will they do with the Duke of Espernon?* In another Letter notwithstanding to Secretary *Villeroy*, bearing date the 17. of *January*, 1596, writes thus, "Mar-  
" *selles* puts me in mind of the Duke of *Espernon*, concerning  
" whom they write from *Lyons*, that after the taking of *Cifteron*,  
" he has fent to the King to make a tender of his fubmiffion, and  
obediencie;

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1596.

The Duke  
of Espernon  
traduc'd by  
the Cardi-  
nal d' Offat.

Anno  
1596. "obedience : but they do not know that at the same time he  
"he sent to *Turin* to the Duke of *Savoy*, and to *Milan* to the Con-  
"stable of *Castile*, of whom he has obtain'd 6000. Crowns,  
"; that is to say, 5000. down, with which his Agents buy Hor-  
"ses, and Arms at *Milan*, and 55000 more by Bill of Exchange  
"to be return'd at *Genoa*; which is said to be two months ad-  
"vance of 30000. Crowns a month, given him by the Crown  
"of *Spain*, for being a good *Frenchman*, as he writes into these  
"parts, he will be so long as he has life, causing it to be reported  
"that the mony he receives at *Milan* is mony of his own, that he  
"has there in Bank; as if even to have a Bank of mony in a  
"Town belonging to the King of *Spain*, and to think it there se-  
"cure, were not a sign of no very good *Frenchman*. There has  
"been a rumor in these parts for some days that he has promis'd  
"Boulogne to the *Spaniard*, &c. Thus writes the Cardinal d' *Of-*  
"sat, with many other things of the like injurious nature.

The Duke of *Espernon* saw all these invectives as soon almost  
as they appear'd in Print, and though in his own nature he was a  
man not much inclin'd to Books; yet the quality of the Author  
having given a great reputation to this, he had a great desire to see  
it, when, having it brought before him, and the place being turn'd  
unto wherein he himself was concern'd, it could not be perceiv'd  
that he was at all mov'd at the many reproaches he there found  
against him : but on the contrary was so moderate and calm as  
to say, "That he could by no means blame the Cardinal d' *Of-*  
"sat for what he had written; and that being employ'd, as he  
"was, by the King in the most weighty Affairs of the Court of  
"Rome, he had done no more, than his duty in giving his Majesty  
"a faithful accompt of what ever was reported to him : That  
"he knew very well many others at the same time talk'd of him  
"at the same rate, some out of spleen, and others perhaps out  
"of a belief the common bruit his Enemies had spread amongst  
"the people had begot in them: but that neither the one nor  
"the other said true. That indeed the King of *Spain*, the Duke  
"of *Savoy*, and the Duke of *Mayenne* (measuring his discontents  
"by the provocations he had received) had all of them often sent  
"to him, the first to offer him his protection, and the two last  
"their friendship and alliance. That he had been solicited by a  
"Religious of the Order of *St. Francis* on the behalf of the King  
"of *Spain*, by a woman of quality, the world believ'd had a  
"great interest in him, from the Duke of *Savoy*, and by the  
"Abbot of *Cornac*, since Abbot of *Ville-Loin*, a man of great dex-  
"terity, and prudence, from the Duke of *Mayenne*: but he de-  
"clar'd



“ declar’d, and bound it with an Oath, that he had never hear-  
 “ ken’d to any such practice; That in truth, seeing himself press’d  
 “ by his own particular enemies under the King’s Authority, and  
 “ in his name, and that alone he could not long be able to make  
 “ head against them, he had sometimes been in suspense what he  
 “ should do; and a little tempted by the advantageous conditions  
 “ these Princes had offer’d to him: but that notwithstanding  
 “ his Fidelity, and Duty, had ever so stoutly oppos’d his Interest,  
 “ and Passion, that he rather chose to surrender his Right to the  
 “ Government of *Provence*, and (which was far more insup-  
 “ portable unto him) to quit the Field to his Enemies, than to  
 “ make a longer resistance, by joyning himself with Parties, and  
 “ Factions, contrary to his Majesties Service, and Interest. All  
 which in the end he made so evident, that I cannot but admire, af-  
 ter so manifest a justification by his Actions, any body could be  
 so unjust, as to tax him with any intelligence with *Spain*. To  
 fortifie which so odious a Calumny, they ought at least to have  
 prov’d, that he had receiv’d from thence, or by their means,  
 some kind of Assistance in his Affairs; by whom, had he been  
 secretly favour’d, would they have husbanded their favour so ill,  
 as not to have drawn from him some effectual acknowledgement,  
 and return, by the giving up some one at least of those places in  
 his custody into their hands? The same Cardinal says that he  
 had promis’d them *Boulogne*, though it was plain enough after-  
 wards, how far he was from any such purpose; that he had receiv’d  
 mony from *Spain*, and that he pretended for his excuse, it came  
 out of his own Bank at *Milan*, where himself had before laid it up;  
 and that the one, and the other were almost equally criminal:  
 which were it true, no one could deny it to be a Crime. But to an-  
 swer to this point, I would fain know what he did contrary to his  
 Majesties Service, after he receiv’d this mony; and whether he was  
 afterwards observ’d to favour that Faction more than before? No, it  
 was so much otherwise, that almost at the very same time the Car-  
 dinal sent this intelligence against him, he went in person to the  
 King, where he put himself into his Majesties hands, without Ar-  
 ticle, or Reservation, to be absolutely at his disposal. Would the  
*Spaniard* have been thus tamely cheated of his mony, without  
 speaking, had he parted with such a Sum? would he not have pub-  
 lish’d to all the world the Duke’s infidelity, and unhandsome car-  
 riage? and would he not at least have seiz’d upon that Bank, the  
 Cardinal *d’Ossat* writes of at *Milan*, for his reimbursement?

Others have further added, that the Duke had a design to take  
 this opportunity of the Kingdoms distraction, to make himself  
 a Sovereign Prince in *Provence*: but let any one consider, whether

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1596.  
Other Calumnies  
against the  
Duke.

after having conceiv'd so unjust, and so unruly an ambition, he would not betimes, and before he had proceeded to matter of Fact, have fortified himself by a correspondency, and intelligence with Foreign Princes, to have justified his usurpation? or whether, in common discretion, he would not have confederated himself with those Factions at home that already brav'd the lawful Authority? Yet is it most true, and it was evident to all the world, that instead of doing the one, or the other, he fought with all the power he had, and maintain'd the sharpest War he could possibly maintain, both against the Duke of Savoy, though back'd with the Spanish Forces, and also against the League, of it self sufficient to have amaz'd a man of less conduct and resolution. It is very true, that he would fain have kept, and maintain'd his Government of Provence against all pretenders, had it stood with the Kings good liking; and that he was the longer before he could perswade himself to give it up, hoping at some time or other, that his Majesty reflecting upon his Services, might think him as worthy as any of that Command: but at last, finding his expectation vain, and all he could do, or say, ineffectual to the procuring of his Royal Consent, he rather chose to quit claim to a Title his Majesty would not be prevail'd with to approve, than by a longer obstinacy to oppose his Masters pleasure to the prejudice of his own duty.

Some who can endure no truths, but such as are couch'd in the worst Characters, and that call all things flattery, which are not offence, may perhaps think me too zealous in the Duke's justification: but let such, before they too liberally determine, examine the Arguments I have us'd in his behalf, whether there be in them any thing forc'd, or uneasy to an unbyas'd judgment, or whether any thing can be contradicted in all I have said. It has been an observation (almost to a rule) that the lives of great Favourites have ever been the objects of the hatred, and envy of their own times; an injustice that descending upon the Duke, not only in the usual forms of Calumny, but in an extraordinary stile, and with greater demonstrations of malice to him, and his reputation, than to any other of this, or of almost any other time before him, I thought it a duty to truth, to him, and to posterity (now that time has laid open the falsity of those slanders, that have been publish'd against him) to discover the true causes, and reasons why he so long persisted in the defence of his Government; and as far as I am able, at least to rescue those actions from obloquy, which all disinterested, and worthy men will, upon mature deliberation, think worthy of all commendation and honour. A design, which as I have impartially undertaken, so have I not herein made use of my own Arguments, but only made a faithful report of what I have

have learn'd from the most unsuspected testimony, gather'd out of the best Historians, or receiv'd from the Duke's own mouth, who must of necessity know the truth as well as any, and much better than those who writ at random of affairs: Neither do I apprehend why, what he himself reported for the justification of those actions which were so unhappily interpreted should not be of as good authority for him, as what was publish'd to his prejudice by men who were profestly haters of his Person, and apparently emulous of his Name, and Fortune.

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1596.

The Duke of *Espernon*, having (as has been said) rejected all propositions made him by those who were enemies to the King, would accept of no other protection, than what he expected from his Majesties Justice, and Bounty, however incens'd against him. In which resolution having set up his rest, he dispatch'd away *Guez* his principal Secretary to the King, to carry him an assurance of his Fidelity, and Obedience; who being arriv'd at Court, was presented to his Majesty by the Marquis *de Roquelauze*; a man who in the Duke's severest persecution, and when the tongue of calumny was most bitter against him, had ever preserv'd for him a most entire, and constant Friendship, and who had made no difficulty in his Majesties greatest Passions (a time of all other the most dangerous to dispute with Princes) to justify, and undertake for his Friends integrity, and to uphold his interest with an admirable, and never enough to be commended constancy. *Guez* then was by him no sooner brought into the Kings presence, than his Majesty with a stern look presently told him, that if himself to whom he was sent had no greater a kindness for him, than his Master had, who had sent him, he should that hour cause his head to be struck from his shoulders, and that he much wonder'd a man of sense, as he was, durst come to him from the Duke of *Espernon*, whom he himself knew very well to hold intelligence with his Enemies: To which *Guez*, who was very well assur'd of the contrary, reply'd, that he would willingly submit to the punishment his Majesty was pleas'd to threaten, if the Duke was guilty of those things whereof he stood accus'd: and that he came to his Majesty on the behalf of a Loyal Subject, his most humble, and faithful Servant, who had rather chosen to depend upon his Majesties Grace, and Favour, and to throw himself at his feet without condition, than to accept of the most advantageous offers, could by his Majesties Enemies be propos'd unto him. After which the King having ask'd him if he might rely upon his word, and *Guez* having by many protestations confirm'd, what he before had said, his Majesty resolv'd to receive

The Duke of *Espernon*, rejecting all offers from *Savoy*, *Spain*, and the Duke of *Mayenne* submits himself to the King.

Anno 1596. the Duke into his favour, and a few days after dispatch'd away *Monsieur de Roquelaure* himself, the Duke's most intimate Friend, to give him assurance, that he might with all freedom come to Court, where from his Majesty he should receive all the satisfaction he could expect, or desire,

The Duke of *Espernon* receiv'd into Favour.

The Duke, without insisting upon greater precaution, or other security, than what he found in his own Conscience, took his journey to Court, and that with so absolute a confidence in his Majesties Royal Word, that he would not so much as open the Letters *Monsieur de Roquelaure* brought him from the King; but at his arrival restor'd them to his Majesty, seal'd up as they were sent: by which generous behaviour, excuses, and reasons having given his Majesty full satisfaction in all things, he receiv'd him into an honourable degree of Favour, and soon after gave him the Government of the higher, and lower *Limousin*, in recompense of that of *Provence*: A charge in truth that held no proportion with the other; but that nevertheless bordering upon *Xaintonge*, *Angoumois*, and the Country of *Aulins*, which the Duke already had, lay very convenient for him; and besides, by being newly conferr'd upon him, gave the world to see, that his Majesty did not look upon him as a Rebel. The King gave him moreover 100000 Crowns to defray part of the expence he had been at in *Provence*; by which his Majesty seem'd to acknowledge it had been there well employ'd, and it was assign'd him upon the Convoy of *Bourdeaux*. Thus did the Duke quit all his pretences in *Provence*, and remain'd at Court with the King.

I could here speak of the enterprize of *Marselles* without danger of digression, it having been executed by the Duke of *Guise*, whilst the Duke of *Espernon* was yet in *Provence*, and the rather because the Sieges of *St. Tropés*, and *Oriol*, which were then in his possession, serv'd much to palliate the Duke of *Guise*'s Design: but having no need to seek elsewhere, than in the particular actions of the Duke of *Espernon* himself, to swell the bulk of my History, I shall, how great and shining soever that action was, forbear to make a further mention of it; the Historians of that time having given accompts of it at large. And yet, whilst I omit the main thing so pertinent to my Story, I cannot forbear to mention a remarkable circumstance, which I have from a very good hand, and that I doubt not will be acceptable to my Reader, though it be utterly from the matter of my Subject.

A digression upon a remarkable passage.

After the Duke of *Guise* had put an end to his enterprize, a success of the greatest glory to himself, and importance to the State, that could possibly have hapned at that time; he thought it but

but reasonable to enjoy the fruits of his Victory, by giving himself a vacation from the hardships of War, to the softer delights of Liberty and Ease; which made him seek out all the Diversions the Town could afford, that any way suited with the appetite of his youth and pleasure. The chiefest of which was the frequentation of a Gentlewoman in the City, of but moderate beauty, but of so admirable a wit, as gave her, for a distinction of excellency above the other women of the City, the name of the *Marselles*. This Lady had formerly been a Mistress of the Duke of *Espernon's*, and was at this time highly courted by the Duke of *Guise*, with whom the Duke being one night very pleasant in her Lodging, they there contriv'd a piece of mirth, which in the issue very much fail'd their expectation. *Grillon* Camp-Master to the Regiment of Guards, a Gentleman of *Provence*, was reputed one of the bravest men of his time, and with good reason, the signal testimonies he had in a thousand occasions given of his Valour approaching nearer to the vanity of a Romance, than to the truth of serious History. This Gentleman, after the recovery of *Marselles*, was dismiss'd from the King to the Duke of *Guise* to be assisting to him in his reputation, advice, and valour, for the conservation of that place: for his Majesty well knowing what a longing, and watchful eye his Enemies had upon that City, and himself also being very tender of so important a place, would spare no cost, nor omit no care to preserve it safe, from any designs without, or within by violence, or practice. The Duke of *Guise* then in the height of his mirth calling to mind that *Grillon* was ordinarily call'd \* *l'homme sans peur*, thinking it not impossible to shew the world he was capable of the Passion of fear as well as other men, and to make him lose that name, with some other young men of his own gay humour about him, contriv'd to have an Alarm suddenly given under *Grillon's* window, as if the Enemy had entred the Town, and at the same time causing two Horses to be brought to the door of his Lodging, runs himself up stairs into his Chamber, where with a counterfeited distraction he hastily told him that all was lost, that the Enemy had made himself Master of the Port, and of the City, that they had forc'd the Guards, dispers'd and beaten all that could make head against him; and that no more resistance being to be made, he thought it better to retire, than to add to their Enemies Victory by their own Ruine: that therefore he was come to call him out, that they might make their retreat together; to which purpose two Horses waited ready at the door of his Lodging, and that he desir'd him to make hast, lest they should be surpriz'd by the Enemy before they could find means

Anno  
1596.\* The man  
without  
fear.

*Anno*  
*1596.*  
 means to escape. *Grillon*, though he had been fast asleep at the beginning of this false Alarm, and was yet scarce awake when the Duke of *Guise* told him this story; yet, without being at all surpriz'd, he call'd for his cloaths, and his Arms, saying withal, that too easie credit was not to be given to reports in the tumult, and confusion of Alarms; but, that should the intelligence prove true, it were far more honourable to die with their Swords in their hands, than to survive the loss of such a City: which being all the Duke of *Guise* could get from him, he not being to be perswaded out of that resolution, they went together out of the Chamber; when being in the middle of the stairs, the Duke being able to hold no longer, burst out into laughter: by which *Grillon* understanding the Raillery, with a furious countenance grasping the Duke by the Arm, and rapping out a terrible Oath, the usual preface to all his discourses, he said, *Young man, never make it your sport to try the Courage of a man of Honour; for by the Death, hadst thou made in me a discovery of fear, or surprize, I would have stabb'd my Dagger into thy heart;* and so return'd back into his Chamber, without more words. This Story which I have from a very good hand, a person of Quality, who had it from the Duke of *Guise's* own mouth, I thought too remarkable to be overslipt: Neither do I think *Grillon* to be less esteem'd for this sally of fury, which appears however to be wrap'd up in very good sense, than in the constancy of his courage, that would not consent he should retire from, or out-live the loss of so important a City. And since I have spoken of the blasphemies that were so frequent in his mouth, I shall tell you what I have heard the Duke of *Espernon* say, who had him long under his command; which is, that many years before his death, though he had a perfect strength and vigour in all his other parts, he had nevertheless so great a weakness in his tongue, that he could not articulate, or bring out one word that any body could understand. God being doubtless pleas'd by a manifest judgment to punish him in that part, which by so many Oaths and Blasphemies had so often offended against his Divine Honour, and most Holy Name.

*The end of the First Part.*

THE  
HISTORY

OF THE  
LIFE

OF THE  
Duke of ESPERNON,  
THE  
GREAT FAVOURITE  
OF  
FRANCE.

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ENGLISHED BY  
CHARLES COTTON, Esq;

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The Second Part.

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*Nil est aptius ad delectationem Lectoris, quam temporum varietates, fortunaque vicissitudines: quae etsi nobis optabiles in experiendo non fuerant, in legendo tamen erunt jucundae. Cic. Epist. 12. l. 5.*

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LONDON,  
Printed for Henry Brome, MDCLXX.







THE  
HISTORY

Of the LIFE of the

Duke of Espernon.

THE SECOND PART.

The Fifth Book.



HE Duke of *Espernon*, having (as before is said) taken his leave of *Provence*, in the company of the Marquis of *Roquelaure*, soon after presented himself before his Majesty at *Paris*, who was then but newly return'd from his Voyage of *Picardy*: an expedition wherein he had met with very various success, Fortune having plaid with both hands in the distribution of Honour and Disgrace. She had indeed shew'd her self favourable to him in the Enterprize of *la Fere*, a place, that being one of the most important upon the Frontier, and having by the League been put into the *Spaniards* hands, had been so Fortified and Victualled by the new Possessors, that the King judging it not to be recover'd by fine force, without the manifest loss of an infinite number of good men, thought it better to streighten it at a distance, by blocking up, and building Forts upon all the Avenues, by which it could any way be supply'd, or

reliev'd,

Anno  
1596.

The posture  
of Affairs  
at the Duke  
of *Espernon's*  
arrival at  
Court.

*Anno* 1596. reliev'd, than to hazard his men by a nearer and more regular Siege; a way, that doubtless was the safest, and most likely in the end to succeed: but as no Counsels are so perfect, as to point out the certain event of things, this way of proceeding prov'd so slow, as gave the Enemy in the interim time and opportunity to bring about other designs of such importance, as made the King sick of the success of his own enterprize, even before it took effect.

*Albert* Arch-Duke, and also Cardinal of *Austria*, was now newly enter'd upon the Government of the hereditary Countries of *Flanders*, from whence the King of *Spain* had lately call'd home the *Condé de Fuentes*; a Prince, that stirr'd up by the emulation of his Predecessor's exploits (who the year before had won from *France* *le Catelet*, *Dourlens*, and *Cambrai*) had put on a resolution to do things, that should as far out-shine the *Condé's* less achievements, as he himself, in Birth, and Quality was superior to him in Name, and Person: wherefore, at his entering upon his command, having found the King set down before *la Fère*, he thought he could not give a more glorious beginning to his administration, than by force or policy to defeat that his Majesties design. An undertaking which for the difficulty and danger thereof, was every way worthy the greatness of his mind; for the King having foreseen the *Spaniard* would infallibly attempt a relief, had forgot nothing that might serve to frustrate their endeavours. His Forces were great, his works about the place compleat, and perfect, and almost all the most experienc'd Captains of his Kingdom were come in from all parts, to attend his Majesties Person, and to signalize themselves in so brave an occasion: all which being very well known to the Cardinal of *Austria*, he durst not (notwithstanding his earnest desire to relieve that place) engage his Army in so dangerous an attempt, but rather hearken'd to the Counsels of such as more warily advis'd to raise that Siege, by an attempt upon some other place of a greater, or no less importance.

Amongst the many opinions that were deliver'd in the Cardinals Council about this Affair, the ill Fortune of *France* would have the counsel of a *Frenchman* to prevail; that by the procurement of one of her own Sons, this Kingdom might receive the greatest dishonour it could possibly sustain. And this was the advice of *Rhosne* a Gentleman born in *Champagne* upon the Frontiers of *Lorain*, one, who having in the infancy of the League devoted himself to the Duke of *Guise*, and done him many signal services in his life; after his death persevering in the evil cause

he

he had before embrac'd, had put himself under the Duke of *Mayenne*, and so far his too violent zeal to Religion; or the error of his judgment (which might be deluded amongst the rest) were rather to be excus'd, and pittied, than his carriage absolutely to be condemn'd: but after the Duke of *Mayenne* was reduc'd to reason, and had given up his cause, his yet engaging himself with the King's most implacable enemies made it manifest to all, that his turbulent spirit would stick at no mischief he could any ways effect against his Prince and Country. This man then discrediting in the Cardinals Council all the diversions had been there propos'd, as by making an attempt upon *St. Quintin*, *Montreuille*, *Boulogne*, or *Guise*, gave advice to fall upon *Calice*, at the same time offering himself to be the man that would undertake, and accomplish the design. A proposition of so high, and generous a nature, that the Cardinals ambition, which was bent upon some noble atchievement, being fir'd thereby, he was afterwards deaf to all other Counsels, and so wholly bent upon an enterprize so suitable to the greatness of his mind, that without further delay he gave immediate order to dispose all things for the execution of that design. To which end his Army was forthwith drawn into the Field, and there divided into three several bodies, to amuse the King, and to keep him in doubt of the course he intended to steer: a policy not very necessary to the concealment of his design, it being impossible any one could imagine he durst so much as meditate the thoughts of an enterprize, which, to all mens astonishment, he so suddenly effected, that the King had no sooner intelligence of his motion, but that withal news was brought him of the loss of the place.

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1596.

A design upon  
on *Calice*.

*Bidossan* Governour of *Calice*, surpriz'd with so unexpected a Siege, was in a few days reduc'd to so great an extremity, that he was forc'd to dispatch a Post to the King, to acquaint his Majesty with the Articles of his capitulation, which was to make a positive surrender, if within six days he was not reliev'd: at which unhappy, and unexpected news, his Majesty being beyond all expression afflicted, he advanc'd with all diligence as far as *Boulogne*, in hope that the convenient vicinity of that place would give him some opportunity or other to send in some relief to the besieged before the time of limitation should expire: neither did he fail to try all possible ways by which he conceiv'd it might be done; but all in vain, the contrary winds by Sea, and the Enemies vigilancy by Land still frustrating what ever endeavour he could use: when one sole Servant of the Duke of *Espernon's* had the good hap beyond all humane expectation to put himself

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A remarkable action  
of Campagnol.  
\* Or younger Brother.

into the place, Fortune being (it should seem) resolv'd by the performance of one of his Servants to confer upon the Master, though absent, the honour of the bravest exploit that pass'd upon this occasion. The man whose resolution was so eminent in this affair, was commonly call'd the black \* Cadet, a Gentleman of the house of *Campagnol*, who bravely undertook, and as bravely perform'd the Action. His elder Brother by the Duke's Favour, was preferr'd to be Captain of a Company in the Regiment of Guards, and his own Lieutenant in the Government of *Boulogne*, as this also had a Company in the Regiment of *Picardy*, with which he had likewise been gratified by the Dukes Bounty. This Gentleman no sooner receiv'd intelligence of the Enemies motion towards *Calice*, but that he immediately repair'd to his Brother at *Boulogne*, where he was at his Majesties arrival there, and where his courage not permitting him to sit still in so general a consternation, as appear'd in all persons about the King, he made a voluntary offer of himself to pass through the Enemies Guards into the Town of *Calice*, with any number of men his Majesty would please to commit to his charge, or to perish in the attempt. The valour of the man was so well try'd, and known, that the King doubted not in the least of his performance to the utmost of what could by man be done: but the danger was such, \* that his Majesty was very unwilling to expose so brave a Gentleman to so manifest a ruine; yet such was his importunity, and the occasion of such importance, that at last three hundred men only were assign'd him, with which, by the favour of the night, and his own good conduct, he arriv'd safe at *Calice*, without the loss of so much as any one man; so that certainly had he carried a more considerable number of men, the Town had been sav'd: but as the case then stood he must content himself with the honour of his own bravery, without reaping any other benefit from the success of his attempt. The term of six days being expir'd, the Enemy sent to summon the Town to a surrender, according to the Articles of Capitulation betwixt them; to which summons they had no other return than this, that the besieg'd were now acquit of their promise; and that they had receiv'd a relief; an answer at which *Rhosne* being more enrag'd than the Arch-Duke himself, he presently caus'd the Cannon to play with greater fury, than at any time before during the Siege; when a sufficient breach being made, he prepar'd the Army for a general assault. The assault was accordingly given, in the beginning of which *Bedossan* being slain, *Campagnol* took upon him his Authority, and Command, giving the Enemy after two hours sharp fight a brave, and notable repulse

\* Cardinal  
*Bentivoglio*  
*De Thou*.

pulse, which notwithstanding the breach was so wide as was impossible long to be defended, by so few men as he had left; which made the Enemy by frequent Messages often put him in mind of what he himself knew as well as they, by representing to him the desperate condition the place was in, and his own inevitable ruine should he longer persist in his defense; offering him at the same time conditions of Honour, and Advantage if he would deliver up the Town: but all to no purpose, he had not put himself into that place with so much hazard of his life to depart thence in so great security: the assault therefore was again renew'd, and the Enemy again beaten back: but coming up the third time with greater fury than ever before, and bringing up still fresh Companies to succeed those who were beaten off, *Campagnol's* men were in fine overcome by numbers, and constrain'd to retire; a thing their Captain scorn'd to do, who, though alone and abandon'd by all, still fought with the same courage, and vigour, when his resistance, how brave soever, being too weak to stop the torrent of a victorious crowd, he was at last rather overwhelm'd than overcome, and by a multitude taken prisoner: with this resemblance nevertheless betwixt his honour and disgrace, that, as he had appear'd single in the defense of the Town, so was he also alone in his imprisonment, the Enemy killing all that fled before them without humanity, or respect of persons, excepting of his, who had so undauntedly stood alone in his defense, wherein his Vertue was his refuge. *D'Avila* attributes this Action to the *Sieur de Matelet*, whom he qualifies Governour of *Foix*, although Cardinal *Bentivoglio* in his description of this Siege, *Monsieur de Thou*, and *D'Aubigné* make no mention of any such man. Yet it is true that *Matelet* had so great a share in the business, as ought not to be pass'd over without its due report of honour; for the King having commanded him with an hundred Gentlemen of his Court to cut his way through the Enemies Army during the heat of the Assault, and to put himself into the Town, it was no fault of his that his Majesty fail'd of his desire: he did what was by valour to be done, though he was not so fortunate as to perform his Majesties command; neither was the Enemies Army so thin, but that they had men enough to maintain the Assault, and at the same time to intercept such petty succours as those: so that those hundred Gentlemen were almost all cut to pieces with very little resistance; a panick fear having made them blind to their own safety, and honour, excepting *Matelet*, who bravely fighting as fortunately escap'd.

Thus was *Calice* lost, the King himself in a manner looking

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1597. The King in the whole course of his life, was never perhaps more astonish'd, and afflicted, than at these disgraces; and his great spirit was prone enough to prompt him on to an immediate revenge; by obstinately setting himself to the recovery of the Places he had lately lost: since the Cardinals sudden retreat had put him out of all possibility of fighting: but his prudence laying before him the difficulty of the enterprize; he rather chose to give his Army some refreshment, which had been tir'd out with the tedious Siege of *la Fere*; than anew to expose them to other dangers, and such as were like enough to be the ruine of them all. Wherefore having distributed them into the most commodious quarters upon the Frontier, to be in readiness against the next fair season, he left the *Mareschal de Biron* to command them, with order upon the first opportunity to enter into the Enemies Country, and to make them feel his Majesties Arms, whilst himself retir'd to *Paris*, to consult with his Subjects, about the means he was to pursue in the vindication of his own, and the Nations honour, for the Attempts the Enemy had made upon his Crown, and Kingdom.

The King being come to *Paris*; and either not expecting, or not finding that readiness, or ability he expected in his own people; who having been harass'd, and impoverish'd with past mischiefs; were now very unfit to supply him with mony, proportionable to the greatness of his designs: he saw he must of necessity have recourse to Strangers, his ancient Confederates, and Allies: to which purpose he dispatch'd away Ambassadors to *Elizabeth Queen of England*; to the States of *Holland*, and to some Princes of *Germany*; during which Negotiations; the Pope, who from the month of *September*; 1595. had given the King Absolution in the persons of *Messieurs du Perron*, and *d'Ofjat*, his Majesties Agents at *Rome*; desiring now to see an effectual re-establishment of the Catholick Religion in *France*; and a reformation of such abuses as were crept into the Church; during  
the

the disorders of the Kingdom, resolv'd upon sending a Legat at this time, to appoint what was necessary to be done for his entire satisfaction. Neither was this the only, though the principal end of this dispatch; this good; and holy Pope having further a design to set on foot a Treaty of Accommodation betwixt the two Crowns; conceiving he did not fully discharge the Duty of the Common Father of Christians, if, after having given repose to the King's Conscience, he did not also procure a good, and lasting Peace, betwixt two the greatest Princes of the Holy Church. To this good end Cardinal *de Medicis* the Pope's Legat fail'd not, according to his Instructions, so soon as he arriv'd in France, to offer some propositions of Reconciliation betwixt the two Crowns; which, though well receiv'd by the King; yet did they not hinder him from making his preparations for a smart, and vindictive War: he had (as has been said) renew'd his Alliances with his Confederates, and had further call'd an Assembly of several the most intelligent persons of his Kingdom, by their joynt advice to find out the most easie, and indifferent ways of raising mony upon his people for the prosecution of the War; which Assembly, by reason of the Plague which was that year exceeding rife in Paris, being not conveniently there to be Assembled; his Majesty transferr'd it to *Roan*, where they opened their Session in *October*, and continued it to the beginning of the ensuing year. The Duke of *Espernon* had the honour to attend his Majesty in this Voyage; and was also made privy to whatsoever pass'd in the Assembly, where many grave directions were propos'd for the Reformation of several Abuses that were practis'd in all parts of the Kingdom; but very little satisfaction to the King concerning mony, which was the main design in calling that Assembly, rather than reformation of abuses: which notwithstanding his Majesty wounded with the grief of his losses; what by husbanding his Revenue, what by lessening his Expense, by augmentations upon his Farms, and other extraordinary ways made shift to get up such a stock, as was enough to set a powerful Army on foot, and such a one as should be sufficient to repair all his former disgraces.

After the dissolution of this Assembly, his Majesty retiring himself for some indisposition into the Air of the Country, the Duke of *Espernon* conceiv'd he could not take a fitter opportunity than this, to ask leave to go look after his own particular Affairs, and to settle his Governments in a posture of Security, and Obedience; a request no sooner made to the King, but that he gave his free consent, dismissing the Duke with all demonstration of respect

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The Pope  
sends his  
Legat into  
France.

An Assem-  
bly at *Roan*.

Anno 1597. respect and kindness; and then it was that his Patent was seal'd for the Government of *Limousin*, instead of *Provence*, and dated at *Folembay*, a house of Pleasure, to which his Majesty had retir'd himself to provide for his health at greater liberty and ease. With this new Commission the Duke then departed from Court towards *Angoulesme*, where his Children were bred, which he had scarce seen since their Birth, especially the youngest whom he had never seen; a motive of it self sufficient for a longer Journey: but neither the repose the Duke intended to take, nor the vacation his Majesty intended to give, were of any long continuance; for he was scarce arriv'd at *Angoulesme*, when he receiv'd a Dispatch under the Kings own hand (his Majesty not at all thinking it below his Greatness, that his Nobility should receive the Honour of his Commands immediately from himself) wherein he acquainted him with the surprisal of *Amiens*, as also of his resolution suddenly to sit down before it, for the recovery of so important a place: at the same time conjuring him to make all possible haste to come, and serve him in so glorious an occasion.

I shall not here enlarge my self in a relation of this surprize, it being an action that made so much noise at that time, and that gave so great a reputation to \* *Hernando-Telles Portocarrero*, who was the contriver and executor of it, that there is scarce any Historian of our own, or any other Nation, who has not particularly insisted upon this, above any other enterprize of the like nature; wherein they all agree that it was a design the best contriv'd, the braveliest carried on, and the most fortunately perform'd of any whatever of that kind.

\*He is call'd by *Jean de Serres, Hernand Teillo.*

The nearness of this place to *Paris*, it being but three little days journey from thence, having alarm'd the *Parisians* to such a degree, that they thought the *Spaniard* already at their Gates, begat such clamours, and publick complaints amongst the people, that every one made very bold with the Royal Name, accusing the King, as if he had held intelligence with the Enemy, and as if he alone were the Author of this mischance: so that as if his Majesty had not been sufficiently afflicted with the loss of this City (which more concern'd him, than them all) he must also endure the unjust reproaches of his Subjects; the little respite he had taken for the recovery of his health, passing, in minds prepossess'd with fear, for supineness, and sloth; and his love to the Dutchess of *Beaufort* giving every one occasion to censure, and condemn his Passions, by which, they said, he lay buried in negligence, and pleasure, whilst the Enemy was in action, taking, and surprizing his best Towns, and Cities.



It was therefore necessary for the King without further delay to betake himself again to Arms, and that (equally stirr'd up by his own immediate danger, and the clamours of his people) he should abandon the care of his health, to go expose his life to the hazards of War and Sicknes. It was upon the tenth day of *March*, that *Amiens* had been surpriz'd, upon notice whereof, his Majesty without loss of time, had writ to the *Mareschal de Biron*, (who (as has been said) he had left upon the Frontier) that he should with all expedition, gather the Army together, and to sit down before *Amiens* to begin the Siege. A command that could not have been sent to a more diligent, a braver, or more able Souldier; and one, who so well knew how to manage such Engines, and provisions of War, as the King (who himself was advanc'd as far as *Corbie*) had taken care to send him; that his Majesty at his arrival before the place found nothing wanting, or undone, he could at a distance have desir'd; or have order'd himself, had he been there in person. A diligence his Majesty did highly, and publickly commend, giving the *Mareschal* a very noble Character for the progress he had made in his works, and approaches, which could not have been perform'd by any with greater care, courage, and conduct, according to all the Rules and Discipline of War. Neither is it to be denied, but that *Biron* serv'd the King as bravely, as is to be imagin'd upon this occasion: wherein he also knew well enough, if not too well, his own merit; his brave Service in this, and other occasions having rais'd him to that degree of presumption, and insolence, that he afterwards, by his saucy reproaches to the King his Master, depriv'd himself of those Honours, and Rewards, his Valour might otherwise, with great justice have expected; and his vanity converting those actions, which modestly carried would have been his immortal glory, into the instruments of his disgrace, and ruine: of which in its due place I shall give a more full accompt, as also of every circumstance that helpt to precipitate him into those misfortunes whereinto he afterwards fell: and that because his Interests went, for many years hand in hand, with those of the Duke of *Espernon*, they two being link'd together in an extraordinary strict League of Affection, and Friendship.

The King during his abode at *Corbie*, having taken care to send such numbers of men, as the *Mareschal de Biron* stood in need of for carrying on the Siege, return'd back to *Paris*, there to take order about Artillery for the Leaguer, and mony for the support of his Army; when all things being ready in *June*, his Majesty accompanied with the Duke of *Montpensier*, the *Count de Soissons*,  
the

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the Constable de Montmorency, the Duke of Mayenne, the Prince of Joinville, and many other Lords of great quality, advanc'd himself to the Siege. Cardinal Bentivoglio, who is very exact in the description of this Leaguer, has, amongst the rest, nam'd the Duke of Espernon for one of those who attended his Majesty in this expedition: a mistake I do not so much wonder at in him, who of necessity must take many things upon trust, as I do at d'Avila, who says the same thing, and yet pretends to have been present, and wounded at this Siege; when it is most certain the Duke was not there. I would not willingly deprive him of any honour is his due; neither would I attribute to him contrary to the known truth, things wherein he had no share: but the truth is, the Duke was so long in making his preparation, and would come in so handsome an equipage to the Army, that it was two days after the surrender of the place, before he came up to the King: perhaps one of the worst occurrences, and that did him the greatest prejudice of any that besel him in his whole life; it being certain, that if, in this expedition, he had by greater diligence express'd to his Majesty the real Passion he had for his Service, he had so blotted out of his memory, all former jealousies, and discontents, that no ill office could ever after have done him harm: whereas his Enemies took now occasion to possess the King, that he had either staid to expect the issue of this Siege, to make his own use of such disorders in the State, as must necessarily attend any ill success; or that (at the best) he had a mind the Royal Affairs should fall into the last necessity, by that means to put a greater value upon his own Service: So that although he arriv'd very seasonably for the recruit of the Royal Army, very much tir'd, and worn out with the length of the Siege, and that he brought along with him 300. Horse, an hundred and fifty Harquebusiers on horseback, and four Regiments of Foot, as well equipt as men could be: yet was not his reception such, as he had good reason to expect, his zeal to the Service having made him lose the honour of the Service it self. It was nevertheless but two days after the King's entry into Amiens, that the Duke came up to the Army; by which it appears he did not in his Government lie expecting the event of the Siege, having been a month upon his March; neither did he long lie idle after he was come, for ambitious by some notable Action to make amends for his former default, he meditated a surprize upon Arras; an enterprize that having been communicated to Marechal Biron, the manner of it was soon concluded on betwixt them, and as soon consented to by the King, who by his own presence would favour the success.

The Duke  
of Espernon  
comes to the  
King at  
Amiens.

A surprize  
design'd up-  
on Arras.

. His

His Majesty after the surrender of *Amiens* staid no longer there than was requisite for the ceremony of his entry, but put himself immediately in pursuit of the Enemy; to let them see, that notwithstanding he had been so drain'd of men, he was yet strong enough to remove the Scene of War to their own doors; when, being advanc'd with his Army as far as *Arras*, the Duke of *Espernon* took those Forces he had brought, and advanc'd to give a Scalado to a Fort, that was a little separated from the main wall of the City; which he assaulted with such vigour and bravery in his own person, that his men encourag'd by his example soon made themselves masters of the place. A success that gave the Inhabitants, and Garrison of *Arras* so great an Alarm, that they all ran to that side to beat the Duke back, and to secure that part of their Walls; where betwixt them the conflict grew so hot, that the *Mareschal de Biron*, who was at the same time to Petarre one of the Gates of the City, had all leisure to perform it, without any danger from the Curtain. And accordingly his first Petard play'd, and to so good effect, that it laid all flat, which shut up the Raveline: The second beat down the Draw-Bridge, and carried away the bottom of the Portcullice it self, though by the Petard's being fixt too low, the perpendicular Bars remain'd yet long enough to defend the passage, when the third Petard being brought up (which doubtless had it play'd, had put an end to the Dispute) and the Engineer just ready to give fire, he was from the top of the Gate taken upon the head with a stone; by which blow Man and Engine were both beaten headlong into the Ditch: an accident by which they were put to look out for another, but in vain. there being never another to be found. In the mean time the Duke of *Espernon*, who was still fighting with the Enemy, had no little to do to make head against the Forces of so great, and populous a City; which nevertheless he bravely did until the *Mareschal de Biron* sending him word of his misfortune, desir'd him to retire, as himself was constrain'd to do for want of a fourth Petard.

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*Aubigné* is the man, of all our Historians that makes mention of this Enterprize, where he adds one thing that is very remarkable, and very true, and that is, that the *Mareschal* enrag'd to the last degree, at the miscarriage of so brave a design, went up and down cursing, and swearing, and railing at the King before all the Army, and almost to his own face, that he had made him fail in the conquest of so important a place for want of a Petard, accusing him of Avarice, where his Honour and Safety were concern'd; whilst he was prodigiously Profuse in the entertainment

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1597. of his Mistresses, and in the procurements of his own desires: Language, that, how indiscreetly soever spoken, was maliciously enough soon convey'd to the King's ear, and which I have heard the Duke say, perhaps sowed the first seeds of hatred in his Majesty's heart against him: Neither did the Duke fail, like a true friend, to conjure him into a better government of his passion, lest his wild tongue might at some time or other, be the instrument of his own ruine; although whatever power he might have with him in other things, (as with a man that still mindful of the Duke's past obligations, when his favour had given him many opportunities to express his affection to him, was much at his devotion) yet could he never so govern the unbridled fierceness of his nature; but that he would break often out into extravagancies of that kind.

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1598. As the surprizal of *Amiens* had suspended all propositions of Peace, that had before been prefer'd by the Pope's Legat, so did the retaking of it (almost of course) set them again on foot; for the *Spaniard* seeing he had not been able to keep a place of that importance when he had it in his hands, and apprehending by that, the King's Power (which had been sufficiently manifested at this Siege) would now extend it self into their own Territories, to the danger of their strongest, and best Towns, of themselves renew'd the interrupted Treaty of Peace; in order whereunto, the Deputies of both Crowns being met at *Vervins*, it was there, to their common satisfaction happily concluded.

That which I observe to be most remarkable in this Peace, is, that the King, what necessity soever there was upon him of regulating the disorders of his own Kingdom, which were many (a thing neuer to be well done in the confusions of War) would notwithstanding never consent his Deputies should meet to Treat, till first the King of *Spain* had given him assurance, that all the places had been taken from him in this last War should be restor'd: His Majesty choosing rather to expose his Person, and Kingdom to the uncertain event of another War, than that his Crown should suffer the least prejudice by a Treaty of Peace; and although he had hitherto been the loser, yet did his courage make him hope so well of his Fortune, as to believe he should in the end bring her over to his own side. So brisk an Article as this at first dash, and before the King would proceed to any further Treaty, it is to be suppos'd would startle the *Spanish* Gravity, and must reasonably meet with great difficulty, as it did in the Councils of War, and Privy Council of *Spain*, it being evident that, in this demand, the King would impose upon them who were the

the Conquerors the same conditions he should have done, had they been already overcome, which made it suffer a long Debate, though at last it was condescended to; and that being granted, no other difficulties were likely to arise: so that this happy Peace was Concluded, and Sign'd by the Commissioners on both sides, the second of *May 1598*. By the Articles of this Treaty the King was to restore the County of *Charolois*, to the King of *Spain*, to be by him held of the Crown of *France*; who in exchange restor'd the Towns of *Calice, Ardres, Monthulin, Dourlens, la Capelle,* and *le Catelet* in *Picardy*, and *Blavet* in *Britanny*: which Articles were Ratifi'd, and Sign'd by his Majesty the eleventh of *June*; who in gayety of humour, at so happy a conclusion, told the Duke of *Espernon*, *That with one dash of his Pen he had done greater things, than he could of a long time have perform'd with the best Swords of his Kingdom.*

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The peace  
concluded  
at *Erwin.*

This Peace was no sooner concluded, but that the Court put on a Face far different from that wherewith it had appear'd when shaded, and overcast, with the tumult and trouble of War and Business: nothing now was to be seen, but State, and Lustre; nor was any thing now thought on, but Feasting, and Mirth, which also was much added to, by the celebration of several Marriages, which were at this time consummate betwixt some persons of the greatest quality of the Kingdom: For *Katharine* the King's only Sister was Married to the Duke of *Bar*, Son to the Duke of *Lorain*; and *Henry* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Montpensier* Married *Katharine de Joyeuse*, with many other Marriages betwixt Persons of great Quality, that were also solemniz'd at the same time: but it not being my design to meddle with those wherein the Duke of *Espernon* was not immediately concern'd, I shall only insist upon that of the Duke of *Montpensier* who contracting himself to so near a Relation of the Duke's, that he, in a manner supply'd the place of a Father to her, it will be necessary I should lay something of the reasons, and conclusion of this particular Match.

The Marriage of the Duke of *Montpensier* with *Katharine de Joyeuse*, now Dutches of *Guise*, and Niece to the Duke of *Espernon*.

The King since the Duke's return from *Provence*, had never exceeded to him the favour of meer justice; he had, it is true, left him free in the enjoyment of his Offices, his Estate, and Degree, without doing him any the least injury in any thing that was his just, and immediate right: But as to the rest, his Majesty not being able to forget his foremention'd discontents against him, he thought he did him a signal favour, in that he forbore to do him any publick disgrace. In this condition, the Duke, who saw himself seated at Court in a station far inferiour to that wherein

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he had formerly been, suffer'd not a little in his own bosom from the King's coldness, and indifferency to him: yet concealing his discontent with the true respect he ought to pay his Prince, and Master, he avoided, at least, all occasions (the only refuge of a suspected Minister) that might any way bring him into a greater disgrace: Yet even in this condition his fortune would not forsake him, who, when all other means seem'd to be lost, that could probably restore him to any degree of his former prosperity, sprung him a new tide to his stranded greatness, and such an one, as not only lifted him off those sands wherein he was like to sink, and perish; but rais'd him again to such a reputation, as was no little support to his declining name, and power.

*Katharine de Joyeuse* (whom I have already nam'd) was only Daughter and Heir to the *Count de Bouchage*, and *Katharine de Nogaret*, and *de la Valette*, the Duke of *Espernon's* Sister; a young Lady, that besides the advantages of her Birth, and Beauty, was also Mistress of very great possessions, having to her paternal Estate added that of the great Favourite the Duke of *Joyeuse*, as she also was in expectation of that of the Cardinal de *Joyeuse* her Uncle; which reckon'd altogether must needs make up so vast an estate, as must without dispute, entitle her the greatest Fortune of *France*. The Duke of *Montpensier* likewise, as born a Prince of the Blood, was also in high consideration, wherein the advantage of his Fortune concurr'd with the eminency of his Birth, he having alone a greater Revenue, than all the other Princes of the Blood: to which his Valour, Liberality, and Courtesie, with other good qualities he was Master of, had rais'd him to a very great esteem with the King, and made him no less a Favourite to the People: so that he was not only the Aim and Ambition of the best Matches of *France*; but stood also in the prospect of some Forein Princes: Amongst these the Duke of *Lorain* proceeded so far, as to offer him his Daughter (who was afterwards Married to the Duke of *Cleve's*) with eight hundred thousand Crowns to her Dowry: a proposition that, being debated in the Duke of *Montpensier's* Council, was very much lik'd of by some of his Servants, who advis'd him to prefer this Match to the other Inheretrix of the House of *Joyeuse*; the fortune of the last, being part of it yet depending; whereas the offers of the Duke of *Lorain* being present, and effectual, would very much advance his Affairs, and establish his greatness at great liberty and ease. I have been inform'd, and that by a person of Quality, who was consulted about this business, that one main reason which induc'd this Prince to prefer *Madamoiselle de Joyeuse* before the other, was the consideration of the

the Duke of *Espernon*, because in marrying her, he conceiv'd he should at the same time espouse her Uncles Interests; from whose Authority he promis'd to himself greater assistance, and support, than from any other Peer of the Kingdom. A consideration that, prevailing above all other with the Duke of *Montpensier*, dispos'd him determinately to resolve upon this Match, to which, by a particular liking, he was before inclin'd. Wherefore having without further deliberation caus'd it, by some Friends of his, to be propos'd to the Duke of *Espernon*, the motion was by him, who took it for a great honour, receiv'd with all imaginable respect, and as readily consented to; by which the Duke being encourag'd, proceeded further to move it to the King himself; not without some apprehension nevertheless, that the aversion his Majesty daily discover'd to the Duke might raise some difficulties at the first overture of his design, though his fear prov'd vain: for his Majesty seeing it would be a Match of considerable advantage to his Kinsman, and in his heart acknowledging the Duke of *Espernon* to be a Subject of great merit, though, for some private discontents, not very acceptable to himself, was not unwilling to oblige both the one, and the other, by giving his free consent.

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1598.

By this Marriage the Duke of *Espernon's* Affairs were not a little improv'd, and if, on the one side, he (by the consideration of his desert) had preferr'd his Niece before the Daughter of a Sovereign Prince; she on the other side, by a very good return was acquit of that obligation, by introducing her Uncle into the relation and support of a great Prince of the Blood, by whose means he was soon after honour'd with a very near alliance to the Royal Family.

The Feastings, and other entertainments of the Court, did not so wholly take up the King, that his Majesty was not nevertheless very intent upon his Affairs, he had a mind to see an end of the Treaty with *Savoy*, which was not yet dispatch'd, though it had been compriz'd in the Peace concluded betwixt the two Crowns at *Vervins*: The Duke of *Savoy* had desir'd some respite to consider before he would Seal; which having been granted to him, and he not being able to perswade himself to the restitution of those places he had, contrary to the publick Faith, surpriz'd during the disorders of the State, as by the Articles of the Treaty he had been oblig'd to do: he had no mind, to put a thing to Arbitration he was certain that way never to obtain, and that he was likewise resolv'd never to part withal. The Pope whom himself had nam'd Arbiter of all differences betwixt the  
King

Anno  
1599.

Anno  
1599.

The Duke  
of Savoy  
begins to  
practice  
with the  
Mareschal  
de Biron.

King, and him, was so far disoblig'd by the diffidence he had manifested of his equal judgment (which the Duke had cunningly publish'd to that end) that his Holiness had excus'd himself from intermedling any more betwixt them; a thing that having fall'n out according to the Duke of Savoy's hearts desire, he resolv'd now upon a Journey into France, to try if by his submissions to the King, his dexterity with his Ministers, or his liberalities in his Court, he could not procure, or purchase that, to which he could with no shew of equity otherwise pretend: but all his policy prov'd vain, and his hopes were deluded, as they were like to be in a Court where the King himself was alone the greatest, and wisest part of the Council; he must first corrupt him, or at least very much deceive him, before he could perswade him to consent to any thing prejudicial to his Crown, and Honour. The Duke of Savoy then, being able to effect nothing by artifice, resolv'd at last upon returning into his own Dukedom: yet, that his Journey might not be altogether without fruit, he first caus'd the *Mareschal de Biron* to be dealt withal, a man whom he conceiv'd his many discontents had laid open to his temptation; and him he first tasted by *Lafin*, the same who had made himself a Mediator betwixt the Duke of *Espernon* and *l'Esdiquieres* in *Provence*, and who therein had abus'd them both. This fellow of a turbulent unquiet Spirit, and one of those who had rather be doing mischief, than not to be doing at all, was of late wrigled into the Duke of Savoy's Favour, and had tasted of his bounty; by which he was qualified to offer from the Duke one of his Daughters to the *Mareschal de Biron* in Marriage, and with her several Seigniories to be held in Sovereignty, with the assistance of the Forces both of *Spain*, and *Savoy*, to maintain him in *Burgundy*: A Province contiguous to their own Territories. Allurements so fitted to *Birons* ambitious and mutinous nature, that he lent a willing ear to those dangerous propositions, and, as some have believ'd, engag'd himself without much Ceremony in the Treason, which prov'd at last his dishonour and ruine.

This practice with *Biron* was the only thing the Duke of *Savoy*, with all his policy, effected in *France*: which nevertheless he thought to be of such moment, as made him afterwards refuse to give the King that satisfaction he had promis'd, and so to build upon the confidence of *Biron's* revolt, that having, before his departure from *Paris*, engag'd either to surrender to his Majesty the *Marquisate of Saluzzo*, or *la Bresse*, with other Dominions at his own choice in lieu thereof, and within three months time to perform it; he had now no more regard to his word: neither would  
do



do the one nor the other, which oblig'd the King to seek that satisfaction by force of Arms, he could by no other means obtain, as he evidently saw by the delays and equivocations of this subtle Prince: Anno  
1599.

His Majesty had before he resolv'd upon this expedition been sufficiently inform'd of what means had been us'd to corrupt the *Mareschal de Biron*: but whether it were that he really believ'd the *Mareschal* had been deaf to all such propositions; or that by the testimony of an entire confidence in his Loyalty this generous Prince would oblige a Subject to continue firm in his duty, who by his brave Service had deserv'd so well of the Crown, and to look back into his error, before he was gone too far; he gave him the Command of an Army against the Duke of *Savoy* himself, with orders to enter by the way of his own Government of *Burgundy* into *Bress*; in which employment *Biron* so well conceal'd his practice, and so smartly pursu'd the War, that no action of his confess'd, the least intelligence with the Enemy. *L'Esdiguieres* also, who at the same time enter'd by the way of *Dauphiné* into *Savoy*, by his Valour, and conduct made so considerable advances into that Dutchy, that betwixt them in few days all the Territories the *Savoyard* possess'd on this side the *Alpes*, were over-run by the Royal Arms, except *Montmelian*, which was not but by Siege to be reduc'd.

It was in this occasion of *Montmelian* that the Duke of *Espernon* did the King a very signal service: A place reputed so strong, and that had been so fortified, and furnish'd, with all provisions of War by the Duke of *Savoy*, that he was nothing startled at his other losses, as supposing this City to be an inexpugnable Bulwark against whatever could be attempted against him. A confidence wherein he found himself very much mistaken; for the Duke of *Espernon* having the command of one quarter at this Siege, as *Biron* and *L'Esdiguieres* had of the other two, whilst they were on all hands busie in their approaches, found opportunity sometimes to confer with the *Count de Brandis* Governour of the place, interviews, that being frequent, and allow'd by the King, wrought at last so good an effect, that the Governour promis'd to surrender the City to the King, if within a month the Duke of *Savoy* did not raise the Siege. A Capitulation of that dangerous importance to the Duke that he labour'd by all possible ways, during the limited term to perswade the Governour into a better resolution, and had so wrought upon him, what by entreaty, promises, and threats, that he was grown infinitely wavering, and uncertain what to do; which notwithstanding the Duke

*Anno* Duke of *Espernon* who had drawn the first plot of this great design, happily brought it to perfection in the end; he absolutely confirm'd by his persuasion the anxious Count in the terms of his first Treaty, and thereupon receiv'd new Hostages from him: by which dexterity he rendred himself the principal, and most effectual instrument of his Majesties victories in that Country, as also of the Peace which immediately follow'd the Surrender of this important City.

The Cardinal *Aldobrandino* sent by the Pope into *France*.

Whilst the King's Designs succeeded at this fortunate rate in this little Dukedom, the Princes of *Italy* apprehending, that after the ruine of the Duke of *Savoy*, the sweetness, and facility of that Conquest would tempt the King to advance further into the Country to seek new Victories, were instant with the Pope to interpose his Authority with the King, to dispose his Majesty to accept of satisfaction from the Duke of *Savoy* for what had past, that an Accommodation might ensue: to which his Holiness being inclin'd, both by his own interests (which could by no means admit of a War in *Italy*) and by the importunity of the Princes of the Country, he dispatch'd away Cardinal *Aldobrandino* his own Nephew to the King, to be in his name the Mediator of this Peace, as the Cardinal *de Medicis* had been before of that which had been concluded with *Spain*.

Never Prince came from that Country in a prouder Equipage, nor with a more honourable train, than did this Cardinal; a Magnificence to which his Majesty being willing to hold proportion, both in regard to his own greatness, as also to express thereby a greater respect to the Pope (to whom he was highly oblig'd) in the person of a Kinsman so near, and dear unto him, he made choice of the Duke of *Espernon*, amongst all the other Grandees of his Court, to be the man should receive him; and that because he both knew him to be a person very acceptable to the Holy Sea, as also one who knew as well how to behave himself for his Masters honour, as any whoever, that was about his person. Neither did the Duke deceive his Majesty in his choice; he receiv'd the Cardinal at the head of the Army, which before had been drawn up into *Battalia* for that purpose, accompanied with the most sprightly and gay Nobility, and Gentry of the Court, conducting him with infinite demonstrations of Honour, and Respect through the several divisions, until he brought him into the presence of the King himself; and though I must tell you by the way, that the Duke's imperious, and haughty humour was naturally very averse to the humility of Complement, and the submission of excessive Civilities; yet when such an occasion as this oblig'd him

to it; no man of his time could perform such a Ceremony with a better grace: and doubtless, if at ordinary times he would have been more liberal of his courtesie, and have added that to those other excellent qualities, which made him admir'd by all, he might have acquir'd thereby what Friends and Servants he had pleas'd.

Anno  
1599.

Soon after the Legat's arrival the Peace of *Savoy* was concluded, wherein a Prince, whose interest it was to recover his own Dominions almost entirely over-run by the King's Victorious Arms, was now to redeem his own with what he had surreptitiously, and contrary to the publick Faith snatch'd from the King, during the disorders of his Kingdom, and which his Majesty was now also ready to force from him, as he had already done the greatest part of his own hereditary Territories in pursuit of that Quarrel: So that the Duke of *Savoy* bought his Peace at a cheap rate through the Pope's timely mediation, and all things were accommodated that were in dispute betwixt the King, and him: although his Majesty, who very well knew what little trust was to be repos'd in the Faith of this Prince (a man that would never keep his word when it was for his advantage to break it) would by no means be perswaded to withdraw his Army out of his Dukedom, till first the Articles of the Treaty were perform'd. But it neither suiting with decency, nor the dignity of his Majesties Royal Person himself to attend the execution of a thing already concluded, he return'd into *France*, leaving the command of his Army to the *Count de Soissons*, offering at the same time the command of Lieutenant General to the Duke of *Espernon* who excus'd himself; having taken up a resolution never to serve under less than the Person of a King; as hitherto he had never done, nor ever after did in the whole course of his life. He therefore went back with the King, whom he attended as far as *Grenoble*; from whence when his Majesty departed for *Lyons* to consummate his Marriage, he at the same time took his leave to return again into his Governments of *Xaintonge* and *Angoumois*.

The Peace  
with *Savoy*  
concluded.

The Duke  
of *Espernon*  
leaves the  
Court to go  
into *Angou-*  
*mois*, and  
goes into  
*Guienne*.

Anno  
1600.

The Duke's journey into that Country gave him opportunity to pass over into *Gascony* to view the Progress of his Building there, of which he had laid the foundation at *Cadillac* in the year 1598. For the King, after he had concluded the Peace with *Spain*, from that time forwards, not only wholly bent his own thoughts to the Embellishment of his Kingdom (in which his principal design was first to Build his Houses, and to Beautifie *Paris* with many great and noble Structures; for at this time the Buildings of


Anno 1600. *the Louvre, Fountain-bleau, and other Royal Palaces were begun; as also the designs of the Pont-neuf, the Place Royal, with other proud and stately Ædifices were continued) but would likewise that other men should fall in love with the same humour; and whether it were that his Majesty had a mind his greatest Subjects should by his example employ themselves in the same designs, or that he intended (as some have suppos'd) insensibly to drein their purses by this chargeable employment; fearing perhaps that too great abundance of wealth might make them more apt to entertain thoughts, and practices, that might discompose the calm of Peace his Kingdom was now settled in: but so it was, that for one or both these reasons, he engag'd the greatest part of his Nobility, whom he knew to be monied men, in vast designs of this kind: amongst whom his Majesty conceiving the Duke of *Espernon* to be one the most at his ease, he was so importunate with him, as to cause a plot for *Cadillac* to be design'd in his own Presence, order'd the charge of the whole to be cast up, and made one of his own Architects to undertake for an hundred thousand Crowns to begin, and perfect the work; upon which assurance the Duke (as has been said) in the year 1598 began the foundation; conceiving that such a summe, as that, he might without inconvenience spare to gratifie his Masters humour; though time afterwards gave him to understand how hard a thing it is to contain a man's self within a determinate charge, after he has once set his hand to so tempting a work as Building: this Pile, before it was finish'd, having cost him above two millions of Livres. 'Tis very true, (and which seldom happens to undertakers of such vast designs) that with this infinite expense, he brought the greatest, and most stately pile of Building (the Royal Houses excepted) in *France*, very near to perfection, the whole body of the Building being perfected before his death, and nothing, save some few Ornaments left to finish; neither had he left those to his Successors, had not the disgrace of being withdrawn from his Government, which still afflicted him, diverted his thoughts from the sole care of that design.*

A dispute betwixt the Duke and the *Mareschal d'Ornano*.

The Duke (as has been said) being come into *Guienne* to take a view of his Building, arriv'd at the City of *Bordeaux* in the beginning of *August*, where he found the *Mareschal d'Ornano*, but newly there establish'd Lieutenant for the King by the decease of the *Mareschal de Matignon*, who died of an Apoplexy, and where their old Animosities, though great, were nevertheless on both sides so well dissembled, as not to hinder a mutual Civility betwixt them, no more than these civilities could hinder past jealousies

lousies from breaking out upon the first occasion into a new and open rupture. This *Mareschal* though an Alien born, had yet by his Valour and Fidelity acquir'd so great a reputation in *France*, as in the Reign of *Henry* the III. to be a great confident to that Prince; to whom the Duke of *Espernon* having been a principal Favourite, it is nothing strange, that a man of inferiour credit should envy another in a higher degree of Favour: neither if the *Mareschal* were prepossess'd with this antiquated jealousy, was the Duke on his part insensible of the recent traverses he had in *Provence* receiv'd from him; the greatest part of the disgraces he had met with in that Country having been laid in his way by the opposition of *l'Esdaiguieres*, and him: all which put together, it may easily be imagin'd were likely to beget no very good blood between them. To this the *Mareschal*, a man of an imperious, and haughty temper, and who only under a forc'd smoothness conceal'd a natural arrogance; could with no patience endure a Superior; an humour that made him with great anxiety look upon the Honours, which at the Duke's arrival at *Bordeaux*, he receiv'd from the Parliament, with the other Orders of the City, and which were also continued to him by the Nobility at *Cadillac*, who from all parts came in to do him Honour: But if his impatience were great before, it was rais'd up to the height, when he knew the Duke (who well enform'd of his dissatisfaction, to make it yet more) had invited all the Nobility, and Gentry of the Country to *Bordeaux* to a publick running at the Ring; a solemnity that being there to be kept where he was in Supreme Command, the Duke knew would much more nettle, and afflict him.

It is very true, that the Duke might have forborn this Bravado to a man, whom he knew to be so tender of his Honour, as the *Mareschal d'Ornano* was; and perhaps it was not well done to offer that to another, he himself would never have endur'd from any man living in a place where he had commanded in Chief: but having once engag'd in the business, his great spirit (whatever might succeed) would by no means give him leave to desist, especially when he knew the *Mareschal* was resolv'd by open force to oppose him. This was that, which made what was before only a private discontent, to break out into open quarrel, which grew so high that the *Mareschal* address'd himself to the Parliament; where, in the presence of them all, he complain'd what a commotion the Duke went about to stir up amongst the people, to the prejudice, as he pretended, of his Majesties Affairs; acquainting them at the same time with his resolution to

*Anno*  
1600.  make his Garrison stand to their Arms, to play his Cannon, and in fine to do what in him lay, with all the power, and authority he had to break that appointment, and to drive the Duke from the City. This declaration from a man of his furious spirit, as it very much troubled the whole Assembly, so it gave the first President *D' Affis* (one of the greatest men that Society ever had since its first institution, and a particular friend of the Duke's, having by him in his times of favour been rais'd to that dignity) occasion to make use of his Eloquence in the best Arguments he could contrive to dissuade the *Mareschal* from that determination; but all in vain, he had already given out his orders, and summon'd the Gentry to come in to his assistance, though not a man, save only one call'd *Ruat*, would appear: a thing, which though perfectly true, appears almost incredible, that a Governour of so great Authority and Repute should be able to procure no more than one single man, to serve him against the Duke of *Espenon* in his own Government. Neither were the people better dispos'd, than the Nobility and Gentry, to take Arms against the Duke; all men on the contrary, of any note, both within, and without the City, so manifestly appearing for him, that the Governour was forc'd to arm his Garrison of *Corfes*, and to call his Company of *Gens-d'Armes* out of their Country Quarters into the Town, which were yet apparently too weak to execute the *Mareschal's* design. And this was in effect the main cause that hindred things from proceeding into a greater disorder, the Duke, satisfied with the advantage every one plainly saw he had over his Enemy, being the more easily inclin'd to the Parliaments solicitations; who had sent their second President *Nesmond* to him, to entreat he would not persist in his first resolution: at whose instance, and being loath to disturb the Peace of his Country, as also to expose the great number of Gentlemen of Quality, who were about him against a Garrison in his own particular quarrel, and having a greater inclination to decide it in his own person (when it might be done with less noise and tumult) with the *Mareschal* man to man, he was content to let things rest, till a fitter opportunity, and quietly departed the City to his own house.

In this Journey to *Cadillac* he was accompanied with President *Nesmond*, a Gentleman of great merit, and his particular friend (for whom after the death of President *D' Affis* he obtained the Dignity of first President during the Regency of the Queen Mother) with many other Principal Members of that Parliament and City; whither he was no sooner come, but that the Gentry of the Higher *Gascony*, at the report of this Quarrel, flock'd to him

him in so great a number, that scarce any occasion could have hapned, wherein his interest in that Country could have been more manifestly seen. And here the Duke, environ'd with so many of his Friends, pass'd his time in that jollity and mirth, and appear'd so little concern'd at any thing that had pass'd betwixt the *Mareschal d'Ornano* and him, as made every one certainly believe all had been absolutely forgot: where, after having spent some days, and his company being retir'd to their own houses, he himself also departed to go visit his paternal estate, and from thence to *Tboluse*. From hence it was, that whilst every one thought him more intent upon his recreations, than mindful of his quarrel, he dispatch'd away a Page of his call'd *Talanges*, who continued long after in his Service, to the *Mareschal d'Ornano* with a Challenge, which I will here present my Reader word for word, as I transcrib'd it from the original draught under the Duke's own hand; wherein, though there be no studied stile, there is nevertheless something of a natural, and easie bluntness, that methinks sounds better, than if it had been couch'd with greater care and art: the words are these.

Anno  
1600.

“ Sir, I make no doubt, but that, when the toy took you to commit  
 “ the action, and to make the bustle you did against me at Bordeaux,  
 “ the last of August, you did then believe, knowing me for such, as  
 “ the men of Honour of this Kingdom know me to be, that that Carri-  
 “ age of yours must needs give me a just desire to talk with you, as indeed  
 “ I passionately do, and that after the manner commonly practis'd by  
 “ men of honour of my Profession; which is the reason I have sent this  
 “ Page on purpose to let you know, that I am going to Court; where I  
 “ shall wait four months in expectation, either by return of this Bearer, or  
 “ by what other honourable way you shall think fit, of an assignment from  
 “ you, of a day, and place where I may have the happiness to embrace you  
 “ in your Shirt, with the Arms of a Cavalier, which are a Sword, and  
 “ Poignard: that I may there let you see it is not in the power of a Corse  
 “ to affront a Gentleman of France, who remains yours to serve you as  
 “ much as by the courtesie you have shew'd to him he stands oblig'd.

From *Tboluse* the 7th.  
 of September.

Sign'd,  
 I. Lewis de la Valette.

And in a Postscript,

“ I do assure you upon my Faith, that no one living knows a syllable of  
 “ what I have written to you, not the Page himself; and I do believe you  
 “ to be so much a man of Honour, as to carry it with the same secrecie.

The

Anno 1600. The Page arriv'd in a disguise at *Bordeaux*, where he found opportunity to deliver his Letter, and, without being discover'd by any, return'd to seek out his Master at *Paris*: but the *Mareschals* action had made such a noise, that (what secrecie soever could be us'd) it was hardly possible, but it must come to the King's knowledge; and accordingly at the Duke's arrival at Court, his Majesty question'd him about it, when, although the Duke made a shew of being wholly unconcern'd, yet his Majesty having had intelligence, by other hands, than either by the Duke, or any of his people of the Challenge that had pass'd, positively commanded him to engage his word that things should proceed no further; promising him withal, that he should have all satisfaction he could himself in Honour desire: a thing the Duke in obedience to his Masters absolute pleasure could by no means refuse; though by some Libels that came out after in the *Mareschals* name, he was infinitely exasperated, and desir'd nothing more, than to come to the decision of Arms.

Anno 1601. The *Mareschal* was soon after summon'd to Court, where being arriv'd, and his Majesty having heard both parties concerning the occasion of their Quarrel, order'd for the Duke this satisfaction: which Writing I found in the same bundle with the Challenge.

That which was said by the *Mareschal d'Ornano* in the presence of the King, to the Duke of *Espernon*.

My Lord,

The King reconciles the Duke and the Mareschal.

“ To explain my self, and to satisfie you concerning what lately pass'd at *Bordeaux*, I shall in the first place assure you, that I never knew, or esteem'd you for other, than his Majesties most faithful Subject, and Servant; that such I ever have, and ever shall declare you to be. It is very true that a jealousy, some flying rumours, which I too easily believ'd, possess'd me withall, made me do things, which having found those reports altogether false, I have since been very much afflicted at, I never having any intention to offend you; and I could wish I had given a great deal I had never done them: I do therefore entreat you to excuse me, and to believe me to be your Friend, and one that has a desire to do you Service. As for the *Manifesto*, I am so far from approving any such thing, that I never so much as saw it, never caus'd it to be writ; and ever have, and do now disown the man that did it.

This



This was that which was said in the presence of the King by the Duke of *Espernon* to the *Mareschal d'Ornano*.

Anno  
1601.

Sir,

“ Since the King is pleas'd to think what you have said to be a sufficient satisfaction, that you entreat me to forget what is past, and desire my friendship, I rest satisfied; and shall be, as I have been heretofore your friend to serve you. At *St. Germans en Laye* the 25. of *March*, 1601.

Sign'd *Henry*, and below *Potier*.

It was not without many difficulties that matters were thus compos'd betwixt them, the Duke desiring something more for his satisfaction, and the *Mareschal* on his part ill digesting the distinction the King had made betwixt to *serve you*, and to *do you service*: but that which touch'd him most to the quick was, that his Majesty by one of the conditions of Accommodation, gave the Duke, liberty when ever he thought fit, to call together the same Assembly in *Bordeaux*, which had begot the former dispute; commanding the *Mareschal* not to oppose it: A Licence without which the Duke conceiv'd his affront could not be wip'd off. And accordingly he some time after return'd to *Bordeaux*, to have made use of his Priviledge, though it was then also interrupted by an accident, of which in its due place we shall give a further accompt.

This satisfaction the King order'd for the Duke, though very sufficient of it self, was not however the only testimony his Majesty gave him of his Royal Bounty and Justice in this occasion; for the offence having been publick, his Majesty thought fit that beside the satisfaction had been given in private, the *Mareschal* should moreover pay the Duke some publick civilities, to evidence an absolute disowning of the Act: it was therefore order'd, that the Duke going to *Loches*, as it was determin'd he should do, (I believe for that purpose) the *Mareschal*, who at the same time was upon his Journey into his Government, should give him a visit by the way, as he did; by whom the King writ a very obliging Letter to the Duke, wherein he commanded him to entertain the *Mareschal* as His Friend; a command that was also on the Duke's part so punctually obey'd, that the visit was pass'd over with great civility on both sides: wherein the justice of this generous, and excellent Prince was eminently manifest, who would use a man at this obliging rate, that had no share in his Royal Favour.

Not long after this Accommodation, the 11th. of *September* the same year, the Court was wholly possess'd with the joy all good  
*French*

*Anno* 1601. *The birth of the Dolphin, afterwards Lewis the XIII.* Frenchmen were full of, for the Birth of the young *Dolphin*, whom we have since seen live a long and a glorious Reign, under the name of *Lewis* the XIII, of all other, a blessing of the greatest importance that could at that time possibly have hapned to the King, and Kingdom: in him all pretense of past disturbances being determined, as the publick Peace seem'd to be for ever secur'd. There was now no mutinous Subject, nor no ambitious Neighbour, who seeing themselves fall'n from their unjust, and imaginary pretensions to the Crown, did not covet the favour, and friendship of a Prince so apparently favour'd by the care of Heaven: but if on that side the Duke with other vertuous Subjects of his condition, was in a high rapture of joy, there hapned to him soon after great occasions of affliction, that involv'd him in no few, nor no little inconveniencies, which besel him by the discovery of the Conspiracy of the *Mareschal Biron*, that came to light in the beginning of the ensuing year; wherein we shall notwithstanding see, that although this business begat him trouble, and disgrace in the beginning, yet it brought him honour and satisfaction in the end: having given him opportunity at once to express his constant affection to his friend, and his inviolate Fidelity to the King his Master.

*Anno* 1602. *The Conspiracy of Mareschal Biron, and the Duke's carriage in that business.* I have already made mention of the great friendship that was contracted betwixt the Duke, and the *Mareschal Biron*, one of the most constant, and sincere I have known, their interests ever being one, and the same, and their affections so united in all things, that nothing was a secret betwixt them, if not in what concern'd the interest of the King and Kingdom: but as to concerns of that nature, what confidence soever the *Mareschal* had in the Duke's friendship it is certain, he had ever so great a respect to his fidelity, and did believe him so impossible to be debauch'd from his duty, that he never communicated to him the least syllable of any thought he had conceiv'd to the prejudice of the one, or the other: though it is to be wish'd, for the preservation of so brave a man he had done it, because then the Duke would doubtless have perswaded him into better resolutions. The King, who was very well acquainted with all his designs, would himself sometimes talk to him in terms easie enough to be understood, on purpose to make him come to himself, to see his error, and to reconcile himself sincerely to a Prince, who proceeded with that tendernefs towards him, and who was pleas'd in his behalf to moderate the absolute Authority, the knowledge of his Crime, and his own Royal Power gave him over his Life, and Fortune; but that would not reclaim him: That way then failing, and his  
Majestie's

Majesties obliging language to him wanting force to make that impression upon his obstinate spirit, he could have desir'd, his Majesty try'd yet further to overcome him by testimonies of confidence in his Loyalty, and to divert him from criminal thoughts by conferring upon him his employments of Trust, and Honour; amongst which that of Ambassador into *England* was one.

Anno  
1602.

The King being in *Picardy*, receiv'd a Complement from *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, wherein she earnestly solicited the King for an enterview betwixt them, at any place he himself would appoint; a request that his Majesty not thinking it convenient to gratifie her in, he dispatch'd away to her the *Mareschal Biron*, as it were his second self, to make his excuse, and to Treat with her with all freedom of their most private Affairs. An employment wherein *Biron* receiv'd extraordinary Honours, as also several cautions from this prudent Princess, enough to have diverted him from his evil designs, had not his destiny already blinded his judgment, and rendred him incapable of counsel. She often laid before him the recent, and sad example of the late Earl of *Essex*; she represented unto him what a Subject ought to apprehend even from the greatness of his own Service, and Merit, if his Ambition was not moderated by prudence, and whether it were that she had had some inckling (as many have believ'd) of *Biron's* designs, or that she only intended by such discourses to justify the execution of that unfortunate Earl, she laid before him a perfect image of his own unhappy destiny; though all was lost to a man obstinately bent to his own ruine.

This Queen also having heard of the strict friendship betwixt the *Mareschal*, and the Duke of *Espernon*, desir'd him at parting to tell the Duke from her, that if, of his three Sons (which she own'd for her Kinsmen, and Princes of her Kingdom) he would send her one, she should gladly receive him upon his accompt; and that the world might see the esteem she had of the Fathers Merit, would not deprive his Posterity of that place in her Kingdom, which was due to the House of *Candale*; wherein she had only one condition to make, which was, that the Duke should give way, that a Son of his so sent, should be bred up in her Religion; the only one she could by any means suffer in her Kingdom: A Complement that the Duke thinking himself oblig'd to take notice of, he presented her Majesty with his most humble thanks for the Honour she was pleas'd to do him, and his Family in so gracious an offer; but that he should ever prefer any Fortune or Condition his Children could attain unto in *France*, making profession of the Catholick Religion, before any advantages could derive to them in a belief contrary to his own.

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The *Mareschal*, at his return from *England* puff'd up more than ever with the vanity of his Ambition, and big with the Idea of those imaginary Principalities, the *Spaniard*, and the Duke of *Savoy* had baited their practices withal to catch him, could now no longer contain himself within the simple meditation of his Treason, but began to deal with some persons of Quality in the Kingdom, and endeavour'd to raise a commotion in *Perigort*, where the best part of his Estate, his Relations, and chiefest Friendships lay: amongst whom the Duke de *Boiillon* is said to be invited into his party to introduce those of the Reformed Religion into that Country: Intelligence whereof being brought to the King, his Majesty concern'd at the importance of the thing, and justly provok'd at the *Mareschals* ingratitude, immediately took the Field, with a resolution to stifle these disorders in their birth; when considering with himself, that if he should fail of securing the Head of the Faction, whatever he could do besides, would signifie nothing to the remedy of the disease, and that whilst he should be upon his March, his own promptitude and vigilancy would but serve to alarm Subjects already made jealous by the conscience of their own Crimes; he broke off his intended expedition, and return'd back again to *Fountain-bleau*, from whence he had before departed: and where being settled, he wholly bent his thoughts how to get the *Mareschal* into his power; who being in *Burgundy* (the neighbourhood of that Province to *Savoy* favouring his designs) did at great ease maintain his Correspondence with the Confederate Princes. Neither was this a thing to be effected without great conduct, that a person of his merit and reputation might not be driven to the last extremities of despair. His Majesty therefore, that he might effect his design without noise, spake upon all occasions in publick, very much to the *Mareschals* advantage; nor was that all, he gave him moreover a very honourable, and a very important Commission, to go renew an Alliance with the *Swisse*: an Affair wherein, though many difficulties arose, yet the King who would by no means have *Biron* baffled in his Negotiation, by sending a million of Livers along with him, put him into a condition of making all things succeed according to his Majesties own desire. This was the last Service this *Mareschal* perform'd for the Crown, wherein he acquitted himself very much to his Honour, and wherein the reputation of his Valour prevail'd much upon that warlike People; it has been said his dexterity did no less. And here I shall intert by the way, that those who have believ'd the *Mareschal* to have no more in his conduct, than the meer brutality of a rough

*Biron* in this Journey betwixt *Dijon* and *Montbelliard*, was for four hours together in private Conference with *Watteville* the Duke of *Savoy's* Agent. *De Serres*, page 978.

humourous Souldier, were not at all acquainted with him: he was read to a sufficient knowledge of Latin, and Greek Letters; and when ever he would make use of his Judgment and Eloquence, whether in Negotiations, or Councils, in War or Affairs of State, he ever express'd himself to be a man of no common qualities.

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His Majesty had thought by these testimonies of his trust, the *Mareschal* would have been allur'd to Court, to have given an account of the good success of his Negotiation; where he hop'd, without further trouble, he might easily secure his Person; but with what gentle language soever the King could flatter his vanity, it was impossible to perswade him into that Journey, so many Accusers, and Witnesses of his Guilt he found in his own Conscience against him. His Majesty therefore not being able to bring about his design by this way, and unwilling to live any longer in the apprehensions he had been put into by the *Mareschal's* practice, resolv'd at last by a manifest disobedience to extract from him a confession of his fault, which should either give him a reasonable colour to proceed against the *Mareschal* as a Criminal, and a Rebel; or otherwise oblige him to come, and deliver himself into his hands. He therefore first dispatch'd away to him the *Sieur d'Escures*, Quartermaster-General of his Armies; a man very acceptable to the *Mareschal*, and in great credit with him, for having long serv'd under his Command, and immediately after President *Fanin*, who also by his wisdom, and experience had won so great an esteem with the foresaid *Mareschal*, that he would seldom undertake any business of any great moment without first consulting this politick Minister.

These two were sent with express Orders to represent to *Biron* part of the ill Offices had been done him to the King; to which they added, "That all the endeavour of his best Friends could not so justify his actions to the King, that his Majesty had not his fidelity in suspicion, until he should receive his justification from his own mouth: that since only himself could defend himself from Calumny, there was nothing to be deliberated of in the case, and that he must suddenly resolve, either to give an account of his actions to the King, or declare himself his Majesty's open Enemy, maintain an impudent War against his Prince, and have himself and his Posterity branded with the dirtiest and most hateful of all Crimes, to wit, a Traytor to his Benefactor, King, and Country, that he had to do with a Prince, whose Clemency was so well known to none, as to himself, who had his great Services fresh in his memory, who expected no less from his Courage and Fidelity for the

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The strict, and inviolate Friendship that all the world knew to be betwixt the Duke, and the *Mareschal*, soon rendred the first suspected of having a hand in the other's designs; neither was the Duke ignorant that his Enemies labour'd with all the Artifice they had, to involve him in his Friends Treason; but how perfect soever he was in their malicious practice, and how clearly soever he foresaw the dangerous consequences were likely to attend a business of this nature, he was resolute nevertheless, with a generosity hardly to be parallel'd in so critical an occasion, to be no ways wanting to his friend: wherefore having notice that the *Mareschal* was drawing near to *Paris*, and that a caution, which would now come too late to divert him from coming to the King (a thing he would by no means have advis'd him from) might perhaps awake his judgment, and make him appeal to his Majesties mercy, he sent the *Sieur du Pleßis Bauffonniere*, a man in whom he had an absolute confidence, to meet him upon the way.

This Gentleman had put himself into the Duke's dependence in his younger years, and having left his Studies, wherein he had made a considerable progress, had follow'd, and serv'd him in *Provence*, commanding the Regiment of *Pernes* his Brother in-law, all the while the Duke was there in action; after which, during the whole time of the Duke's life, which was very long, he was by him continually employ'd in his greatest, and most important Affairs; in which he ever gave so good an accompt of his Conduct, and Fidelity, that there was scarce any Gentleman of his time in a higher reputation for Valour, Prudence, and Integrity; insomuch that I have often heard the Duke say, if he were to corrupt *le Pleßis*, he should be to seek on which side to assault him, his soul was so bravely fortified throughout. This *le Pleßis*, according to his Masters order, puts himself upon his way to go meet the *Mareschal*: but as his Errand could not but be dangerous both for the Master, and the Servant, the one, and the other sufficiently

sufficiently knowing the violent suspicion the King had of the *Mareschal's* proceeding; so did he endeavour with all imaginable caution, if possible, to entertain him alone. I have often heard him tell the story, and do very well remember every circumstance, which put altogether will make this appear an affair of the greatest difficulty, and the best carried on, that perhaps you shall meet with in the Duke's whole History; and wherein the generous spirit of an innocent Servant, and the Clemency and Justice of a good Master, will as evidently appear. *Le Pleßis*, perceiving the *Mareschal's* Equipage coming at a pretty distance, lighted at a Barn a little wide of the High-way, where, having with him one of the Duke's Footmen without a Livery, he commanded him to call the first of the *Mareschal's* that appear'd upon the Road; which he having done, and *le Pleßis* being not unknown to the fellow, he sent him to tell his Master in his ear, that *le Pleßis* staid to speak with him a word or two in private. The Footman accordingly deliver'd his Message, whereupon *Biron* stragling from his company upon some pretense or other, came to the place where *le Pleßis* stood to expect him, and where without being observ'd by any, he had all liberty to discourse at leisure. *Le Pleßis* had in charge to tell him, "That the Journey he was now upon to the King requir'd his most serious deliberation, and that he was now in good earnest to reflect upon his own condition: "That if he came with a confidence, some possibly might have possess'd him withal, that *Lafin* had not spoken to the King, he was abus'd: That the Duke of *Espernon* did not know what had pass'd betwixt *Lafin* and him; neither did he desire to inform himself: but that he might be assur'd, that whatever he had done, or negotiated with him, or by him, was every tittle discover'd to the King; acquainting him with the several times and places, and how oft *Lafin* had been in private Conference with him: That he was herein to be advis'd by his own Conscience, and to rely upon his Majesties Grace, and Bounty, if he conceiv'd there was any thing that might justly be condemn'd in his former Actions; there being much better to be hop'd for, from his Majesties Clemency, and noble nature, than from the secrecie of what had pass'd betwixt *Lafin* and him. This obliging and prudent advice, which ought to have been receiv'd by the *Mareschal* with so much the greater tenderness, by how much it was preferr'd with the infinite hazard of him that sent it, did on the contrary put him into so great a rage, that I have heard *le Pleßis* say, he never in his life saw any thing in so extravagant a fury. *Biron* ask'd him first of all, "If the Duke of

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Anno 1602. *“ Espernon esteem'd him for other, than an honest man? To whom du Plessis having reply'd, “ That had he had any other opinion of him, he would not have persisted in his Friendship so long; he proceeded to tell him, “ That he was come to give the lye, and to be the death of all those, who durst blemish his Actions: That he was the same the Duke of Espernon and he Pleffis himself had ever known him to be: That for what concern'd him, Mounſieur d' Espernon might set his heart at rest. And then clapping his hand upon his Sword, after a hundred wild postures, he further told du Plessis, “ That if any one durst make an attempt upon his Person, he would make more arms and heads flie, than would stand before him: So that instead of making use of his Friend's caution, and good advice, he continued his way in his first obstinacy, and the same night arriv'd at Fountain-bleau.*

At his arrival the King spoke to him of the business himself, gently admonishing him withal to make an ingenuous confession of his fault: a thing he was so far from being perswaded to do, that he seem'd discontented and angry at the motion.

Soon after he went to *Paris*, and din'd at the *Hostel d' Espernon*, when the King returning the same day from *Fountain-bleau*, the Duke and he went together in the afternoon to the *Louvre*, to attend his Majesty; who having notice of their coming went to the Window, through the glass to observe their carriage, and countenance; which a friend of the Duke's, who was then with the King, gave the Duke timely caution of, to the end he might comport himself so, as that his Majesty might not by any behaviour of his be fortified in those evil impressions, with which he had before by his Enemies been prepossess'd: though the Duke carried himself quite contrary to his advice; and being more and more confirm'd, in the testimony of a good Conscience, and full of a just and generous indignation to see his Fidelity suspected, walk'd with his face erect, and his eyes fix'd upon the Window where he knew the King stood: A carriage the King very well observ'd, as he made others about him to do also. They were no sooner come both of them into his Majesties Chamber, who as yet had express'd no publick dissatisfaction with *Biron* (as being still in hope to regain him, and to have an occasion to pardon him by the confession of his fault) but that he presently made a Match at Tennis, wherein the King and the *Count de Soissons* were to play against the Duke of *Espernon*, and the *Mareschal*: and upon this occasion it was that the Historians of that time make the Duke say, as a piece of wit, speaking to  
the



the *Mareschal*, That he played well, but that he made his matches ill; as if by those words, which may admit of a double interpretation, he would obliquely condemn *Biron's* designs, which never came into his thought; it being his custom when ever he talk'd with the *Mareschal* about that business, not to do it in such ambiguous terms; nor so out of season, but seriously and plainly, and in a secrecie, the safest for him he would advile. He several times represented to him the ill Offices he had receiv'd, he confirm'd to him the samething he had sent him word of before concerning *Lafin*, conjuring him not to rely upon his Faith; which would certainly deceive him: But these second admonitions were as fruitless as the first; and the King seeing that he could neither by himself, nor by the *Count de Soissons*, the *Mareschals* intimate Friend, who had dealt with him by his Majesties absolute command, and in his name, reclaim this obstinate spirit, nor make him reconcile himself to his duty, by acknowledging his offence; he gave him over at last to the rigor of Law, and Justice, who punish'd his Crime, by the forfeiture of his Head

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Whilst they were drawing up the *Mareschal's* Charge, his Majesty well enform'd of *le Plessis* Envoy (it being a thing hard to be kept secret, in an Affair where all things were so narrowly observ'd) referr'd the intelligence to the deliberation of his Council. The Cabinet Council at that time consisted of the *Count de Soissons*, *de Sillery* Keeper of the Seal, *Sully* superintendent of the Exchequer, President *Fanin*, *Bellieure*, and *Villeroy*: In which Assembly divers conjectures being set on foot, to fortifie the jealousies his Majesty had been perswaded into against the Duke, it was by the major part voted necessary to secure his person, or at least to make sure of *le Plessis*, and to put him to the wrack, that from a confession extorted from him sufficient evidence might be drawn to convince his Master: A result so approv'd by all, that the King was himself almost the only man that oppos'd those two propositions. " He told them that as for the Duke, a man of his  
" quality was never to be arrested, unless to be condemn'd, that  
" as yet there was nothing but suspicion, and conjectures against  
" him; which should they prove idle, and vain, he was never af-  
" ter to repose any trust in a man, so undeservedly, and so unjustly  
" offended: That for *le Plessis* he was no more to be meddled  
" withal than the other, without giving a manifest distaste to his  
" Master: That if one of them were to be secur'd, he should  
" rather begin with the Master, than the Servant; because the  
" confinement of the last would be an equal injury to the other;  
" but that the effect would by no means be the same, being the  
Duke,

Anno 1602. *le Plessis* be forwarn'd to make his escape: That he was therefore of opinion to expect if in the Tryal of *Mareschal Biron*, nothing would come to light that might justly bring the Duke in question, which if there did, and that he should be found a Complice, there was no place he could fly to so remote, where his arm would not be long enough to reach him.

If the King had intelligence of *le Plessis's* Envoy to the *Mareschal Biron*, the Duke was no less faithfully inform'd of what had pass'd in the Cabinet Council concerning him; by which he understood that *le Plessis* Journey was not so great a secret, as it had been convenient for both their safeties it had been, which made him consult with *le Plessis* what was best to be done in so dangerous an occasion. The Duke was not secure, the King would continue so constant in his favour, that his Majesty might not at another Council be over-rul'd into other resolutions, and perswaded at last to put *le Plessis* to the question; a doubt that made him think it expedient he should retire; that he being gone, no evidence might appear against him, he having been alone entrusted with the secret of this Affair: but *le Plessis*, who very well foresaw his flight, though it might procure his own particular safety, would certainly be his Master's ruine, could by no means consent to the motion. He rather chose to run the hazard of the Wrack, (which he was ready to undergo, and of which, I have heard him say, he had already the terrors in his imagination) than to expose the Life, and Honour of his Master, which, after so strong a presumption, as his withdrawing himself must of necessity give, would be in an apparent danger. He therefore humbly entreated the Duke not to concern himself at the thought of any thing that threatned him; assuring him withal, that as he had done nothing contrary to his Majesties Service, so all the Wracks and Tortures in the world could never force him to say any thing contrary to the truth. Settled then in this resolution, from which I do believe nothing upon earth could have remov'd him, his wit suggested to him an expedient, by which in the end he secur'd both his Masters Person and his own. He advis'd the Duke to prevent his Majesty by an ingenuous confession of the truth, and to tell him himself what he had done: for as the King could not imagine that the Duke could have had any notice of that secret, it being improbable, the result of a Council held but that morning, and consulting of men of so approv'd Fidelity and Trust, could be so suddenly reveal'd; so was it not to be believ'd, that the Duke's voluntary discovery of what he had done, could pass in his

his Majesties opinion for a premeditated thing. The Duke approving of this advice, put it as speedily into execution; and the King intending to hunt in the afternoon, he mounted on horseback, as he us'd to do, to attend him; where having follow'd and observ'd his Majesties motion with an extraordinary diligence, that he might find an opportunity for his purpose, they light by chance into a solitary place, into which his Majesty being insensibly stragled from the gross of his Train, there were very few left about him. And here it was that the King turning towards the Duke, fell upon the Discourse of *Mareschal Biron*, who was now in the heat of his Tryal, complaining how ill he had us'd him, and how ungrateful a man he was: To which the Duke reply'd, "That as a Relation, and a Friend to the *Mareschal*, he could not without great affliction see so evident testimonies of his guilt, that he had been at first very unwilling to believe he could be guilty of so foul a Crime: but that now it did so manifestly appear, he could not think any punishment enough to chastise so foul an Offence: To whom the King having return'd, "What, it seems then you know nothing of the business? The Duke made answer, "Sir, I knew so little of it, that at his coming to this Town, I sent *le Plessis* to meet him, and to welcome him to Court, which I should never have done, had I thought him guilty. At which words, which touch'd the King to the quick, his Majesty set spurs to his Horse, with an extravagance not very natural to him, but which that unexpected answer had put him into: when having taken a Career, and turning again to the Duke, with a countenance that sufficiently express'd that he was angry at a discovery he had no mind should have come from the Duke's own mouth. "It seems then, said he, you sent to *Mareschal Biron* without my knowledge? To whom the Duke reply'd again, "That he did not conceive it necessary to ask his Majestie's leave to send a meer Complement to his Friend: That seeing him come without a Guard, or any apparent marks of disgrace, and his Majesty treating him with the same favour he us'd to do, he had on his part us'd him at the same rate he had ever done: That it had been a custom long observ'd betwixt them, that which of them soever had been any time absent from Court, was at his return by some Servant of trust inform'd by the other of all the little passages had hapned during his absence: That it was true, he had in this occasion continued this custom: That he humbly besought his Majesty to believe nothing more particular had pass'd betwixt them, and that he had rather dye, than once conceive a

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“thought to the prejudice of his Majesties Service, or his own duty: That he hop’d the event would more clearly evidence the integrity of his actions; but that nevertheless he thought it fit to give his Majesty that security in hand. The King being well satisfied with the Duke’s Reasons, but much more with the Confidence he perceiv’d him to repose in his Justice, and his own Innocency, all jealousies, that before had been infus’d into him, to the prejudice of the Duke’s Fidelity, and Honour, vanish’d away, and he with the greatest care and assiduity, was more than ever about his Majesties Person. His Children (which a little before he had brought to Court) had order to continue about the young *Dolphin’s* Person, to be as it were Hostages of their Father’s Innocence, and the *Mareschal’s* Tryal being at last over, all Witnesses and Parties examin’d, and heard without the least mention of the Duke of *Espernon’s* name in all their practice, his Majesty was not a little satisfied with himself, that he had carried things with that moderation towards the Duke upon this occasion.

This untoward business was soon after seconded by another, which, though of far less dangerous consequence, begat the Duke nevertheless as much trouble as the first. The Duke as he was ever very circumspect in his duty, to preserve his Fidelity entire to the King, so was he no less solicitous to maintain himself in all advantages deriving to him as particles of any of his Commands. That of Colonel therefore having been conferr’d upon him by *Henry III.* with extraordinary priviledges, as by his Patent does appear, he could not endure the least violation of his Interest; but with a stiffness (that doubtless would have offended a less equitable Prince, than that under whom he had the honour to serve) was ever obstinate to maintain every punctilio of his right. One of the greatest, and of the greatest Honour that was annex’d to this Command, was the power he had to name the Camp-Master to the Regiment of Guards when ever that place should be void; and it hapned now that *Grillon*, who had been possess’d of this Command before the Duke was created Colonel, was fall’n into infirmities, that rendred him incapable of his Charge: Yet had his former Services been such as made it very reasonable he should however make his best advantage of it, as his Majesty was content he should; but having a singular, and a very just respect for the *Mareschal de l’Esdiguieres*, and a very great affection for his Son-in-law *Crequy*, he intended the latter, having first compounded with *Grillon*, should be preferr’d to that Command, intending perhaps hereby, as much to clip the wings of the Duke’s Authority, which he had as Colonel over the Regiment of  
Guards,

Guards, as altogether to oblige *Creyuy*. The Duke, advertis'd of his Majesties purpose, could not forbear giving out aloud, that he would never consent to it, and the King on the contrary was resolv'd his pleasure should prevail: But in the end after many oppositions (which this good Prince was pleas'd to endure from a Servant) the Duke, who had never discover'd his mind to the King, but by the mediation of others, was resolv'd to deliver it to his Majesty with his own mouth, as accordingly he did; representing to him with a liberty (which to his Subjects was none of the least felicities of his happy Reign) the Justice of his Cause. All which, notwithstanding his reasons, could not so prevail upon his Majesties temper, but that he remain'd as firm as ever in his first resolution. Which the Duke seeing, and conceiving he could not consent to his Majesties desire, without going less in the dignity of his place, he rather chose to absent himself from Court, than to be compell'd by an exprefs, and positive command to do a thing so much to the prejudice of his Authority, and Honour; and accordingly very much dissatisfied, retir'd himself to *Angoulesme*. The King, who was not yet totally cur'd of a jealousy, still kept awake by the practices, the remainder of *Biron's* Faction (not quite extinct) yet kept on foot in his Kingdom, gave manifest signs of discontent at the Duke's departure; and as he knew the alliance the Duke of *Montpensier* had contracted with his Family, by his Match, had begot a strict friendship betwixt them, so was it to him especially that he spoke of it with the greatest freedom, and in terms (not without threats) of the highest indignation. This Prince, who concern'd himself as much at the Duke's Interest, as his own, dispatch'd away to him in great diligence the *Sieur de la Chetardie*, in whom he had an especial confidence, to let him understand the King's displeasure, and to remonstrate to him the danger he would expose himself unto, should he longer persist in opposition to his Majesties pleasure, who would herein be absolutely obey'd: A caution by which the Duke plainly seeing he was reduc'd to a necessity either to bow, or break; he indeed chose the latter, though not without high complaints of the injustice was done him, which were neither so modest, nor so private, that they were not soon carried to the King's ear: And though so stubborn an opposition in the Duke might reasonably enough have more exasperated the King against him, yet such was the noble nature of this great Prince, that it would not suffer him long to bear in mind the memory of his offense; for the Duke had no sooner given his consent to *Creyuy's* admission, but that his Majesty commanded him the first

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thing he did, to take a Journey a hundred Leagues from *Paris*, to see his Colonel, to take his Oath betwixt his hands, to obtain his hand to his Commission, and to receive his Order for his admission into his place: Civilities by which although the King endeavour'd to give the Duke all satisfaction; yet could they not so far reconcile him, but that at *Crequy's* arrival, he made him wait a whole day together at his Chamber door, and expect some days after before he would receive his Oath, or Sign his Commission: And although he was himself very sensible that so many manifest aversions were sufficient to beget new distastes in the King against him; yet was he not so much master of himself, nor had so much command over his own Nature; but that he must put those affronts upon *Crequy*, or rather upon the King, who made this business his own.

*Monsieur  
Crequy* made  
Camp-Ma-  
ster to the  
Regiment of  
Guards.

By these disputes (which in another time might have turn'd very much to the Duke's prejudice) he got nevertheless this advantage, that the King to satisfy him for the future in the interests of his Command, made a kind of agreement with him (if a largess from a Master to his Servant may be so call'd) which was, That his Majesty would indeed really, and effectually reserve to himself the nomination of Camp-Master to the Regiment of Guards; as also to the other old Regiments: but with this condition, that the Colonel should swear them, that they should be conceiv'd to have their admission from him, without which they were not to be receiv'd into the employment: That his Majesty having provided for one Company in the Regiment of Guards, he was content the Duke should in turn do the same for the next at his own appointment: That of all the Foot Companies of the other Regiments, new and old, the Duke when ever any should be vacant, should have the naming of the Captains to the King to fill them up; and that no Captain soever, whether of the Regiment of Guards, or any other Regiment should be admitted into, or establish'd in his Command till first his Commission was Sign'd by the Colonel: But for what concern'd those Offices, that depended upon the Duke's Command, as Lieutenants, Ensigns, Colonel-Ensigns, Serjeants, and Serjeant-Majors, Martials, Provost-Martials, Quarter-Masters, and other Officers, that he should place and displace them by his sole Authority, without any order from the King, or his Majesties taking any notice thereof. According to which Agreement the Duke proceeded so regularly, and undisturb'd in the Priviledges of his Command, that there was never after, during this Kings Reign, the least Dispute betwixt them, saveing once, that the King think-  
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ing it fit to add two Companies more to his Regiment of Guards, and having appointed their Captains, the Duke interpos'd his Majesties Royal Promise, humbly beseeching him to do him right: an Argument so powerful to this equitable Prince, that of two Captains he had nam'd, he only provided for one, which was the *Sieur de la Courbe*, who had but the second Company neither: the first being given to the *Sieur de Bourdet* by the Duke's Recommendation, whose turn it was to name the first vacant Company: yet did not the business pass without some dispute, though at last the King was pleas'd rather to give way to his Servant's just desires, than to fail in the least Article of his Word.

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I shall here add (since I am upon this discourse of the Office of Colonel) a thing that time has sufficiently justified to all *France*, which is, that the Duke was so exceeding cautious in the dispensation of Commands, whether meerly depending upon his own Authority, or in his nomination only, that his Majesty would often say, he never had better Foot Officers, than those of the Duke's preferring. And in truth the *French* Infantry, whilst the Duke was permitted to execute his charge, were kept in so good order, that perhaps no Militia in Europe were better Disciplin'd, nor better Officer'd than they; a truth to this hour confirm'd by an infinite number of persons yet living, who have commanded under him, and who were witnesses of his conduct. To which I shall further add, and to his great commendation, a thing not to be contradicted; which is, that he neither directly, nor indirectly ever made the least benefit of any Command he dispos'd of, which I think had they been set to sale would, in the long course of his life, have amounted to above two Millions of Gold, after the rate they are sold now adays. And I do very well remember, that towards his latter end, when he saw the selling of Offices began to grow in fashion, he did all he could, and that the condition of the time would permit, to oppose it; representing to the King, with very convincing Arguments, what a prejudice such an abuse would be to his Service; although in the end seeing he could not prevail with the Council to alter that toleration, he also gave some of his own Servants, though very few, leave to make many of the Offices he had conferr'd upon them: but I am certain, that for his own particular, he never converted any the least employment to his own profit: A thing perhaps such as thought him solicitous of his own Interest, will hardly be perswaded to believe, as indeed he was inclin'd to the saving side, and wary enough when it was fit for him to be so: but never, upon any occasion where his Honour was concern'd,  
that

Anno 1602. that ever taking with him the upperhand of all other considerations.

The business of *Crequy*, how troublesome, and how hard soever to digest, was not yet the last of the same nature the Duke was to wrestle withal in this years revolution, another following immediately after; which, as it nearer concern'd him, pierc'd deeper to the quick: neither had it so happy an issue as the first. The Duke having in the year 1582. been by King *Henry* the III. establish'd in the Government of *Metz*, he conferr'd the Lieutenantancy of the City and Country upon *Moncaßin* his Kinsman, and the Command of the Cittadel upon *Sobole*: but in process of time, which hapned in the year 1585. having withdrawn *Moncaßin* from this employment to continue about his own person: *Sobole*, whom he had bred a Page, and in whom he had an entire confidence, was by his bounty rais'd to that degree, that he conferr'd upon him the command of the City, and Country, together with that of the Cittadel also; which was effectually one of the bravest entertainments in *France*, *Metz* being at that time the most considerable place of the Kingdom, and the noblest member of the Duke's Command.

In the Year 1594. the King undertook the Siege of *Laon*, to which, as to an occasion wherein he expected to meet with great difficulties, he invited many of his Servants of the neighbouring Provinces. Amongst these *Sobole* was one, who by the Authority the Duke had given him in *Metz*, having got a great interest in the Country, might with great facility raise a considerable party of Horse, as he did, and at the Head of sixscore Light-Horse, very well appointed, and fourscore Carabins, went to serve his Majesty at this Siege. The King receiv'd him with great demonstrations of favour, and not being well satisfied with the Duke of *Espernon*, who being at that time in *Provence*, where he did not behave himself to his Majesties liking, after he had, as he conceiv'd, cut him out work enough there, he took occasion to raise him greater difficulties about *Metz*, by lessening the Authority he had till that time ever had over *Sobole*. And to that purpose after he had reduc'd *Laon* to his obedience, and about to dismiss those Auxiliaries who had come in to serve him in that Action, his Majesty sent *Sobole* word, "That after so great a satisfaction as he had receiv'd from his Services, he was as well dispos'd to gratifie him as he himself could desire; which nevertheless the present condition of his Affairs not permitting him to do, at so honourable a rate, as he could wish, it was for him to look out for something he had a mind to, which should be



“ be as readily conferr’d upon him. Those who had order to  
 make this overture to *Sobole*, were further intrusted to represent  
 unto him, “ That being Governour of *Metz* meerly by the  
 “ Duke’s toleration, he was subject upon the first capricio to be  
 “ remov’d; after which from the honourable condition wherein  
 “ he had liv’d for many years, he would find himself reduc’d to a  
 “ very moderate fortune: That though he could be assur’d the  
 “ Duke’s humour would continue constant to him, yet ought the  
 “ declining posture of his Affairs in *Provence* to give him a rea-  
 “ sonable Alarm: That all things in that Country were so averse  
 “ to him, it was all the Duke could do to keep his head above  
 “ water; and that his Affairs coming to an absolute ruine, as they  
 “ evidently declin’d, he would be in danger to be left in *Metz*,  
 “ without any support, or any colourable claim, either to com-  
 “ mand, or recompense: That the King conceiving a Gentleman  
 “ of his Valour and Merit, worthy a more certain fortune, did  
 “ voluntary offer to make him his own Lieutenant, in the Go-  
 “ vernment of the Place and Country, under the Duke; whose  
 “ Authority being kept inviolate, he could have no just reason to  
 “ reproach him, for seeking to establish his own Fortune, with-  
 “ out doing any prejudice to his. It was no hard matter to per-  
 swade *Sobole* into a thing he believ’d would settle his Affairs so  
 much to his advantage; so that he greedily swallow’d the bait,  
 and receiving a new Commission from the King, retir’d very well  
 satisfied with his Majesties bounty into his Government: But as  
 the first step into a fault, makes men subject to stumble into an-  
 other, after having once fail’d in his Faith, he had now no more  
 regard to his Duty; and conceiving he had good title for the fu-  
 ture to Lord it over the Inhabitants of *Metz*, with greater Au-  
 thority than he had formerly done; he grew insolent to the last  
 degree. Complaints whereof were soon brought to the Duke;  
 where to him they accus’d *Sobole*, for having rais’d mony upon  
 them by his own private Authority, and to have committed ma-  
 ny other insolencies against them. The Duke was at this time  
 disingag’d from the trouble of his Affairs in *Provence*, and  
 the residence he had since that time made at Court having in-  
 form’d him of *Sobole*’s deportment, he was questionless possess’d  
 with an indignation proportionable to the offense: but he very  
 well foresaw, that the King, who had in design rais’d *Sobole*  
 against him, would doubtless uphold him, and justifie his own  
 Commission; so that he durst by no means act any thing in pub-  
 lick against him, nor go about by open force to displace him:  
 but on the contrary dissembled as much as in him lay, both the  
 know-

Anno  
1602.



*Anno*  
1602. knowledge, and the trouble of his fault; and when continually importun'd by reiterated complaints from the Inhabitants of Metz, (a people he ever had in great consideration) he only admonish'd him to behave himself with greater moderation towards them: but *Sobole* was deaf to all those admonitions, and so far from slackning his hand, that on the contrary, to render the Duke's good Offices fruitless to them, he contriv'd with himself to accuse many of the principal among them to the King, for having (as he said) endeavour'd to betray the Town, and Cittadel of Metz to Count Mansfield, Governour of *Luxembourg*, for the King of *Spain*: Which he did, to the end that his Majesty being prepossess'd with so black an accusation, no one, not so much as the Duke himself might dare to speak in their behalf. The business was very strictly examin'd, and in the end discover'd to be a meer calumny, which made all the world conclude it had been invented by *Sobole* in spite to deprive the Inhabitants of their Lives and Estates; a malice so notorious, that the Duke could no longer endure a people, whom he lov'd, and had ever protect'd, should be so ill us'd by a man he himself had appointed to govern, but not to destroy them: Which made him openly undertake their protection against *Sobole's* violence, against whom the hatred the people had conceiv'd, having provok'd them into arms, they besieg'd him in the Cittadel; a thing the Duke was not sorry for, hoping this would counsel the King to remove him, and that he being out, the place could be supply'd by none, from whom he might not promise to himself better things than from *Sobole*.

*Anno*  
1603. What the Duke had so prudently foreseen, fell out exactly, as he imagin'd it would; for the King alarm'd at the danger of so important a place (it being very much to be fear'd his ill neighbours would take the advantage of the evil intelligence betwixt the Governour and the people, to seize the Town, resolv'd to go thither in person; and accordingly with the Queen, and all the Court set forward in the beginning of the year 1603. A journey in which the Duke of *Espernon* was too much concern'd to stay behind; and in the issue whereof *Sobole* was depos'd from his Government, with a pardon for all that was pass'd; which his ill carriage had made the reward of his Service, and all the recompense he receiv'd for so brave a Command. After his departure his Majesty resolv'd himself to dispose of his places; a thing wherein the Duke of *Espernon's* interest did most of all consist, who till that time had ever had the disposition of all Offices inferiour to his own in that Government; and by that means had been absolute  
over

over the City: but his Authority being suspected to the King, who would have no other than his own acknowledg'd in his Kingdom, his Majesty gave the Duke to understand, that *Sobole* having resign'd unto him his Lieutenancy to the Government of the City, and Cittadel of *Metz*, and the *Messin* Country, which his Majesty had formerly seated him in, he was now resolv'd to settle men of Condition, and approv'd Fidelity in his room, always reserving (which his Majesty would by no means diminish) for the Duke his Authority in the place; that in order thereunto he had cast his eye upon the two Brothers *les Sieurs de Montigny*, and *d'Arquien*; to the first of which he would give his Lieutenancy to the City, and Country; and to the other the command of the Cittadel: but that the one and the other should render him an obedience equal to his own person. The Duke, having well enough foreseen how things would be, had nothing to oppose against his Majesties Royal Pleasure; but without contradiction gave way to necessity, and with patience (the only remedy remain'd) was content to expect some happy opportunity that might re-establish him in the possession of a place so important to his fortune, and whereof he saw himself at present absolutely depriv'd.

Anno  
1603.

During his Majesties abode at *Metz*, the Provincial of the Fathers Jesuits was by the Duke of *Espernon* presented to him; where the proposition prefer'd by the Provincial for the re-establishment of his fraternity in *France*, was so promoted by the Duke's mediation, that it was concluded on to his great satisfaction. Neither was this the first good office the Duke had done them, nor the sole testimony he had given of his affection, and respect to that Society; he having ever been one of their most constant, and most powerful Protectors in the time of their persecution, as he was one of their principal benefactors after their re-establishment. *Metz*, that ever till then had made many, and almost invincible difficulties of ever admitting them into their Corporation, receiv'd them upon the Duke's single accompt, as he also procur'd their admission into *Angoulesme* before he left that Government: Their Colledge of *Xaints* has no other foundation than what he bestow'd upon it of four thousand Livers a year in two fair Benefices, which put all together have rendred him one of the principal Benefactors of that Society, by the acknowledg-ment, and testimony of the most ancient, and most eminent men of the Order.

The variety of accidents, and business that had befallen the King in these last years, were yet too few to take him wholly up,

H h

The state of  
Affairs at  
Court dur-  
ing the  
Peace.

Anno  
1603. he still found leisure enough for his delights ; and although he himself took a particular accompt of all Affairs, and was ever the main director in all things ; yet his abilities (which nothing was too big for) rendered him so excellent at dispatch, that he still made way for his vacation and pleasure. The Peace concluded with all his Neighbours, and his domestick troubles extinguish'd, either by the punishment of the offenders, or by the excess of his own clemency, gave him now sufficient leisure to look after the reformation of such abuses as were crept into the state during the licence of War ; an employment which, how becoming soever his Royal care, and how profitable soever to the Kingdom, took up but a very inconsiderable part of his time, the rest being dedicated to the Chace, to play, and to the diversions of Love : entertainments that (as the passions, and humours of Princes (who are the great examples of their people) do easily insinuate themselves into their Subjects Affections, or at least their imitation) were grown so much in fashion at Court, that there was scarce any talk of any other thing ; and if they had, during this Voyage to Metz, suffer'd a little intermission, they were, at the return of the Court to Paris, more than ever set on foot. It has been believ'd, that though the King in his hunting, and his Mistresses altogether follow'd the proclivity of his own nature ; yet that for what concern'd play, he had in that as much design at least, as inclination. I have already told you, that his Majesty having set down the bringing low the great men of his Kingdom by imperceptible ways, to render them more obedient, for a Maxime of State, had put them upon the humour of Building, to drain their purses : and doubtless his engaging them in play, was in order to the same design : amongst whom the Duke of *Espernon*, who already felt the smart of the first, and that very well understood his Majesties meaning in the latter, refus'd not nevertheless to make one for his Master's satisfaction : but if he did it at first meerly out of compliance, his ill fortune at last made it become his revenge, and enclin'd him so passionately to it, that he found himself in the end engag'd in so extraordinary losses, as were no little inconvenience to him. His Majesty would often do him the honour to play at his house, ever inviting him to all his Matches : And whether he retir'd to *Zamet*, or to any other place to evade the tumult of Majesty and Greatness, the Duke of *Espernon* was always the first invited ; so that although he was not in favour, he was nevertheless in great esteem : of which one of the most signal testimonies he could receive, was the honour the King did him in permitting him to enter the *Louvre* in his Coach ; a favour till

till this time reserv'd only for the Princes of the Blood, exclusively to all other persons of the Kingdom, the Duke being the first that unlock'd this Priviledge for the Dukes, and Peers, though he enjoy'd it alone during the King's life; his Majesty, though often importun'd by others of the same quality, for the same honour, never consenting to have it drawn into example. 'Tis true, that after the King's death, the Queen Regent, to accommodate herself to the time, was content to abate much of the Royal State, and allow'd the Dukes, and Peers, and Officers of the Crown, the same Priviledge: but the respect to the Duke's person was that which first procur'd them that indulgence.

Anno  
1603.

A famous Gamester call'd *Pimentel*, an *Italian*, came at this time into *France*, whose dexterity in gulling the Court was such, that I cannot forbear to mention him in this place. 'Tis said, and it is perfectly true, that this Cavalier hearing what an humour of play reign'd at the *French* Court, caus'd a great number of false Dice to be made, of which he himself only knew the high, and the low runners, hiring men to carry them into *France*, where after they had bought up, and convey'd away all that were in *Paris*, he supply'd all the Shops with his own: By which means having subjected the spirit of Play, and ty'd the hands of Fortune, he arriv'd at last in *France*; where insinuating himself into the Court, he was by some of his own Nation, who had great interest there, soon brought acquainted with the King. Some have believ'd his Majesty understood the man well enough, and was content to admit him for a Gamester, the better to bring about his own design of impoverishing the Lords of his Court, whose Riches grew suspected to him. The Duke of *Espernon* was one from whom he drew the most considerable summes; who after having got all his ready mony, and many of his Jewels, he moreover won of him a piece of *Ambergris*, to the value of 20000. Crowns, the greatest that ever was seen in Europe; and which the Republick of *Venice*, to whom it was after sold, preserve to this day in their Treasure for a great rarity. The Duke had not long been Master of it; a Country fellow that had found it upon the Coast of *Medoc*, having but a little before brought it to him, as a thing due to the House of *Candale*; of which the Duke was now the head. This Ancient and Illustrious Family, are possessors of many goodly Mannors in *Guienne*, and principally in the Country of *Medoc*, with as ample priviledges as belong to any of the greatest Territories of the Kingdom; of which one of the most honourable is that of the Admiralty, which might also have been one of the most profitable, had the Duke when the *Spanish* Carricks suffer'd

The story of  
*Pimentel.*

Anno

1603.



Shipwrack upon that Coast in the year 1627 been countenanc'd in his right; which, however at that time set aside, derives to him nevertheless from a Title of above 300. years standing, to all the wracks that should happen any where within the extent of above fifty Leagues upon the Coast that bounds this Territory. But how just soever his claim might be, it was impossible for him to justifie his title against the Power, that then under his Majesties name exercis'd a more than Sovereign Authority. The Sea of *Medoc*, one of the most tempestuous of the Ocean, famous for Shipwracks, and for that reason call'd *La Mer Sauvage*, or the wild Sea, hath usually in stormy weather cast up Ambergris, and the best in the world, upon that Coast; a truth I can with confidence aver, after having been an eye-witness of the difference betwixt that, and the other which was brought from the Indies in the Carricks. The people of the Country, by the profit invited to this search, never fail, after a storm to rake all along the Shoar for this Commodity, wherein they have often very good fortune; I having seen in my time a piece, which though much less than that I have already mention'd, weigh'd above twenty pound, and was valued at above 20000. Livers, found by a Country fellow in the year 1625. wherein he did all he could to cheat the Lord of his due; to whom two thirds of the thing found does of right belong, and the third to the finder, if he make a faithful discovery: but this fellow's fraud being found out, the Duke was by justice favour'd in his claim, and made master of the whole.

The advancement of Philip Cospean Bishop of Lizieux by the Duke of Effpernon's means.

Whilst the Duke on the one hand lost his Mony and Jewels at play, his liberality at the same time acquir'd a Treasure sufficient to recompense those losses, and that was the friendship of *Messire Philip Cospean*, first Bishop of *Aire*, afterwards of *Nantes*, and lastly of *Lizieux*, where a few years since he died in as high a reputation of Sanctity and Learning, as any Prelate of his time. This good Bishop was at this time a young man, newly arriv'd from *Mons* in *Hainault*, where he was born; who having run through his course of Study at *Lovain*, under the tuition of *Justus Lipsius*, with great applause, had assurance enough to trust himself upon the great Theatre of Europe, and resolv'd upon a Journey to *Paris*: Thither being come, he first undertook the Education of *Messieurs de Ramboüillet*, and *du Fargis*, Pupils worthy of so excellent a Tutor; when from private Precepts, proceeding to publick Lectures, he became Philosophy Reader, which he so admirably perform'd, that he soon eclips'd the Reputation of the most famous Doctors of his time. *Le Plessis Bauffonnere*, who in the profession of Arms retain'd yet a great inclination to Learn-

Learning; being invited by *Cospean's* Reputation to his Lectures, a particular friendship was soon contracted betwixt them; under the priviledge of which *Le Plessis* importun'd *Cospean* to leave the Schools, and to mount the Pulpit, encouraging his modesty with the applause he might infallibly promise to himself from the equity and opinion of all judicious men. With much ado *Cospean* was at last overcome by his Friends perswasions, so that he preach'd, and in a short time got so high a repute, that *le Plessis* made no difficulty to invite the Duke his Master to hear a stranger preach, that had no name at Court. The Duke went the first time to hear him upon *le Plessis* account, where being highly satisfied with the Eloquence of this new Orator, he afterwards drew most of the Court to hear him, where *Cospean* out-stripping the expectation of all his Auditories, arriv'd in a short space to such a degree of Reputation, that he became the model of quaint Preaching; and doubtless by this stranger Eloquence first mounted the Pulpit in *France*. The Duke of *Espernon*, not content only to countenance the Reputation of so deserving a man, would further by his bounty advance a Vertue, that he had first brought into the light; wherefore the Bishoprick of *Aire* having been some time vacant by the decease of *Francis de Foix*, and *de Candale*, and this Dignity being at his dispose, he preferr'd the Merit of his Friend, to the consideration and respect of many men of Quality, his Relations; and unknown to *Cospean*, dispatch'd his *Mandamus* to the Bishoprick, procur'd Bulls from *Rome* at his own Charge, and gave him Furniture and Equipage necessary for the support of his Dignity, which would otherwise have been very chargeable to him. A bounty this good Prelate would often mention to me in the story of his Life, with the greatest acknowledgment; and never was man more grateful for a Benefit, than he made it appear he was for this all the days of his life. Neither if he, upon all occasions, highly magnified the Duke's Liberality, was the Duke less satisfied with his good Fortune, that had given him so happy an opportunity to oblige so excellent a man; from whom, I have often heard him declare, he receiv'd more assistance in his Affairs, more sweetness, and satisfaction in his conversation, and more comfort in his afflictions, than from all the advantages he had deriv'd from Fortune besides, during the whole course of his long life.

All these things past during the calm the Court at this time liv'd in, a tranquillity wherein the King, who by the sole reputation of his name kept all things quiet abroad, and who had very little to do at home, began seriously to think of improving his Revenue,  
and

Anno

1603.



*Anno* and of filling his Treasure; his great, and noble courage suggesting  
 1603. to him generous designs enough of employing it one day to the  
 glory of his own name, and to the advantage of his Crown and  
 Kingdom. A time wherein the presence of his great Ministers  
 being not very necessary at Court, where all things were carried on  
 by his Majesties own particular conduct, every man had leisure  
 to look after his own private affairs.

*Anno* It was after the foremention'd transactions that hapned in the  
 1604. Years 1602. and 1603. that the Duke of *Espenon*, willing to share  
 in the liberty of the time, departed in the latter end of the last in-  
 to his Governments of *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois*; where' bear-  
 ing still in mind the affront offer'd him by the *Mareschal d'Ornano*,  
 and thinking himself not clear in his Reputation, unless he return'd  
 again to *Bordeaux* to renew the match had before by the *Mares-*  
*chals* morosity been broken off, he went again to *Bordeaux* in the  
 beginning of the year 1604. to make ready for a Carnival; to  
 which he had invited a far greater number of Nobility, and Gen-  
 ttry than before, and where the preparation for Masques, Run-  
 ning at the Ring, Balls, and Feasting, were made with great  
 pomp, and vast expense. But the *Mareschal*, notwithstanding the  
 Orders he had receiv'd from the King, conceiving this business,  
 what gloss soever might be put upon it, would be interpreted to  
 his disgrace, and would pass in the opinions of men at honour for  
 a Bravado, and an affront to him in his Government, could by  
 no means perswade himself to digest it, which made him very im-  
 portant with the King, that his Majesty would please to absolve  
 him from so injurious a condition; a thing the King (who had  
 him in great esteem) would as willingly have done: But his  
 Royal Word being already pass'd to the Duke, whom he knew  
 to be as obstinate as the other, in things wherein his Honour was  
 concern'd, and not knowing how at once to satisfie two so dif-  
 ferent humours, matters were in all apparence going into as ill  
 terms as at first, when an accident fell out that soon took the Duke  
 off all thoughts of that Solemnity. The Dutcheß of *Bar* the  
 King's only Sister, hapned to dye at this time which gave the  
 King occasion to write to the Duke of *Espenon*, that he assur'd  
 himself all such good Subjects and Servants, as he was, would ra-  
 ther lament with him for the los of so dear a Relation, than to  
 think of Mirth and publick Solemnities of Joy, at so unseason-  
 able a time; a command so much the easier for the Duke to obey,  
 by how much he himself had particular reason to be really afflict-  
 ed at the death of that excellent Lady. So that by this accident the  
*Mareschal d'Ornano* saw himself disingag'd from one of the greatest  
 extre-



extremities he had ever found himself involv'd in, it having been otherwise necessary for him, either absolutely to disobey the King, which he could not have done without incurring his disgrace, or patiently to submit to an affront he himself had declar'd to be the greatest he could possibly receive; and that ('tis said) he was resolv'd to have avoided by laying down his Commission: such as were most perfect in his passionate nature being confident, had it come to the push, he would certainly have ransom'd himself from that submission at the price of his Fortune.

Anno

1604.

The Duke continued some time after this in *Guienne*, and from thence returned into *Angoumois*, where he spent the remainder of the year, without being call'd thence upon any publick occasion. All things (as has been said) were quiet, and the King seem'd to be wholly taken up, with the care of husbanding and filling his Exchequer; wherein though some believ'd him to be meerly carried on by a natural inclination to the love of mony; yet his designs which a few years after disclos'd themselves gave the world an accompt, that there was more of design than avarice in the exact care he took to moderate the excessive expense had by his predecessor been introduc'd into the Kingdom. The Duke of *Espernon* nevertheless could have wish'd his Majesty had been more open handed to the Garrisons in his Government, those of *Angoulesme*, and *Xaintes* being so ill paid that they could hardly subsist; which putting him into an apprehension, that those places (become now as it were Frontier Towns, since those of the Reformed Religion had made a kind of separation in the State, of which *Rochelle* seem'd to be the Metropolitan City) might be lost in his hands, he continually represented to the King the danger those Cities were in, but without being regarded at all; which made him in the beginning of the ensuing year resolve upon a Journey to Court, to try, if in person, and by word of mouth he could not prevail more, than by continual importunities in writing he had hitherto done: where being arriv'd, and presenting himself before the King, his Majesty as'd him in what condition he had left his Governments? to whom the Duke reply'd, That they could not possibly be in a worse; the necessity of the Souldiery in Garrison being so great that he durst not undertake for the security of those places committed to his charge. To which the King having made answer, That they were us'd as others were: The Duke (who very well knew the difference his Majesty made betwixt his Catholick Garrisons, and the neighbouring places possess'd by those of the Reform'd Religion) took the liberty to tell him, that those who had so inform'd his Majesty had given him a very ill accompt

*Anno* 1604. *compt of his Affairs, the Garrisons of those of the Religion, who perhaps were arm'd to the prejudice of his Service, being nothing in Afrear, whilst the Catholicks who were firm in their obedience, were ready to perish for want of pay. The King nettled at so tart a reply, and angry that the Duke should give him so publick a reproach in the discovery of a truth, he had a mind, for many reasons, should have been conceal'd, suffer'd himself to be so far transported by his passion, that he could not forbear to tell the Duke, "He was perverse, and importunate: That he sought all "occasions to displeas[e] him: That he would have done him "a greater kindness to have kept still at the distance he was at, "than to come into his presence only to offend him; and for the "close of all, that he had long observ'd he did not love him. To which the Duke without being thunder-struck at the King's anger, which might perhaps have surpriz'd another man, less confident of his Fidelity than he, insisting upon the last words, answered coldly, but after a serious manner, "Sir, your Majesty "has not a more faithful Subject than my self in your Kingdom, "and I had rather die, than do any thing contrary to the least "particle of my duty: But Sir, for what concerns friendship, "your Majesty knows very well, that is a thing not to be acquir'd but by Friendship. At so bold, and generous an answer, there was none who was not astonish'd at the Duke's freedom, and that was not ready to condemn his rashness; though the King himself, who knew how to put a just value upon great actions, and how to interpret language of this nature, was of a more favourable opinion, and gave no reply: but on the contrary, reflecting upon what the Duke had said, converted his indignation into esteem; and interpreting what others thought temerity, for an effect of honest liberty, proceeding from a good conscience, resolv'd to make himself belov'd, by the way the Duke had laid him down, and from that time forward began to use him much better, than he had ever done. Neither was the Duke wanting on his part, but perceiving his Majesties good disposition towards him, and adding the spur of affection to what he had formerly perform'd upon the meer accompt of duty, he at last obtain'd so great a share in his Majesties favour, and good opinion, that before his death he receiv'd as many testimonies of his Royal good Will and Confidence, as any other person of his condition whatsoever in the Kingdom.*

A bold answer from the Duke to the King, well receiv'd, and turn'd to his advantage.

*Anno* 1605. The Duke's expedition into *Limousin*.

This confidence began soon after to appear, by the command the King was pleas'd to give the Duke over the Horse and Foot he sent into *Limousin*; when tir'd out with the continual disorders, the

the excess of his clemency begat every day in his Kingdom, he was resolv'd to take order once for all, and by a severe and exemplary punishment to quiet the Rebellion. some of *Monsieur de Bouillon's* Servants openly maintain'd after his departure out of the Kingdom in *Perigord*, *Quercy*, and *Limousin*. The *Mareschal de Bouillon* was seiz'd of many very fair possessions, and had many Friends and Servants in those Provinces; where the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons being also naturally inclin'd to Arms, it was no hard matter to perswade them into commotion.

Anno  
1605.

The King had been given to understand, that under the pretense of seeking protection only from the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and the *Swisse Cantons*; the *Mareschal* endeavour'd to interest them in the Quarrel of those of the Religion in *France*, by possessing them (as it was said) that since the King's Conversion, their usage was far different from what it had formerly been, and the liberty of Conscience far more restrain'd, than it us'd to be. Neither did his Majesty doubt, but that all of his opinion in his Kingdom, would easily be induc'd to follow the Duke of *Bouillon's* discontent, who had acquir'd an absolute reputation among them. He farther saw that many Catholics made no scruple to joyn with him, to the end they might re-enjoy the licence of War, which would by no means be allow'd them in the better times of Peace: He knew that great summes of mony were distributed for the railing of men; which mony was suspected to come from *Spain*, from whence all the intestine broils of his Kingdom had ever been countenanc'd, and promoted. Evil dispositions, that being all joyn'd together, were sufficient to produce great disorders in the State, and to reduce the King in spite of his heart to the necessity of a Civil War. His Majesty therefore thinking it very convenient to prevent all these disorders, and to suffocate them in their Birth, resolv'd to go in person to *Limousin*, either by his Presence to appease, or by his Authority to suppress the begun Commotions: but to dispose them to their obedience if possible before his arrival, to chastise some Offenders without drawing the Odium immediately upon himself, and to reduce every one to his Duty; he order'd the Duke of *Espernon* to go before with six Companies only of his Regiment of Guards, and four Troops of Horse; not doubting but with this little Body, together with the Duke's Interest (which was very considerable in those parts, of which some places were under his own Government) he would be able to give a better accompt of his Expedition, than another perhaps could do with greater Forces. And to the end that his Justice might accompany his Arms,

*Anno* he joyn'd to the Duke *Jean Jaques de Mesmes Seigneur de Roissy*,  
*1605.* Master of Requests, with Commission of Oyer and Terminer to  
 sit upon the Life, and Death of the Offenders. This was he so  
 famous for his Integrity, and Valour, that was afterwards Doyen  
 to the Council of State, where, though the esteem every one  
 had of his Vertue was very great; yet was it no more, than  
 was due to his merit; although afterwards in the progress of a  
 long life, he had this honour added to the rest he enjoy'd, to see  
 his name illustrated by a noble Posterity; not any man scarce of  
 his condition in the Kingdom having supply'd the State with so  
 great and able Ministers. The Duke having taken his leave of  
 the King, advanc'd into *Limousin*; where he would have *Crequy*  
 Camp-Master to the Regiment of Guards to command in per-  
 son the Forces he took along with him, and where the most tur-  
 bulent spirits, at his unexpected arrival (which by his diligence  
 had almost got the start of any intelligence of his coming) medi-  
 tated nothing less than their defense; some of the most advis'd  
 fearing to have to do with the Duke, or *de Roissy*, appeal'd to his  
 Majesties mercy, and by the acknowledgement of their offense,  
 obtain'd their Pardon; others retir'd themselves to the Duke *de*  
*Bouillon* to *Sedan*, the most imprudent, or the most unfortunate  
 only falling into the hands of Justice. Of which five or six suf-  
 fer'd death, though many others were punish'd by more mode-  
 rate ways: so that before the King's arrival at *Limoges*, all those  
 Countries, that before breath'd nothing but Seditious and Disor-  
 der, were now so calm and still, that his Majesty had nothing to  
 do, but by his Clemency to settle Rebels, newly reclaim'd from  
 their Disobedience, in their Duty, and to reward his faithful  
 Subjects, by the demonstrations of his Grace and Favour.

*The end of the Fifth Book.*



THE  
H I S T O R Y  
Of the LIFE of the  
Duke of Espernon.

The Sixth Book.

**T**HE Affairs of *Limoufin*, that had taken up the Duke of *Espernon* the whole year, having been compos'd with the facility you have heard, the King return'd again to *Paris*, attended by the Duke, who had now nothing left to do behind. The antiquated enmity, that so many years had been nourish'd betwixt the House of *Guise* and him, continued still, which was ready to discover it self upon every light occasion, and almost as oft as they met to come to a bustle betwixt them: In all which disputes, the Duke (notwithstanding that that Illustrious Family, by the greatness of their Birth, and by their Offices in the State, by their vast possessions in the Kingdom, and above all by the great number of generous Princes of which it was compos'd, as also by the potency of their Alliances, made up a great part of the Court) would never give them the least ground, but ever sustain'd their power with great Spirit, and Vigour; neither did he want such a number of Relations, and Servants, as might secure him from the apprehension.

Anno  
1605.

A dispute  
betwixt the  
Duke of  
*Espernon*  
and the  
Duke of  
*Guise*.

Anno  
1605.



of the greatness of any. He had sometime before this had a brisk dispute with the Duke of *Guise*, the King being at *Lyons*, which proceeded so far, that the Duke of *Espernon* by the hands of *la Pierre*, one of the Duke's Gentlemen, receiv'd a Challenge from him, though the Quarrel had been so publick, and the Duke of *Guise* was so narrowly watch'd by his Friends, that he could not get out into the Field; wherein the Duke of *Espernon* was better serv'd by his, who permitted him to go out of the City with *Gobas*, whom he took with him for his second: but being call'd back by the King's Command, who would himself compose their difference, that Quarrel was soon at an end.

Another  
quarrel be-  
twixt the  
Duke of *Ef-  
pernon*, and  
the Prince  
of *Joinville*.

There hapned at this time another, betwixt the Duke of *Espernon*, and the Prince of *Joinville*, now Duke of *Chevreuse*, and Brother to the Duke of *Guise*; for this Prince having staid the Coach of a Woman of Quality at the outer Gate of the *Louvre*, one night that the King had appointed a great Dancing at Court, and the Duke coming out, with the Duke of *Montpensier* to go home, the Ladies Coach so stopt the Gate, that the Duke's could not possibly pass, wherefore he commanded the Coachman to make way: But the Duke of *Chevreuse*, who was lean'd upon one of the Boots of the Coach, on the dark side where he could not be perceiv'd, commanded the Coachman not to stir, seeking (as it was plain enough) out of youthful bravery, an occasion to quarrel: nor did the Duke fail to give him as good a one, as he could desire; for not being able longer to endure the insolency of so base a fellow, he cudgell'd the Coachman so well, that he forc'd him at last to give back. The Prince of *Joinville*, who perhaps forbore out of respect to the Duke of *Montpensier*, appear'd not at all in the business at that time; but in the morning sent the Gentleman of his Horse, *le Comté* by name, to question the Duke about it: The Duke was yet in his bed, and asleep when the Gentleman came, but being wak'd by the Groom of his Chamber, who never refus'd admittance to any, he sent for him to his bed-side; where being come, the Gentleman told him that he was sent by the Prince of *Joinville* his Master, to know, if when he beat the Coachman over night, he did it to affront him? To which the Duke returning no answer, but only asking him where his Master was? and the other having answered that he staid at the foot of *Montmartre* with a good Horse, and a good Sword to expect him, he, without more words leap'd out of his Bed, dress'd himself in the Gentleman's presence, and having led him into his Armory, took out thence two Swords of equal length, whereof he gave him the choice; by which time the Master of his own Horse, being also  
come

come to him, they went all three together to the place. Being there come, the Duke found the Prince *de Joinville* ready to receive him, their Swords were already drawn, and they were just going to it; when the Prince, who had his face towards *Paris*, seeing a Party of Horse coming that way, and suspecting it was with an intent to prevent them, shew'd them to the Duke, telling him withal that they must spur to gain the *Bois de Boulogne*, and without more words turn'd his Horse that way. The Duke, who by the distance of those he saw, conceiv'd they had yet time enough to end their dispute before they could come in to interrupt them, had a great mind, without going further, to have dispatch'd the business there: but being necessitated to follow the Prince, who was already upon the gallop towards the Wood, he spur'd after, though they could not make such haste, but that they were interrupted before they could come there, and by their Friends carried back to the City. Where the King, having notice of their Quarrel, commanded them both to the *Louvre*, and there took up the business, making them embrace in his presence, and promise to be good friends. That which was most remarkable on the Duke's side in this occasion was, that the number of those who declar'd themselves of his Party was so great, that they took up all the space betwixt the *Roule*, to the *Louvre*; whilst the Duke of *Joinville* was only countenanc'd by those of his own Relation, whose interest in *Paris* was at this time very much declin'd, from what it had formerly been in the life of the Duke his Father.


Anno  
1605.

Although the residence of this great City was very pleasing to the King, yet could not the delights that entertain'd him there, detain his Majesty from visiting all parts of his Kingdom, where he conceiv'd his presence to be necessary for the advancement of his Affairs. We saw him the last year in *Limousin*, and this invited him into *Champagne*, and as far as *Sedan*, to reduce the Duke of *Boüillon* to his duty. This Duke keeping himself still at a distance from the Court, and refractory to several Summons his Majesty had sent him to make his appearance, and by justifying himself to obtain his favour, it was plain that his refusing to come, was a contempt to the Sovereign Authority, and that therefore his Majesty in the vindication of his own honour, was oblig'd to chastize him. Neither did he longer defer for that purpose to make his preparation for a Journey to *Sedan*. In this expedition the Duke of *Espernon*, whom the King began now much better to relish, and whose admirable care, and vigilancy, upon all occasions, gave his Majesty infinite satisfaction, had the command of the Vant-Guard committed to him, and had matters proceeded to the ne-

Anno  
1606.

The King makes an expedition to *Sedan*, wherein the command of the Vant-Guard is committed to the Duke of *Espernon*.

cessity

*Anno*  
1606.  cessity of a Siege, was design'd for one of the most important Quarters against the Town: but the Duke of *Boüillon* having at last shut himself up in the place, and not willing to pull upon himself the utmost effects of the King's indignation, had recourse to his mercy; and by his submissions, together with the Queens intercession (who ordinarily accompanied the King in all his Motions) obtain'd of his Majesty an indemnity for all things past, upon the most favourable terms he could himself expect, or desire. Whereupon he receiv'd the King into the City the seventh of *April* 1606. with a Garrison of 300. men, which by the condition of the Accommodation were to remain four years in the Castle; during which time his Majesty would make tryal of this new Convert's perseverance in his duty: but that long space was, by his Majesties favour, reduc'd to a few months, the bounty of this generous Prince ever contracting the term of mens disgraces; his displeasure being short liv'd, and of no continuance; but his noble nature being ever constant to oblige all his Subjects.

*Anno*  
1607. Though the following year was pass'd over without any disturbance in the Kingdom; yet did his Majesties Name, and Reputation give him opportunity, and by his Authority, Power, to compose one of the most dangerous differences, that could possibly have hapned amongst Christian Princes, and that was the falling out betwixt the Pope *Paul* the V. and the Republick of *Venice*: a disorder, that had it not in time been taken up, would infallibly have involv'd all Christendom in the Quarrel, and it is infinitely to be fear'd, have given the *Turk* opportunity in so great a confusion to have made a formidable advance into the very heart of Europe. A danger that his Majesty (than whom none was clearer sighted) very well foresaw, and (retaining a grateful memory of the obligations he had receiv'd, both from the Holy Sea, and that Republick at his advancement to the Crown) as soon undertook to interpose betwixt those two powerful adversaries. The business was carried on by the mediation of the Cardinal *de Joyeuse*, and Cardinal *Perron*; wherein the one, and the other proceeding according to his Majesties wise direction, their endeavours were at last crown'd with success, and all things concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, but chiefly to the Honour of *France*; which now appear'd to be the Arbitrer of all the Estates of Europe. And indeed in those times all things in a manner were sway'd by his Majesties will; his desire being almost a rule to all Princes in all Affairs: Neither was there in the whole world a Kingdom to be found more glorious, more flourishing, or more happy,



happy, than that of *France*, during the Reign of this mighty Prince.

Yet could not all this reputation abroad secure him from afflictions at home; neither could his greatness and bounty exempt him from the power of Death; who first exercising his cruelty upon some of his Family, discharg'd in the end his whole rage and fury upon his own person. The precedent year had ravish'd from him one of the Princes his Children, and this depriv'd him of the Duke of *Montpensier* his Cousin; a Prince for whom his Majesty had as great a kindness, as for any whatsoever of his Blood, as he made it appear by the true sorrow he manifested for his death: but the Duke of *Espernon* was afflicted beyond all expression. I have already given an accompt of the Alliance betwixt these two, and of the particular Friendship that Alliance begot, I shall now further say, they were inseparable in their conversation, their Interests went ever hand in hand with one another, and it will be hard to find a Friendship so pure, and constant betwixt two private persons, as they ever preserved entire, in the corruptions and revolutions of the Court. Neither could the friendship of a Prince of his extraction and vertue be otherwise than of great importance to the Duke; whose prosperity and advancement had procur'd him so much envy, and consequently so many enemies: yet was he constrain'd to submit to the inevitable necessity of death, and to bear with patience a loss for which there was no other remedy.

This accident was yet follow'd by another the ensuing year, at which the Duke was almost equally afflicted: *Pere Ange de Joyeuse*, Father in-law to the Duke of *Montpensier*, had been return'd into the Order of Fathers Capuchins from the year 1599. from which time he had continued in the austerity of his Canon with so great zeal and sanctity, that he was become a president of Vertue, and Holy Living to all the Religious Men of his Order: Yet did he not (when returning to the observation of his Vow, he threw off all worldly vanities, and desires) banish from his breast those true affections which Nature and Reason had planted in his heart: but on the contrary had ever in his greatest retirement cherish'd the Duke's friendship, as if he had been his true Brother in Blood, as he was in Alliance and Affection. Neither was the Duke on his part less sedulous to improve so vertuous an Interest, ever honouring, and loving him, even in his penitential Sack-cloath, at as high a rate, as when he liv'd in the greatest Lustre, in the most honourable employments; and applying himself with greater diligence to the Interests of his House, and to the advancement of his Daughter, than when he himself liv'd upon the great Theatre

Anno  
1607.

The death  
of the Duke  
of *Montpen-*  
*sier.*

Anno  
1608.

of

Anno  
1608.

The death  
of *Pere An-  
ge de Joyeuse*  
the Duke's  
Brother-  
in-law.

of the busie world : so that in different capacities of living, their friendship continued still one, and the same, till death came to cut the knot, which alone had power to dissolve it. This Holy man died at *Rivoly* in *Piedmont*, in his return from *Rome*, in great reputation of Sanctity and Vertue, which has since by time been made more manifest to all.

Anno  
1609.

The following year affords so little considerable to be said of the Duke of *Espernon* in particular (the Court being at this time wrap'd in so great a calm and security, that there is nothing of moment to be reported of any save the King himself) that it might well enough be pass'd over in silence : But having hitherto found out something or other to record in the foregoing years, I had rather travel, not out of my subject only, but also out of the affairs of the Kingdom, than to omit the most glorious proof his Majesty could possibly give of his Authority with all the Princes, and States of Christendom in the conclusion of the Truce betwixt the Crown of *Spain*, and the States of the United Provinces.

This great affair had been fruitlessly propos'd almost from the very first bustle of Arms in that Country; neither had endeavours been wanting even in the heat of the most bloody executions (that the fury of War has perhaps produc'd in any part of Europe) for the effecting of so good a work, Treaties of Accommodation having every year, during those troubles been constantly by some or other set on foot : but the animosity of Factions, the difference of Religions, and the variety of Events, that had ever kept Affairs on both sides as it were in-equal balance, had so exasperated the minds of men, that scarce any proposition of Peace would be endur'd. A work, it seems, reserv'd to be an additional Ray to the King's Glory, whose reputation only could cut the knot of all those difficulties. *Spain* had great need of Peace, which having often, without interestting the King in the Affair, sought in vain, he was in fine constrain'd to apply himself to him to procure it, and wholly to submit all things to his Arbitration. A task the King (very well satisfied with so high, and publick an acknowledgment of his power) as readily undertook, and to that purpose dispatch'd away President *Janin*, and the *Sieur de Reissy*, to manage the Work : by whose prudent conduct, fortified by their Masters Reputation, they effected that by the weight of Authority, which perhaps their dexterity (how great soever) without great labour and expence of much time, could not otherwise have brought to pass. So that things were reduc'd to the point the parties concern'd could themselves desire; from whence

The Truce  
betwixt  
*Spain* and  
*Holland*  
concluded  
by the  
King's me-  
diation.

whence followed an universal Peace amongst all Christian Princes.

Anno

1609.

Anno

1610.

It was into this tranquille condition, that the Affairs of Europe were first to be wrought, before the King could begin to form it into the new mould he had long design'd; for this great Prince, born to reconcile Monarchy and Justice, being unable to endure the proud Authority, with which the Crown of *Spain* loded it over all her Neighbours, and more impatient that by the expansion of his Empire the *Spaniard* should reap advantages, which he conceiv'd were more justly due to his Birth, and Valour, he resolv'd to clip the wings of this soaring greatness, to make him give back those Territories he usurp'd from his Neighbours, to restore the Republicks their ancient liberty, and finally to reduce his power to the limits of his primitive possession. This in short is all that can be said of the King's designs, and all that such as conceiv'd they penetrated deepest into his most private thoughts, could possibly divine; it being most certain that he discover'd the bottom of his design to none, which had it been communicated to any, the Duke of *Espernon* would doubtless in this conjuncture have participated of the trust: but as this great Prince would execute all things in his own person, so did he here reserve to himself the secret of his resolutions; insomuch that though his Army was all ready drawn into the Field, that he himself was immediately to come up to them, and that in all probability there would be sudden action; yet durst no one venture positively to determine whither that preparation was directed, or who was to feel the first edge of his Arms: neither shall I presume to deliver these conjectures for truth, nor suffer my curiosity to transgress the bounds this mighty Prince in his wisdom prescrib'd even to the most faithful Ministers of his Kingdom.

The King makes great preparation for War.

This brave and laudable ambition having long possess'd his generous heart, he had from the first Idea of his design wisely laid up for the means to effect it, that it might succeed to his glory: and to that end, from the time peace was first settled in his Kingdom, had been gathering, and had now got together a prodigious Treasure: His Artillery and Ammunitions were all ready, and in equipage fit to execute his vast designs. *France* was able to furnish him with an infinite number of old Souldiers; neither, in the fair weather he had been so solicitous to maintain at home, had he forgot to take a particular care of breeding so many brave Captains, and good Souldiers in the Low-Country-Wars, as were sufficient, in a very short time, to bring such raw men as should be rais'd, into very good discipline. Besides the Forces of his own

Anno 1610. Kingdom, he had made a League with all the neighbouring Princes : The Duke of *Savoy*, the Republick of *Venice*, the Duke of *Florence*, and almost all the Princes of *Italy*, the Prince of *Orange*, and most of the Princes of *Germany*, with the *Hanse-Towns* of the Empire were engag'd to joyn with him : And the King of *England* had made great preparation in favour of his designs ; so that in all apparence, what, and how great soever these designs might be, they were very likely to succeed.


Nothing then being wanting, but a pretense to give colour to his action, the death of the Dukes of *Clèves*, soon supply'd him with one as good as he could desire ; for after his death, the succession to his Dukedom being pretended to by all his Brothers-in-law, who were five, the Marquis of *Brandebourg*, the Duke of *Newbourg*, the Count *Palatine*, the Duke of *Deux Ponts*, and the Marquis of *Burgau* ; all these Princes agreed to appeal to the King, and to stand to his Arbitration: but whilst they were pleading their titles in the Court of *France*, the Emperour (pretending all vacant Jurisdicions to be Fiefs of the Empire, and that for want of Heirs Males, he had right to seize them in trust) had there establish'd the Arch-Duke *Leopold* his Cousin, as his Deputy and Governour, for, and under him : in order to which delegation the Arch-Duke had already, by the assistance of the *Austrian* Forces, possess'd himself of the best part of the Dutchy by the taking of *Juliers* ; notwithstanding that the King had publickly declar'd, he desir'd things might remain suspended, till every man's Title was examin'd, and the true Heir could be known. And this was in effect, all the reason could be given for this mighty preparation, though an Army consisting of forty thousand *French* Foot, ten thousand *Swisse*, ten thousand Horse, and fifty pieces of Cannon, with their Equipage ; together with the Leavies the confederate Princes were still, on all hands preparing to joyn with him ; giving all the world to understand, that so great Forces were design'd for some other end, than only for the Accommodation of a particular Quarrel, all men were in suspense, and in great expectation of what the event would be.

The Army then being in the Field, and the King ready to depart from *Paris*, his Majesty would yet first take so good order to secure the interior Peace of his Kingdom, that he might not, when at a great distance, and in the heat of his Enterprizes, be call'd back by Domestick troubles : A consideration that made him determine to devolve his Royal Power to the Queen, and to cause her to be declar'd Regent in his absence ; and knowing that how good soever her intentions were, and how sincere soever her  
 adm-

administration might be; yet that the sovereign Authority he left her invested withal, would require the Fidelity, Courage, and Prudence of some great and experienc'd Minister to support it, he cast his eye upon the Duke of *Espernon*, to confer upon him that great Trust and Honour. In this resolution therefore, having one day call'd for the Duke, and causing him to come into his Closet, where he was then with the Queen alone; the Duke was not a little surpriz'd at the favourable, and obliging Character, his Majesty was then pleas'd to give of him to the Queen, on so unexpected an occasion. He told her, "That being upon the point to go out of the Kingdom, the Government whereof he had, during his absence, committed to her care, he had consider'd how necessary it would be for her to have a faithful Servant about her person, upon all occurrences that might happen, and, in occasions where the modesty of her Sex would not permit her to act in her own person, to be assisting to her with his Wisdom, and Valour: That having to that end severally weigh'd the abilities of all the chief Officers of his Crown, he had found none, in whom the qualities necessary for so great an employment, were more eminent than in the person of the Duke of \* *Espernon* there present: That having had a long experience of his Fidelity, Wisdom, and Valour, he had determin'd to deprive himself of his Service, though infinitely necessary to him in the prosecution of his designs, and to send him back to her upon the first sally of his Arms. That she might repose an entire and perfect confidence in him, as he himself also did, who knew him to be a man of approv'd Fidelity, and Honour: That he was going to execute designs, wherein he was likely to meet with many difficulties, and perhaps some danger; but that whatever should happen, he desir'd her to rest secure in the Duke's vigilancy, and care, for which he would undertake both to himself and to her. After which, turning to the Duke, he told him, "That he did not require from him any confirmation by new promises, of those things whereof he had assur'd the Queen in his behalf: That he had had so many proofs of his Vertue, in the integrity of his former Actions, it was not now to be suspected, that he conjur'd him by the esteem, and affection he had for him, to justify his expectation, to serve the Queen, and the Princes his Children, with the same Fidelity he had serv'd him, and to promise to himself for his reward, all the acknowledgement he could reasonably expect from a grateful Prince, and a good Master. The Duke a little out of countenance at what the King had said in his favour, made answer in

Anno  
1610.

\* *De Serres* says the King intended to leave the Constable, and the Chancellor in that trust.

*Año* 1610.  few words, “ That he did humbly acknowledge his obligation to  
 “ his Majesty for so high a Character, and for the unexpected Ho-  
 “ nour he was pleas’d to confer upon him, which in the nature of  
 “ it was far above all others, he had till then receiv’d from his Roy-  
 “ al bounty ; and that if he had a thousand lives he would wil-  
 “ lingly lay them all at his feet to express his gratitude for so signal  
 “ a favour : That he did humbly beseech their Majesties to retain  
 “ that favourable opinion of him, and to conclude him the most  
 “ unworthy of all their Subjects, and the worst of all men, if  
 “ he ever fail’d in the least part of his Duty.

After this the King told him he could not leave him at present with the Queen, having occasion for him to command the Vant-Guard of his Army, till the Prince of *Orange* should come up to him, for whom he had reserv’d that employment. A thing the Duke knew before, as also that the King intended him the honour of that important command in the mean time: But the election of his person in that great employment of sitting at the Helm, did not a little displease, and increase the envy of many of the greatest men of the Kingdom, who had long look’d a squint upon the Duke’s Prosperity and Favour ; though his Majesty, having maturely, and upon very good grounds proceeded to that choice, was not for any consideration, or by any arguments whatsoever to be dissuaded from that resolution.

I know not how some, who envy the Duke’s name, and memory, may entertain a relation so much to his advantage ; though were I put to prove the truth of what I report, I could bring a great many persons of Honour, and Quality to attest it ; the Queen Mother, in the first Letter she writ to the King after her escape from *Blois*, makes particular mention of it ; than whom no one could be better inform’d in this Affair, and has also several times since declar’d by word of mouth, what she then publish’d in writing : neither was it a secret at that time, no more than I hope it will be suspected in this, where so many persons are living of Reputation enough to give it Authority, should it be contradicted by any, who perhaps are not so well inform’d.

The King having, as has been said, taken order to secure all things that were likely in his absence, to disturb the peace of his Kingdom, prepar’d himself to be gone : The Queen had been Crown’d at *St. Dennis* the thirteenth of *May*, and her entry into *Paris* was design’d to have been, on Sunday the sixteenth, and on the seventeenth his Majesty intended, without further delay, to set out towards the Army. Nothing was now to be seen in *Paris*, but great preparations of joy, and triumph, to honour the remaining

maining Ceremony of the Queens Coronation; nothing but demonstrations of the Kings Magnificence, and of the felicity of his Reign, himself being most diligent in giving the Orders necessary for the state of that Solemnity; when this Great and Illustrious Prince, the terror of his Enemies, and the love and delight of his people, going abroad upon the fourteenth of the same month, to view the preparation of those Magnificences, was in a stop he met upon the way in the street *de la Ferronnerie*, by *Saint Innocents Church*, with three stabs of a Villain's Knife, laid dead in his Coach. The Duke of *Espernon* had the honour to be seared by the King in the hinder part of the Coach, upon whom his Majesty was leaning to whisper something in his ear; the Duke of *Monbazon*, with the *Mareschal de la Vardin*, was in one of the Boats, \* and other persons of great Quality took up the rest: at the first stab the King cried out, *I am hurt*; at which the Duke of *Espernon*, who saw the next blow coming, holding up his arm to divert it, receiv'd part of it in the \* sleeve of his Doublet, that was strook through, though the King's Destiny would not suffer him to receive it all; nor permit, that at the peril of his own life, he should save that of his Master, as with all his soul he would have done. The cursed Parricide proceeded yet to a third stab, of which the two last were mortal, and with the second the King tumbled dead upon the Duke, who receiv'd him in his Arms, his blood boiling in great quantities out of his mouth. After this execrable act, the cursed Assassinate was soon discover'd, against whom those who attended the King, and amongst them *Saint Michel*, one of his Gentlemen in ordinary, prompted by a just fury, had already drawn his Sword to dispatch him; when the Duke, calling to mind, how much those Gentlemen had been condemn'd who kill'd *Jaques Clement* upon the Murther of *Henry the III.* by whose imprudent zeal, a further discovery from the wretches own mouth of the Authors of that abominable Treason, was prevented, he cried out to *Saint Michel*, and to the Footmen, who had drawn their Swords to the same purpose, to hold, and upon pain of death not to kill him, but only to seize his person, that he might be deliver'd into the hands of *Justice*. A caution that serv'd not a little to the vindication of an infinite number of worthy men; on whom, without all doubt, the various Factions that after broke out in the Kingdom, would according to their several Animosities, have laid the blame of that detested Fact, to serve for a pretense to their Insurrection. The Duke having given this first order, commanded the Coach-man to turn back to the *Louvre*, and having spied in the King's Train, the *Marquis de Monserrant* his

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The Death  
of *Henry the  
III.*

\* Who were  
the *Mareschal de Ro-  
quelaure*, the  
the *Marquis  
de la Force*,  
the *Sieur de  
Liencourt*,  
and the  
*Marquis de  
Mirebeau*.  
\* *De Serres*  
says by a  
mistake the  
Duke of  
*Monbazon* receiv'd the  
stab in the  
right sleeve  
of his  
Doublet.

Anno 1610. his particular Friend and Servant, he intreated him to go before, and from him to command the Foot Companies that were upon the Guard before the *Louvre*, to stand immediately to their Arms, and to secure all the Gates, to prevent any disorder in the King's Household: In the execution of which command, and in the distraction the sight of so horrid, and so unexpected an accident might reasonably put him into, *Monferrant* met the Chancellour *de Sillery*, then going to Council in the *Louvre*; who asking him the reason of that hurly burly, and of the Souldiers running to their Arms, *Monferrant* told him the King was dead; at which the Chancellour amaz'd, and in suspense how to believe it, grasping him by the arm, and saying how's that *Monsieur de Monferrant*! do you know what you say? the Coach arriv'd with the Curtains drawn, out of which the King without any motion was carried up in a Cloak, and laid upon the Bed in his Wardrobe.

The Duke of *Espernon's* signal services to the State after the Death of the King.

The Duke, after he had paid this last Office to his dead Master, though surpriz'd to the degree may be imagin'd at so tragical an accident, was not long nevertheless, before he recollected himself; when considering that the greatest testimony he could give of his gratitude to his dead Prince, was to serve those he had left to succeed him, he began to pay the Queen those services, he had but a few days before in the King's Closet engag'd himself to perform; though the Orders he there receiv'd were not intended to have been executed so soon, nor upon so fatal an occasion. The rumour of the King's death had already spread it self, not only throughout the *Louvre*, but also over all *Paris*; at which the Queen, being beyond all imagination afflicted, and dissolving her self into tears, without any other thought, than how to humour, and satisfy her own grief; the Duke of *Espernon* came into her Chamber, and after some expressions of sorrow, which as a true *Frenchman*, a good Subject, and an oblig'd Servant he could not forbear for the loss of so good a Master, he there told her: "That he did not  
"come to her Majesty in hope to stop the current of her tears,  
"the cause of her sorrow being too great to admit of any present  
"consolation; but that she would ever have leisure enough to  
"weep, when perhaps she might not always have opportunity to  
"provide for the Fortune of her Children, and the Safety of the  
"Kingdom, which in effect were one, and the same thing: That  
"her Majesty might better judge than any, what envy the King's  
"prosperity had drawn upon him, from all the neighbouring  
"Princes; and how much it was to be fear'd lest his own Servants,  
"no longer now restrain'd by the presence of this great Prince,  
"might in hope of novelty be debauch'd from their duty; if some  
good



“ good, and prudent order , for the settlement of Affairs , were  
 “ not suddenly taken : That to keep things in the quiet posture Anno  
 “ they then were, her Majesty must speedily; and in the first place, 1610.  
 “ secure the Domestick Peace of the Kingdom , by continuing  
 “ *Paris* in the serenity, and calm of obedience, it then was : That  
 “ the single strength of the Kingdom, if united, and in good intel-  
 “ ligence within it self, was of it self sufficient to frustrate the de-  
 “ signs of any that should attempt any thing against the Crown  
 “ of *France* : That for his own part, who had taken upon him  
 “ the boldness to give her Majesty this first advice , he there from  
 “ his heart made her an humble tender of his Life , his Fortune,  
 “ and his Friends to do her Service ; that therefore she was only  
 “ to command, what she would please should be done, and that  
 “ he would perish , or cause her Royal will to be obey’d. The  
 Queen awak’d by so prudent a Counsel, and fortified by the re-  
 “ solution of so generous, and so considerable a Subject, told him :  
 “ That she wholly referr’d all things to his Vigilancy, and Con-  
 “ duct, to be order’d, as he should in his wisdom think most fit ;  
 “ wherein she recommended to his Fidelity, the care of her Chil-  
 “ dren, much more than any concern of her own , and that she  
 “ should rest very well satisfied with whatever he should do,  
 “ knowing as she very well did, his prudence, and affection to be  
 “ equally so great, that nothing was to be added to them.

The Duke without losing more time , went immediately out  
 of the *Louvre* ; where the first thing he did in order to the Queens  
 commands, was to bid the Officers of the Regiment of Guards,  
 to put their men suddenly into Arms. This great body consisting  
 of four thousand effective men, and those of the best, and the best  
 Disciplin’d in Europe, did not a little awe the *Parisians*, from  
 leaping over the bounds of their Duty : a strength that as it was  
 absolutely at the Duke’s command, so did he upon this occasion  
 know so well, how to dispose it into the most convenient Quar-  
 ters of the Town, that without all doubt, it was by vertue of those  
 Forces, he secur’d the peace of that Seditious City ; and kept the  
 multitude from tumult and insurrection. *Arquien*, whom (as has  
 been said) the King had put into the *Cittadel* of *Metz*, in the year  
 1604. was Lieutenant Colonel to the Regiment of Guards, and  
 consequently in the absence of *Crequy*, who was Camp-Master  
 to the said Regiment (and who was already gone up to the Ar-  
 my, with the greatest part of the Nobility of the Court) was un-  
 der the Authority of the Duke to command it. Him therefore  
 the Duke speedily sent for to have given him orders , but he was  
 no where to be found ; for from the instant that the King’s death

was

Anno 1610. was certain, imagining the Duke would infallibly take the advantage of the time, and his own Authority, to remove him from Metz, he had taken post to put himself into the *Cittadel*, hoping there he should be able to maintain his ground: But the Duke who in the care of publick affairs, did not altogether neglect his own, which his Affection and Fidelity to the Crown, rendred one, and the same with the other, judged by *Arquiens* absence what his design might be, dispatch'd *Mun de Sarlaboust* Captain to one of the Companies of the Guards, immediately after him, if possible to prevent him, or at least to follow him so close, that he might arrive at Metz before *Arquien* could have time to practice any thing to his disadvantage. The Duke had in Metz, besides the ordinary Garrison of eight Companies (of which he had compos'd a Regiment, call'd the Old Garrison) two Companies of the Regiment of Guards commanded by *Tilladet*, and *Fromigieres*, since Grand Prior of *Tholouze*; all which were so absolutely at his devotion, and their Captains so link'd to his Interests, their Fortunes wholly depending upon his Favour, as they had been rais'd by his bounty, that not a man of them but was ready upon all occasions to be absolutely commanded by him. To this he was confident of the Inhabitants good affection towards him, who by the moderation of his Government, and by the protection with which he had sheltred them from *Sobole's* Insolence, were wholly acquir'd unto him: which interests, joyn'd together, made the Duke confident he should not want Forces sufficient to hinder *Arquien* from being receiv'd into the *Cittadel*, if *Mun* could get thither before him; or even there to force him, should he happen to put himself into it, before his Orders could arrive. And indeed all things succeeded to his desire, as shall in its due place be declar'd. But we must first return to *Paris*, which at this time was the Scene of the most, and the most important Affairs.

What ways the Duke proceeded in to cause the Queen Mother to be declar'd Regent.

\* Or Lord Mayor of Paris.  
\* Sheriffs  
\* Or Guild-Hall.

The Regiment of Guards being in the absence of *Arquien* drawn together by *Saint Coulombe*, the eldest Captain, the Duke sent them order to advance; which being done, he appointed part thereof for the Guard of the *Louvre*, with the Regiment of *Swisse* which he (extending the Authority the Queen had given him, as *French* Guards over that Nation also) had likewise commanded into Arms: The other part were dispos'd upon the *Pont-Neuf* towards *la rüe Dauphine*, and upon the principal avenues that lead to the *Convent des Augustins*. He further intreated *Mounfieur de Liancourt* Governour of *Paris* speedily to assemble the \* *Prevoist des Marchands*, and the \* *Eschevins* in the \* *Hostel de Ville* offering him withal a sufficient Guard to secure them; as accordingly he sent

he sent five hundred of the Regiment of Guards, under the command of Captain *Dnoüet* who remain'd there two days together upon Duty. These Orders being given, the Duke himself mounted on Horseback, went towards the *Pont-Neuf* to go to the *Moiſtre Noſtre dame*, there to confer with President *Seguier*, without whose advice he resolv'd to proceed no further. This man whose integrity, judgment, and affection, the Duke had in equal esteem, had ever even in the time of his Favour, and in the greatest difficulties of his Affairs, been with his Counsel assisting to him; neither didt he Duke at this time, or since, resolve almost upon any thing (whether of general, or particular concern) without first communicating the business to him, and consulting his Advice. There was at this time none of the Princes of the Blood at Court, for the Prince of *Condé* had some time before the King's death retir'd into *Flanders*, and was at this time at *Milan*; and the *Count de Soissons* was at his house at *Champigny*; so that no body being at Court considerable enough to make a party, the Duke at his going out of the *Louvre*, found almost all the Lords, and Gentlemen, who were then in *Paris* (and whom the suddenness and great concern of that bloody Accident had assembled together) at the Gate ready to attend him.

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Being upon the way with this great Train, he had not gone far before he met with the Duke of *Guise*, whom he found also very well accompanied, though with a Train far inferiour to his own. These two Dukes, nor their Families, were not as yet so well united (the paternal hatred having been rather fomented by the quarrels the Duke had lately had with both the Sons, notwithstanding his Majesties endeavour to reconcile them) but that there was greater expectation this meeting should beget some new disorder, than that men so disunited betwixt themselves should concur so suddenly, and happily in the publick Service; inso-much that their followers on both sides seem'd only to expect a signal from their Leaders to fall to blows: when the Duke of *Guise*, having with great civility saluted the Duke, ask'd him how that sad misfortune had hapned? to whom the Duke in short related the manner of the King's death, with what had after pass'd betwixt the Queen and him, and the Order he was by her Majesties Command going to take to prevent any tumult in the City: Whereupon the Duke of *Guise* asking him, if there were not something for him to do in the Queens Service also? the Duke reply'd, "That since he ask'd his advice, he conceiv'd he might do both the Queen and the Kingdom a signal Service, by only shewing himself in the streets of *Paris*: That the people aw'd

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“ within their duty, by the presence of a man of his condition,  
 “ would be less apt to be seduc'd into commotion ; and that by  
 “ the calm which would by that means be preserv'd in the City,  
 “ they might doubtless more effectually proceed to the establish-  
 “ ment of such good orders, as would for the future secure the  
 “ peace of the whole Kingdom. A counsel the Duke of *Guise* as  
 readily follow'd, and the good Fortune of *France*, having upon  
 the instant extinguish'd all particular Animosities, betwixt these  
 two great Persons, so as to make them, beyond all expectation,  
 joyn in the common Service of the State. This happy union,  
 and concurrence was of no little importance to the conservation  
 of the Peace in that mutinous City. The Duke after continued  
 his way to the President's House, to whom having communica-  
 ted his designs, he found them to be generally approv'd by him ;  
 insomuch that before they parted it was concluded betwixt them,  
 that that very day, and as soon as it was possible, the Parliament  
 should be intreated to Assemble: the management of which be-  
 ing undertaken by the President, the Duke went in the mean time  
 to provide for the rest.

The Duke  
goes to the  
*Hostel de*  
*Ville*:

He began with the *Hostel de Ville*, where having found the  
*Prevost des Marchands*, the *Eschevins*, and *Burgesses* met together,  
 after he had first given them an accompt in brief of the sad Acci-  
 dent had hapned, he proceeded to exhort them, To confirm to  
 “ his Majesty's Successors the Love and Obedience they had paid  
 “ to him during his happy Reign. He told them that by perseve-  
 “ ring in their Duty, they might secure their own Lives, and  
 “ Estates, which would otherwise be certainly expos'd to the vio-  
 “ lence and licence of Seditious men: That the least disorder of  
 “ this nature, that should happen in the City, would put the whole  
 “ Kingdom into Confusion: That he therefore intreated them to  
 “ cause all their Gates to be shut, to the end that no one might be  
 “ permitted, either to go out, or to come in, who were either  
 “ thought able, or likely, to breed any disturbance in the publick  
 “ peace, to give order to the Captains of the Train'd-Bands to  
 “ have their Companies in readiness upon any occasion might  
 “ happen, and to walk themselves the round of the City, the bet-  
 “ ter by their Presence and Authority to keep every one in his Du-  
 “ ty. He further gave them notice, that he had already caus'd the  
 “ Regiment of Guards both *French*, and *Swisse*, to stand to their  
 “ Arms, on purpose to suppress those who should first make  
 “ the least shew of Insurrection; but that he hop'd their wisdoms  
 “ would prevent a confusion, which would not so easily be com-  
 “ pos'd, if once grown to a head, as it might be suppress'd in the  
 begin-

“beginning. A Remonstrance, that, being deliver’d with great plainness, and vigour, wrought so good an effect, that all the Magistrates unanimously engag’d to do their utmost endeavours for the conservation of the publick Peace; as they accordingly did: which was none of the weakest links that curb’d the head-strong multitude of that unruly City.

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From the *Hostel de Ville*, the Duke went to the *Augustins*, where that Session of Parliament had by the King been appointed to be kept; the Palace having been before furnish’d, for the Ceremony of the Queens Coronation, and where by the diligence of President *Segnier*, he found them already Assembled. The Regiment of Guards had already possess’d themselves of the *Pont-Neuf*, and stood in order all along the *Rüe Dauphine*, to guard, according to the Duke’s command, all the passés round about the *Convent des Augustins*; a precaution, which though by the Duke meerly intended for the Parliaments security, was nevertheless misinterpreted by some to be rather design’d to compel them to execute his own particular Counsels, than that every man at greater liberty might have freedom to deliver his own Opinion; neither were the most prudent, and best dispos’d sorry (as has been said) that the world should conceive there was some necessity upon them of a speedy resolution in the present juncture of Affairs, forasmuch also as some, who were prepossess’d in their judgments, would be oblig’d to concur with them, and disappointed, either from opposing, or deferring to declare the Queen Mother Regent during the King’s Minority, which was the only thing then to be debated.

The Duke goes to the *Augustins*, where he advises the Parliament to declare the Queen Regent.

The Duke being come into the Hall where the Parliament was set with his Sword in his hand, though not drawn, and in some disorder both in his Cloaths, and Countenance, began his Speech with some excuses; “For appearing in that honourable  
“Assembly in so undecent a posture; after which he told them  
“that his Sword was yet in the Scabbard (his own words) but  
“that if before he went thence there was not order taken, for the  
“security of the City, and Kingdom, by declaring the Queen  
“Regent, he foresaw (to his great grief) he must be compell’d  
“to draw it against the Enemies of the Crown, and to fill the  
“City with Blood, and Confusion: That he knew there were  
“some amongst them who would ask respite to deliberate upon  
“the thing propos’d; but that he must tell them beforehand, no-  
“thing was so dangerous as delay: That in many great occurren-  
“ces it was wisdom, not to be too precipitous, and to proceed  
“slowly, and by degrees to a final determination; but that here

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“ it was quite otherwise, it being necessary in this Crisis of Af-  
 “ fairs to cut off all difficulties, and immediately to resolve upon  
 “ the thing propounded : That what might to day be concluded  
 “ without danger, could not be done to morrow without Blood  
 “ and Slaughter ; and indeed what pretense could any man have  
 “ to ask respite in this case ? what was requir’d of them out of  
 “ the rule of Equity, and nature ? To whom was the King’s  
 “ Fortune more properly to be intrusted, than to her who brought  
 “ him into the world, or to whose care the safety of the King-  
 “ dom, than to her, who for the space of ten years, had with the  
 “ late King been a Coadjutrix in raising it to that degree of height,  
 “ and reputation, wherein it now stood. He told them that the  
 “ Queen was a Princess for whom his Majesty from the hour of  
 “ his Marriage had never had any reservation in his most weightry  
 “ and most secret Affairs : That he had made her his Companion  
 “ in all his Expeditions : That he had already deputed the Regen-  
 “ cy of the Kingdom during his absence into her hands ; a pre-  
 “ ordination after which he could not believe any one would dare  
 “ to contradict the Judgment of a Prince so great in himself, and  
 “ so solicitous of the good and welfare of his Kingdom : That  
 “ therefore the most effectual means to preserve the Peace and  
 “ Tranquillity wherein *France* had been happy many years, was  
 “ to concur in the King’s Judgment, and to justify his Election :  
 “ That the discontents, which govern’d in the minds of many  
 “ men of very eminent condition, were very well known to all :  
 “ That those persons (it might easily be believ’d) wanted no ad-  
 “ herents : That the impatient humour of the *French*, in hopes  
 “ to make their advantage of any disorder in the State, would be  
 “ apt to create more Mutineers, if things were not settled in due  
 “ season : That there was no time so fruitful in Sedition, nor so  
 “ proper for mischief, as when mutinous spirits were in suspence  
 “ whom to obey : That if ever this evil disposition was to be  
 “ fear’d it was chiefly now, when all the Forces of the Kingdom  
 “ were on foot : That they would doubtless soon be practis’d on all  
 “ hands ; so that if by the prudence of that Assembly such tem-  
 “ ptations were not prevented, those noble Troops design’d for  
 “ the enlargement of the Borders of *France*, and for the glory of  
 “ the *French* name, would by an unhappy, and a sad revolution  
 “ be seen to employ their Arms to the ruine of their own Coun-  
 “ try : That they were therefore to take time whilst things remain’d  
 “ yet inviolate, and capable of the best impressions, to mould them  
 “ into the best form, which depended upon their immediate Ele-  
 “ ction : That he had put the Regiment of Guards, all the King’s  
 Ser-

“ Servants, and his own particular Friends into Arms, that they  
 “ might at convenient liberty, and security deliberate of what he  
 “ then propos’d: that he knew very well what he now advis’d them  
 “ to, was without President; but that he hop’d an Act of so great  
 “ utility and importance to the publick good, would one day ob-  
 “ tain the Authority of Example, and add to the Dignity and Re-  
 “ putation of that Honourable Body; a priviledge, by so much the  
 “ more their due, by how much they had never till then possess’d  
 “ it: That they did not need to apprehend herein their Authority  
 “ should be prostituted to Arbitration, or be disputed by any; but  
 “ that, how high and generous soever their results might be, they  
 “ should infallibly be executed, and that he, and all his Friends  
 “ were ready to lose their lives, or to cause them to be inviolably  
 “ obey’d.

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The Duke’s Oration being ended, the whole Assembly remain’d in a profound silence, and being equally astonish’d at the Accident had hapned, and surpriz’d at the Proposition was made, not a man on the sudden, durst either by word, or action express his thoughts: only President *Harlay* in few words “ Gave  
 “ the Duke thanks for the affection he had manifested to the Ser-  
 “ vice of the Kingdom, and to the Honour of that Assembly;  
 “ exhorting him to persevere in a passion so worthy of his Vertue,  
 “ and so becoming the place and honour he possess’d amongst  
 “ them. Whereupon the Duke perceiving their silence still to  
 continue, and unwilling to give them occasion to complain that  
 by his presence he had extorted from them a resolution contrary  
 to their sense and opinion, he retir’d himself: But at his depart-  
 ure, that they might understand there was something of necessity  
 in the case, he told them aloud, “ That what he had propounded  
 “ was the best course they could take, and that they were therefore  
 “ absolutely, and suddenly to resolve upon it. Upon which last  
 words the *Sieur de la Guesle* the Attorney General taking hold, began  
 in a short Speech to break the Ice, by representing to the Assembly,  
 “ That though what had been propounded by the Duke of *Esper-*  
 “ *non*, seem’d by the respect wherewith it had been deliver’d to be  
 “ a thing wherein they were free to determine; yet that what he  
 “ had last said imply’d a kind of necessity: but a necessity by so  
 “ much the more, just, and honourable, by how much the Peace  
 “ of the Kingdom would not only be secur’d thereby; but also a  
 “ great advantage to their Body would certainly accrue: That it  
 “ was therefore in his opinion better immediately, and volunta-  
 “ rily to declare the Regency to be in the Queen, than to stay till  
 “ their consent should be wrested from them upon compulsion,  
 and

Anno 1610. "and perhaps in a season, when they should have no thanks for  
 "their labour. Which being said, the whole Assembly forthwith  
 concluded upon the business, by that Act not only securing the  
 Peace of the Kingdom, but also introducing a great example to  
 pitch upon the same, and an equally salutiferous resolution in our  
 days, when our great Queen *Anne* of *Austria* was settled in the Re-  
 gency, by virtue of the same Election.

The reasons  
 that mov'd  
 the Duke to  
 press the  
 Queen Mo-  
 ther should  
 be declared  
 Regent.

I have often heard the Duke discourse of this Transaction,  
 wherein though he acknowledg'd his proceeding to be by an un-  
 usual, and something an irregular way; "Yet that the Queens  
 "Regency being as yet not authorized by the Suffrages of any of  
 "the Princes of the Blood (whose arrival also should it have been  
 "expected, would probably have put all things into Confusion)  
 "he thought it necessary to have it ratified by the consent of the  
 "people: That to procure their consents, there was no way so  
 "plausible and consonant to Law, as therein to interest all the  
 "Parliaments of *France*, by prevailing with that of *Paris*,  
 "whose Act would be a kind of Warranty to the rest: That  
 "should they have staid the coming of the *Count de Soissons*, he  
 "would by his presence infallibly have sway'd all things, accord-  
 "ing to his inclination: That the Prince of *Condé* coming after  
 "would have been impatient at his younger Brother's getting  
 "the start of him in an Affair where the priority of Vote in the  
 "Election was in him: by which means the variety of their in-  
 "terests not permitting them to concur in an Act, wherein each  
 "of them would be ambitious to precede, a fraction betwixt them  
 "must of necessity ensue: That for that reason he had us'd all  
 "diligence in pressing the Parliament to a speedy resolution in fa-  
 "vour of the Queen. In the carrying on of which Affair, it is in  
 my opinion something hard to determine, whether the Stars of  
*France*, or the Duke's Prudence did most prevail: It is not to be  
 denied but that both the one and the other contributed very much  
 to the happy performance of this great work: But it is likewise  
 most certain that the business had never been so fortunately effe-  
 cted, if the Duke had less prudently foreseen what was likely to  
 ensue, or had proceeded with less diligence and vigour to the  
 establishment of this Election, to the general benefit of the King-  
 dom: wherein if he perform'd a signal Service to the State, he  
 did no less for the Prince, who would have met with no little im-  
 pediments to his rising greatness, had he at his return, found the  
*Count de Soissons* settled, as it were a Co-partner in the Govern-  
 ment, by being possess'd of some of the most important Employ-  
 ments of the Kingdom.

Thus



Thus was this business carried on, *France* being, from the highest step of her Glory, precipitated into the greatest extremity of her Misfortune; and the King's Triumphs being in a moment overcast with the Funeral Black of his Obsequies: but the re-establishment of the State, overthrown by so great, and so tragick a Revolution, and the publick happiness in an instant secur'd without one drop of Blood; was it not an afternoons work of the Duke of *Espernon*? and can so great a success without injustice, be attributed to any thing but to his prudent Conduct? In the Narrative whereof I have not added one syllable more than the truth: and doubtless there are many yet alive that can justify all I have said. I know very well that the Historians of that time have not mention'd all the particularities I have, as material to my purpose, insisted upon, and that those who have been most exact have recorded but very few in their Relations; which is in part the reason why I have more willingly enlarg'd my self in this discourse, that I might impartially render, what is so justly due to Truth, and Virtue.

The sad accident of the King's Death was so suddenly spread all over *Europe*, that it seem'd, as if his person, rais'd to the highest pitch of Honour to which man can arrive, had fall'n in the sight of all the world. The Prince of *Condé*, who (as has been said) resided then at *Milan*, receiv'd the first news of it from the *Condé de Fuentes*, which was immediately after confirm'd by a Courier dispatch'd purposely to him from the Queen Regent, to invite him back into *France*. The *Count de Soissons*, who was but two little days journey from *Paris*, was much sooner inform'd, and at the same instant in all diligence repair'd thither, to see what this accident might produce; where he arriv'd the sixteenth of *May*, two days only after the King's Death; but late enough notwithstanding to find all things dispatch'd to his hand. So that matters being already concluded, the Queens Authority establish'd, the Parliament, People, Souldiery, and whole City settled in their Duty, and nothing left for him to do, but to approve what was already done (and which he could no ways hope to overthrow, had he dislik'd it) he was fain whether sincerely, or otherwise to concur in the Election, and thereupon went to present himself to the Queen, where he assur'd her Majesty of his Faith and absolute Obedience.

The *Count* at his arrival at Court, observing the Duke of *Espernon* to be seated in that degree of Favour and Reputation, to which by his signal, and recent Services to the Queen, he might justly pretend, he forthwith resolv'd to contract a strict connexion  
with

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The return  
of the *Count  
de Soissons*  
to Court.

Anno 1610. with him, as accordingly by making him a tender of his Friendship and assistance against all whomsoever, he endeavour'd to do: neither did he do it but upon very good consideration; for foreseeing that the Prince of *Condé* returning to Court (as he soon after did) would infallibly take upon him the preeminence, and degree due to his Quality, and Birth, he would by that means labour so to establish himself before his arrival, that it should not be in the Princes Power to shake him. To which end he could pitch upon none so proper to support his Interest, as the Duke of *Espernon*, who was, at that time, the most considerable person in the Kingdom. The Queen had appointed him Lodgings in the *Louvre*, not conceiving her self secure (as she was pleas'd to say) but under his Vigilancy and Valour; all dispatches were communicated to him; his Orders and Advice were in all things follow'd and observ'd, so that would he have stretch'd his Authority to the utmost, or had he been ambitious of favour, he might doubtless with great facility have made himself sole Master of Affairs: but so far was he from desiring to appear necessary (though effectually so.) to the excluding those who had right to the Council, that on the contrary he entreated the Queen to call, and admit into it, all such as either by the privilege of their Birth, or by the repute of their capacities, might reasonably pretend to that Honour; coveting no greater advantage, than to have a concurrence with worthy men for the publick Safety; and seeing he could not, without drawing great envy upon himself, possess alone that preeminence in the Administration, to which the King had design'd him, he was content with the rest to share that part, which could not equitably be denied to his approv'd Fidelity and Wisdom.

Though the *Count de Soissons* had the foremention'd reasons to seek the Duke of *Espernon's* friendship, he had yet therein a further and a more important design, and that was by the Duke's assistance to procure a Match betwixt *Madamoiselle de Montpensier* the Duke's Niece, and his own Son *Lewis of Bourbon*, since *Count de Soissons*: neither was the Duke so ill read in this Princes intention, that he did not very well perceive at what part he took his aim, which made him, though he receiv'd the offer of his friendship with the respect due to a Prince of the Blood, nevertheless accept it with such a gravity, and reservation as should no ways engage him to any partiality in his favour, nor in the least restrain the liberty of his proceeding in that concern. A coldness that so much disgusted the *Count de Soissons*, who expected a greater complacency and freedom from him, that his affection so violently begun, was not likely long to last. The first opposition he met with in the Duke

Duke to his desires, was in the proposal he made him to give way that he might cause the Duke of Sully to be stab'd in the *Louvre*. He was their common Enemy, and the sole cause of all the trouble had befall'n this Prince, and of his retirement from Court, wherein the injury he had receiv'd was such, that although the King had laid upon him his positive command to be reconcil'd, he had notwithstanding rather chosen to abandon the Court, than to do it. The Duke had also receiv'd from the Duke of Sully (a great Creature of the late King's) all the ill Offices could possibly have been done by the most implacable Enemy; which being not unknown to the *Count de Soissons*, he doubted not to have met an Animosity in the Duke against him as great as his own, and to have found him as prompt to his revenge: but he was deceiv'd, the Duke excusing himself by telling the *Count* he could by no means permit so great a violence to be offer'd in the King's Palace; beseeching him to consider, that the Guards which he had the honour to command, being principally design'd to preserve the respect due to his Majesties Person, and Presence inviolate, and such as it ought to be, he should commit an irreparable offense to his Duty, should he consent to favour an act of so dangerous Example. An answer at which the *Count*, a man of a furious, and cholerick temper, was infinitely mov'd; yet his interest not permitting him to break with the Duke, he for that time with an extraordinary patience made the best shift he could to dissemble his discontent.

*Anna*  
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During these transactions at Court, there was something pass'd also at *Metz*, wherein the Duke was no little concern'd: you have already heard how *Arquien*, Lieutenant Colonel to the Regiment of Guards, had immediately upon the King's Death taken post to retire himself into the *Cittadel*, of which he was Governour, after whom the Duke had sent *Mun*, to spoil his Design; so that *Mun*, who was much the younger man, having posted in great diligence, overtook him some six Stages short of *Metz*; where he found him so bruis'd with riding, that he was scarce in a condition to perform the rest of his Journey: When *Arquien* who saw himself likely to be prevented, and in danger to be deny'd admittance into *Metz*, by the Duke's Servants, plainly told *Mun*, "That he made no doubt, but that his Journey was

"occasion'd by a just suspicion the Duke had conceiv'd of his sudden departure without his Order, and Command; that therein

"he must needs confess he had been to blame; but that he had

"been prompted to that diligence by a jealousy the Duke might

"perhaps have detain'd him by force in *Paris*, with an intent to

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“deprive him of his command in the *Cittadel*: That he therefore  
 “had undertaken that journey simply, and for no other end, than  
 “to keep his possession of that place, which was the most confi-  
 “derable member of his Fortune, and the only reward of his  
 “Service, but with no design to disserve the Duke: That he was  
 “his Servant; neither did he desire to govern so much as in the  
 “*Cittadel*, but under his Authority, and Command: That for a  
 “testimony of his Candour, and good intention herein, he pro-  
 “mis’d *Mun*, if he would slack his diligence, and let them go to-  
 “gether, not to enter the *Cittadel*, till first he should by the con-  
 “sent of the Duke’s own Creatures be permitted so to do, sub-  
 “mitting moreover, till it should be by them determin’d, that the  
 “Garrison there should be divided betwixt them. A proposition  
 that *Mun* conceiving to be as fair as the Duke could himself de-  
 sire, he condescended to the condition, and accordingly in his  
 company perform’d the rest of the Journey, arriving both toge-  
 ther at the City. Where being come, they immediately assembled  
 the Duke’s Friends and Servants, which were *Tilladet*, and *Fro-  
 migieres* Captains of the two Companies of the Guards, who were  
 in Garrison at *Metz*, and *Momas* Camp-Master to the old Gar-  
 rison; amongst whom it was concluded, that *Tilladet* the elder  
 Captain should with an hundred men only of his Company en-  
 ter the *Cittadel*, till the Duke’s further pleasure could be known:  
 a number that to the Duke’s Friends seem’d sufficient to make  
 good their Quarter, should *Arquien* intend any thing but fair; as  
*Arquien* thought his would be able to maintain his Authority, and  
 to over-power the other, should the Duke be obstinately bent to  
 exclude him absolutely from his Command.

Things then being thus concluded, *Arquien*, whilst yet in the  
 City, sent order to his Lieutenant to receive *Tilladet* into the *Citta-  
 del*, with such Souldiers as he should bring along with him, not  
 naming any number, as not suspecting any foul play; a negligence  
 which the Duke’s Servants making use of to his advantage, they  
 caus’d above fifty more, and those the best men they could chuse out  
 of all the Companies, to be added to the hundred; that by Article  
 were to be admitted; who being all without any difficulty receiv’d  
 into the *Cittadel* it soon appear’d *Arquien*’s was not the strongest  
 Party, and that the advantage he had in number (his Garrison  
 consisting of two hundred men) being balanc’d by the quality  
 of the Souldiers, *Tilladet* was rather in a condition to give, than  
 to receive the Law from him.

*Arquien* having thus, by an excess of faithful dealing, perform’d  
 his promise, went himself last of all into the *Cittadel*, where he  
 was

was no sooner come, but that his Lieutenant at the first word told him he was no longer Master of the place; to whom *Arquien* having reply'd, that an hundred men could not dispute his Authority there, the Lieutenant gave him to understand, that almost twice so many were already got in, which he had not dar'd but to receive, not knowing the precise number of those he was to admit; at which *Arquien*, now sensible of the oversight he had committed, was so enrag'd that he would presently revenge himself upon *Tilladet*, and was ready to fall on, *Tilladet* also on his part preparing for the Encounter; when the Friends of both parties, who were in the City, came in at the first noise of the disorder. At their first coming they found the Gates of the *Cittadel* shut; but being opened in the end to such as pretended to endeavour an Accommodation, it was with much ado concluded, that for *Arquiens* satisfaction, *Tilladet*, to whom he chiefly laid the blame, as contriver of the Treachery, and Surprize, should depart the place; but that those Souldiers, already enter'd, should continue there, and that *Fromigieres* should come in to command them. Thus ended this dispute, and thus was the Duke of *Espernon's* absolute Authority, though with some trouble, re-establish'd in *Metz*, which from the time of *Sobole's* dereliction, until now, he had altogether lost.

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The Duke  
of *Espernon's*  
Authority  
re-esta-  
blish'd in  
*Metz*.

*Fromigieres* being receiv'd into the *Cittadel* was still more and more fortified by new Souldiers, which the Duke's friends continually slipt in from the City, so that *Arquien* seeing himself in a lost condition, and also stung with the conscience of his own fault, he return'd in all haste back to *Paris*, at once to beg the Duke of *Espernon's* pardon, and to implore the Queen Regents Justice. Where being come, and finding the Duke inflexible to his submissions, and positively resolute to hold what he had, seeing he was to expect no good accompt from him, he thought fit, as his last refuge to appeal to the Queen. Neither did he want interest at Court to support, and countenance his cause, where besides *de Montigny* his Brother (a man of great merit and esteem, and afterwards *Mareschal* of *France*) he had many Relations, and Friends, together with the Duke's Enemies, who could not, without great heart-burning, see him re-settled in so considerable a command. Of this number were the Lords of the House of *Guise*, and their Family, who made up a great part of the Court, and who being all averse to the Duke's greatness, endeavour'd by possessing the Queen, that the action of *Metz* was an intolerable affront to her Authority, to make her restore *Arquien* to his Command. "They represented to her that this was an Affair by the late King

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“ conceiv’d to be of such importance to the State, that his Majesty  
 “ had made no difficulty to make a Journey thither in person,  
 “ and on purpose to retrieve this place out of the Duke of *Esper-*  
 “ *non*’s hands: That his Fidelity ought at this time to be much  
 “ the rather suspected, by how much his Ambition was more in-  
 “ ordinate, and less easie to be cur’d: That having, under pretense  
 “ of some trivial Services to her Majesty in the beginning of her  
 “ Administration, committed a violence of this high nature, he  
 “ made it plain that his sole aim was in this new face of Affairs to  
 “ establish his own particular greatness: and that, instead of en-  
 “ deavouring to continue Subjects in their Duty, by the example  
 “ of a Subjects Obedience, he had himself committed the great-  
 “ est insolence imaginable against the Sovereign Power, by dis-  
 “ possessing one of the most ancient and faithful Servants of the  
 “ Crown, from a place wherein he had serv’d, without the least  
 “ blemish, or reproach. It is certain that the Queen, how well sa-  
 “ tisfied soever with the Duke of *Espernon*, was notwithstanding  
 something stagger’d in her resolution at this Remonstrance: but  
 the Duke having also given his reasons, and represented to her of  
 what importance it was to have his Majesties Authority in the Ci-  
 ty and *Cittadel* of *Metz*, conjoyn’d in one man, that the emulati-  
 on of two Governours might not produce mutiny, such as would  
 endanger the introducing of Foreign Power into the place; with  
 how long, and with what Fidelity he had serv’d his Kings in that  
 Government, the Authority being united in his Person; he found  
 the Queen so well dispos’d to accept of his justification, that she  
 was absolutely satisfied: so that from that time forward, nothing  
 was more thought of in that business, save only how to content  
*Arquien*, in finding out for him some other command, that might  
 hold proportion with that Employment.

In the transaction of this Affair, Fortune, as upon other occa-  
 sions, would needs interest her self to appear in the Duke’s Fa-  
 vour. *De Vic* Governour of *Calice* was one of the principal Me-  
 diators in this difference, who on the one side making profession  
 of great respect to the Duke’s Service, and on the other of a strict  
 friendship with *Arquien*, labour’d with extraordinary passion, and  
 diligence to satisfy both parties in their pretense, and had brought  
 matters to so good an issue, that nothing remain’d to their mutu-  
 al satisfaction, save only to find out a Government for *Arquien*,  
 equal to that whereof he was now divested: but there was none  
 at this time vacant of equal value, which was the only knot in  
 the Affair. At last this poor Gentleman prov’d both the Mediator,  
 and the price of their Accommodation, who had acted so vigo-  
 rously

rously in the Treaty, that, with posting to and again in the most violent heats of Summer, he was surpriz'd with a Pleurisie; whereof in six days he dy'd. With his Government *Arquien* was recompens'd, who after that quit claim to the *Cittadel of Metz*, leaving the Duke absolute Master of it, as before; a possession he afterwards kept, till that a few years before his death he demised it in favour of *Cardinal de la Valette* his Son.

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Amidst these many important Affairs, the Duke was not unmindful of his particular Duties; whereof one, and to which he conceiv'd himself most particularly oblig'd, was to manifest his gratitude to *Henry the III.* his Master, and Benefactor. He had formerly after his death attended his Body to *Compiègne*, where the misfortunes of War, and the confusion of Affairs, not permitting at that time a performance of his Funeral Rites; and the Queen now resolving to begin the Regency with those of the late King, he humbly begg'd of her to give him leave to make use of that opportunity for the interment of *Henry the III.* wherein her Majesty, doing an Act worthy her Piety, would add little or nothing to the expense she was already resolv'd to make. The Queen readily consented to his request; so that the Duke, accompanied with a great number of Lords and Gentlemen, went to fetch the Body from *Compiègne*, from whence he convey'd it to *St. Denis*, where it was deposited in the ancient Sepulchre of the Kings of *France*. Neither was this the sole testimony the Duke gave of his gratitude to his old Master, the Records of his Bounty and Favour being so impress'd in his memory, that they perish'd not, but in his Grave, where all things are buried in Oblivion. A little before his death, causing a Marble Pillar, one of the most celebrated pieces of Architecture of these late times, to be carried, and set up in the Church of *St. Clou*; wherein he was so curious, as to make it be wrought in his own House, and almost in his own sight; his design being to found a Revenue of a thousand Livers yearly for the Service of the Chappel where it was erected; which was also adorn'd with Pictures, and pav'd with Marble at his own charge: but some difficulties arising about the settlement of that Foundation, which could not be clear'd before his death, the thing (to his great grief) remain'd imperfect.

The Ceremony of these Obsequies, perform'd in the end of *June*, was immediately follow'd by the return of the Prince of *Condé* to Court, where he arriv'd in *July*, and where all the men of condition contended who should give him the greatest testimonies of joy for his return. Amongst whom, although the Duke of *Espernon* was none of the latest, yet was he not the best receiv'd.

The Prince  
of *Condé* re-  
turns to  
Court,  
where he  
appears dis-  
pleas'd at  
the Duke of  
*Espernon*.

*Anno* receiv'd. The Duke of *Sully*, who had great need of this Prin-  
*1610.* ces Protection, had prevented others in the possession of his Fa-  
 vour, and conceiving he should make himself more acceptable  
 by rendring the affection of other Grandees suspected to him; he  
 had (amongst others) pointed out the Duke of *Espernon* for one  
 of those of whom he had most reason to complain. An ill Of-  
 fice, that having at first prefer'd in general terms, he afterwards  
 pursu'd by particular circumstance, telling the Prince that the  
 Duke had doubled the Guards of the *Louvre* at his arrival, and  
 put all the King's Family into Arms, as they had been to defend  
 it against a common Enemy. Which impress'ion the Prince was  
 more apt to receive, by how much he believ'd, that the Duke be-  
 ing already in a great degree of Favour with the Queen, and very  
 intimate with the *Count de Soissons*, must needs be jealous of his re-  
 turn, which he could not consider, but as a great power directly  
 opposite to all his concerns; which made him at the first inter-  
 view receive him, not only with apparent coldness, but also, not  
 able to dissemble his dissatisfaction, reproach him for having en-  
 deavour'd to possess the Queen with some suspicions to his pre-  
 judice. The Duke, surpriz'd at so unexpected an entertainment  
 and so groundless a reproach (he having alter'd nothing in the  
 usual Guards that had been kept in the *Louvre* since the King's  
 Death) and nettled with the sense of so injurious an Office, gave  
 aloud the *Lye* to all those who had branded him with so false a Ca-  
 lumny. Yet would not this publick and generous profession of the  
 truth so satisfie and appease the Prince, that there was not still some  
 remains of discontent in his mind against the Duke. He did not  
 think him so affectionate to him, as to the *Count de Soissons*; and  
 seeing him advanc'd to that height of Reputation with the Queen,  
 could not expect he should be favourable to him, in the design he  
 had to assume that place in Court, and to share that Authority in  
 the management of Affairs, which were due to his Birth and  
 Greatness. So that here the Court was divided, the Prince of *Con-  
 dé* having his Faction, and the *Count of Soissons* his, amongst  
 whom the Duke of *Espernon* was the chief, and most considerable  
 member.

The state of  
 Affairs at  
 Court, du-  
 ring the  
 Queens Re-  
 gency.

Yet did not this diversity of Interests produce any sudden ill ef-  
 fect, the Princes paying a due respect to the Queen, and being  
 by her admitted into the debate of Affairs, though the most im-  
 portant were carried on by other hands. The Cabinet Council  
 at this time consisted of the Duke of *Espernon*, the Chancellour  
*de Sillery*, President *Janin*, and *Monsieur de Villeroy*; wherein the  
 Duke's Vote had the greatest sway, and his Opinions did usually  
 prevail;



prevail ; by whom it being conceiv'd necessary for the honour of the Nation, and the memory of the late King to pursue the Enterprize of *Juliers*, which had been the pretense of his Majesties Arms, he propounded, and got it to be concluded that the *Mar-schal de la Chastre*, with an Army of 10000 Foot, and 1200. Horse, should be sent to assist the interested Princes in the restitution of this Place. The issue of which expedition was as successful as could be wish'd ; the places possess'd by the Arch-Duke *Leopold* were restor'd into the hands of the Marquis of *Brandebourg*, and the Duke of *Newbourg* ; so that Affairs on that side remain'd in as good a forwardness as could be desir'd to be shortly compos'd (as they were) to the satisfaction of the *German* Princes.

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As in the occasion we spoke of last things were carried on for the honour ; so was it no less necessary for the safety of the Kingdom to give some satisfaction, and assurance to those of the Reform'd Religion in the beginning of this new Reign ; it being very much to be fear'd this Faction (which at this time was very powerful) pretending a violation of the Edicts formerly publish'd in their toleration, might run into insurrection, to the ruine of the publick peace. Wherein the Duke was of opinion to prevent either the real jealousy, or else the evil intentions of those who were likely to breed any Commotion, by Declarations to confirm the ancient Edicts granted in their favour. It is very true, that he had no kindness for their Religion ; but he thought it nevertheless unfit to violate the publick Faith, where what he did then for reason of State, he has ever since observ'd in his own particular administration ; so that though an enemy to new opinions, he was notwithstanding ever very solicitous to maintain the professors of them within his Governments in peace, and safety ; and it has been observ'd, that although at *Metz* the best Families of the City were of that persuasion, that they abounded in *Xaintongue*, and *Angsumois*, and that *Guienne* was not free, it could never be perceiv'd, that he made any distinction betwixt them and other the Kings Subjects, except where he found them refractory and disobedient to his Commands.

These precautions, so seasonably apply'd in this turn of State, secur'd the Peace of the Kingdom both within, and without to so fortunate a degree, that a more happy Government could not possibly have been wish'd. Which certainly if we consider the great number of discontents within, before the King's death, the distastes many persons of great Quality had taken, who breath'd nothing but revenge, with the Ambition that reigns in all Courts

able

*Anno*  
1610. able to overthrow the surest foundations, is infinitely to be wondered at. To which may be added the envy of neighbouring Princes, who could not without anxiety, and apprehension suffer the height of prosperity to which *France* was already advanc'd; together with the Artifices of such as usually in the troubles of a State seek to repair the ruines of their own desperate Fortunes: all which evil dispositions could not, according to humane imagination have found a more favourable juncture, than during a Regency, to have produc'd their fatal effects; and yet never was *France* at greater peace within itself, nor more respected of her Neighbours, than in all the whole time of the Queens administration. Wherein though I dare not, I confess, attribute the whole reputation of the good Government to the Duke of *Espernon* alone (who having call'd the most prudent and experienc'd Ministers of the latter Reign into his Councils, they ought also to share in the praise) yet can I not in equity deny him the first place of Honour, he having (without dispute, the greatest Authority, and consequently having ever carried the greatest sway in the results of the most important Affairs.

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1611. This Power and Reputation being the ordinary objects of envy even amongst men of equal condition, it is no wonder if the Princes of the Blood were jealous of the Duke of *Espernon's* greatness; who (as they said) unknown to them dispos'd the greatest Affairs of the Kingdom, wherein they particularly complain'd, that he had perswaded the Queen to resolve upon a match, betwixt the King and the *Infanta* of *Spain*; a thing which in his Minority was not to be done without the consent of the Princes of the Blood, by reason of the interest which, by virtue of their proximity, they had in his Majesties Person. But the Duke was so well read in their Priviledges, that it is not to be suppos'd he could commit so great an error; and he had divers times propos'd this Marriage to them, for the most honourable, and most advantageous match could be found out for the King in all Europe: although the Princes who began to suffer themselves to be led away by the perswasions of those who could no longer contain themselves within those bounds, which the virtue of Peace prescrib'd to their Ambition, had ever oppos'd that proposition, and would never consent unto it. The Duke nevertheless, as if he had foreseen the happiness would accrue to the State by this Alliance, ceas'd not continually to fortifie the Queen Mother in the resolution she had taken to pursue that Treaty, and to bring it to a conclusion; which, because it was carried on without their consents, they pretended it to be without their knowledge: and this was all the ground of their complaint.

In

The beginning of the Princes discontent.

In this point the *Count de Soissons* concurr'd with the Prince of *Condé*; he was already broken off with the Duke of *Espernon*. and that to such a degree, that he appear'd now more implacable in his hatred, than he had before seem'd violent in his love. I have already said, that amongst the reasons which induc'd him to seek the Duke's friendship, the chiefest was the Marriage of *Mademoiselle de Montpensier* with the Prince his Son: A Princess, who had been so far honour'd by the late King, that he had cast his eye upon her for a Match betwixt her, and the Duke of *Orleans*, his second Son, and had spoke to the Duke of *Espernon* to that purpose; so that it cannot appear strange in him, if after being prepossess'd with the hope of so glorious a fortune for his Niece, and so great an honour to his whole Family he could not easily condescend to the *Count's* motion, wherein nevertheless he excus'd himself with all imaginable Civility and Respect: But this Prince, of a hot and violent nature, taking for injury the least contradiction to his will, was so highly transported with fury at this refusal, that there was no extreme to which he would not hurry his revenge, publickly threatening to assault the Duke in the Streets, in the *Louvre*, nay in his own House. Thus do we see the Duke at once oppress'd with the open hatred of two of the Princes of the Blood; upon which occasion, although he very well understood the deference due to their persons, and upon that account declar'd he would ever give them way, and retire before them; yet did he not conceive it convenient to have the same respect, and consideration for such as under their countenance and protection should make any attempts upon him. And it was in this occurrence, that the Reputation and interest he had at Court did most evidently appear; so many persons, who by his bounty he had oblig'd (principally in the dispensation of those offices depended upon his own of *Colonel*) so many others who expected their advancement from him, so many Lords of great Quality, who either by Relation or Friendship were united to him; and so many others out of the sole regard of his Virtue flocking about his Person, that he has often been seen in the streets of *Paris* with seven or eight hundred Gentlemen waiting upon him: And I have heard many of very good quality, who in those times declar'd themselves his Friends and Servants, affirm, that when he has gone on foot to the *Louvre*, as he would sometimes purposely do, his attendance, marching in order, have taken up all the space betwixt the *Hôtel d'Espernon*, and the Court, which is at least 2000 paces; insomuch that the Van of his Train has reach'd the Barriers of the *Louvre*, before almost the Rear was

Anno  
1612.  
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Anno 1612. out of his own Gates. Which (how strange soever it may appear) is nothing more than truth; as an infinite number of persons yet living can witness. Neither was the Queen (who had great interest in the preservation of a man had merited so highly from her) sorry to see him in so good a posture, conceiving it of no little moment to her service, to have a person at Court able to make a Power, that might otherwise have been turn'd against her, and her Authority: and indeed it was upon him she principally rely'd, as the chief of all her Servants, and the most considerable person of her Party.

The favours the Duke receiv'd from the Queen upon the feuds betwixt him and the Princes.

The Queen made this most manifestly appear in a very remarkable occasion that hapned at this time; of which take here the true story. The *Baron de la Chastagneraye* after the Service he had so fortunately done the Queen in recovering her out of the River *Seine*, at the passage of the Port de *Neully* (relations of which you will find at large in many of our *French Histories*) had been gratified for that action with the command of Captain of her Majesties Guard, and was moreover very graciously receiv'd by the Queen; advantages that creating him much envy, either her Majesties Favour, or his own Spirit, or both, engag'd him in many Disputes with several persons of the most eminent condition at Court; amongst which he had principally one with *Monsieur le Grand Escuyer*, since Duke de *Bellegarde*; wherein his passion one day transporting him so far, as to speak unhandsomly of him in the Queens presence, and before the Duke of *Espernon* who was his Cousin German, the Duke conceiv'd himself oblig'd to say something in the behalf of so near a Relation, and thereupon gave *la Chastagneraye* some smart reply, which he, unable to endure, as briskly return'd upon the Duke himself; who with-held by the reverence of the place, said to him only this, 'That her Majesties presence which had encourag'd him to that offensive language, ty'd his hands, and oblig'd him from taking any further notice of it; resolving within himself to let the Quarrel alone at that time, and to call him to an accompt at fitter leisure: but the Queen both to satisfy the Duke of *Espernon*, and to do her self right, *la Chastagneraye* having violated the respect due to her Person and Presence, committed him immediately to the *Bastile*; from whence though he was the next day enlarg'd, yet the sense of his disgrace having wounded him to the quick, the common bruit went that he would revenge himself upon the Duke's person, and that he was countenanc'd in that resolution by the protection of the Princes. A thing which above all other men he was the most fit to undertake, both for his courage which was very well

well known; and also having the command of the Queens Guards, he had better opportunity than any to execute his design, and to practice upon the Duke in the very *Louvre* it self, than in any other place, who never went accompanied in her Majesties presence, as he did in all other places. The first intimation of this design the Duke receiv'd from the Queens own mouth, who, by a favour never before, or since granted to any, permitted him to take a number of select Souldiers in his own Livery for the Guard of his Person, to attend him in all places, so much as into the *Louvre* it self; which favour was highly improved to him, when for his greater security, she moreover gave way that he should chuse some Gentlemen of Quality of his most confident Friends to enter with him arm'd, even into her own Cabinet. Those whom the Duke made choice of for this purpose were *Chetin*, Brother to the *Mareschal de St. Geran*, *Sauve-Bœuf*, *Bonneval*, the *Count de Maillé*, *Castelbaiart*, and *Marillac*, all men of approved Valour: a Grace which though it gave great jealousy and distaste to the Princes and Grandees of the Court, who were the Duke's Adversaries, her Majesty thought it fit notwithstanding, to give him leave to defend his own life against whomsoever would make any attempt against it.

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Amongst these many and great disputes wherein the Duke saw himself involv'd, he forgot not the care of his Childrens Education; whom he brought up to the most laborious Exercises, and for whom after a foundation of Letters, not only of a bare knowledge in the Latine Tongue, but in the Principles of Philosophy also, he took care to provide the greatest man, without contradiction, in Europe, for the Exercises of the Body, especially that of Riding, which was the *Sieur de la Broûe* formerly in the *Constable de Montmorencies* entertainment; after whose Death, the Duke gain'd him to himself by so great Benefits, that he gave him at one clap ten thousand Crowns in Gold, with an Annuity of a thousand Crowns issuing out of the *Hostel de Ville* of *Paris*, the most certain Revenue at that time in *France*: Neither did he here limit his Bounties. Under this Gentleman's excellent Discipline, his two eldest Sons arriv'd to such a perfection in their exercises, that no young Lords of their condition in the Kingdom went before them.

The Education of the Dukes three Sons.

When they had acquir'd as much by precept as seem'd necessary, he conceiv'd it time they should establish that knowledge by experience, and by observing the manners and ways of living of other Countries; to which purpose having put them into an Equipage suiting their quality, he sent them into *Germany*, to the

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1612. end that by the different Governments of the several little Republicks of which the vast body of that Empire is compos'd, they might be better enabled to judge of good and evil customs, and extract a more certain knowledge for their own future conduct in the Employments to which they were by him design'd. They arriv'd in that Country in a very troublesome time, when all ways were very difficult, and unsafe; but the illustrious name of the Father, in greater repute in any part of Europe, than in *France* it self (present vertues being for the most part less consider'd) did not only open all ways, and secure all passes to them; but made them also receiv'd with great respect, and honour'd with many civilities, and favours by all the Princes, and Republicks of both parties. After having staid some time in *Germany*, and visited at leisure the Cities, and most eminent places there, they went from thence into *Italy*; where they made a considerable stay, and where for the greatest part they made their residence at *Rome*, continuing still their Exercises; from whence they went to visit the most eminent Cities of that sweetest part of Europe; where having made an acquaintance with most of the Princes and Lords of that Nation, they return'd into *France*.

Whilst the two eldest were thus forming their minds and bodies to such qualities as were either necessary, or at least becoming their condition; *Lewis* the youngest of the three, design'd for the Church, was with no less care brought up in the knowledge of Letters; whom so soon as the Duke his Father conceiv'd to be of a fit age, he sent him to *La Fleche* to the Colledge of the Father Jesuits, where the discipline requisite for the profession he was to take upon him, was in very great repute. He there continued several years, and came not thence till he had first run through all the degrees, by which men climb to the highest pitch of knowledge; and in effect, when he was call'd thence to come to Court, he had made so happy a progress, that Cardinal *Perron*, a great friend of his Fathers, having been by him intreated to discourse with his Son, had an exceeding great opinion of him, and believ'd him likely to make one of the greatest men of that age, if he proceeded in his profession with a diligence proportionable to the great parts wherewith he enter'd into it.

The three Brothers arriving almost all at the same time at Court, the Duke their Father began to think of establishing the greatness of his Family upon the surest foundation; and thereupon consider'd each of them by himself, for the dividing his Estate amongst them: wherein though they were all embellish'd with so many excellent qualities, that it could hardly be discern'd which had

had the greatest merit ; yet the Duke having design'd to confer his own name upon the second, that consideration inclin'd him a little more to him than the other two. By Article at his Marriage with *Margaret de Foix*, Countess of *Candale*, his eldest Son was to carry the name of *Foix*, and to inherit his Mothers Estate, clear'd, and augmented by the Duke's mony : and his own name was also so great, what by the vertue of his Ancestors, and what by his own, that he would not leave him on whom it was conferr'd, inferiour either in Reputation, or Estate to any whomsoever of his condition, in the Kingdom. He had already by his Service obtain'd from the Queen Regent the Reversion of all his Offices ; viz. of that of Colonel General of the Infantry of *France* ; of first Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, an Office he had ever kept since his first Favour ; of Governour of the City, and Cittadel of *Metz*, and of the *Messin* Country ; of the Provinces, Cities, and Castles of *Xaintes*, and *Angoulesme* ; of the City and Government of *Rochelle*, the Country of *Aulins*, with the higher and lower *Limousin* ; of the City, Castle, and Territory of *Boulogne*, and of the City, Country, and Castle of *Loches* : all which he at this time thus divided amongst his three Sons. To his eldest, the Count of *Candale*, he assign'd in present (causing him forthwith to be admitted into it) the Office of first Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, with the Governments of *Angoumois*, *Xaintonge*, *Aulins*, and *Limousin* in Remainder ; to which he added the whole Estate of the House of *Candale*, amounting to above fourscore thousand Livers yearly revenue in goodly Lordships ; as also the Dutchy of *Espernon*, with the Earldom of *Montfort*, together with other Lands arising to above fifty thousand Crowns a year : to which the Duke having obtain'd an assurance of a *Mareschal's* Staff for this Son, so soon as a more mature age and experience should render him capable of that Employment, he conceiv'd that a high Spirit, as his was, ought to rest very well satisfied with so fair a Fortune.

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To the Marquis de *la Valette*, his second Son, he assign'd his Office of Colonel, and the Government of *Metz* in reversion, with the rest of his Estate whether hereditary or purchas'd, which made up a Revenue equal to the first, together with his share of the Rents, and personal Estate.

For his third Son also he provided to the value of fifty thousand Crowns a year at least in Church preferments ; of which he was not content only to put him into present possession, but gave him moreover a years Revenue advance, that he might have wherewithal to maintain a port suitable to his condition : to which he
further

Anno 1612. further added the survivancy of the Government of *Boulogne*, and *Loches*, with the Office of chief Almoner to the King, which was a leading step to that of great Almoner of *France*.

* Meaning that of Colonel.

In this distribution of his Fortune, the Duke's paternal care and liberality, might (a man would have thought) have amply satisfied the most aspiring Ambitions, and the most avaritious Natures; neither could the two youngest enough magnifie the bounty of so good a Father, who by his Industry, and his Blood had rais'd them to such a height of Riches and Honour: but some malevolent Spirits, enemies to the peace and happiness of the eldest, by a violence upon his nature, perswaded him he had not been kindly us'd in this partition; that therein his younger Brother had the best, and most solid Employments assign'd to him; whereof * one was a Command of it self sufficient to oblige all the Gentlemen of *France*, together with a Frontier much more considerable, than the best Province of the Kingdom; whereas what was consign'd to him, was only an Office of little value, and no great repute at Court, with the expectation of a *Mareschal's* Staff, considerable 'twas true, but a great way off; and that for his Governments, they lay so in the heart of the Kingdom, that his Authority would be very little, or nothing at all; by which means making him at first undervalue the benefits he had receiv'd, they so debauch'd his gratitude at last, as to make him publickly complain of his Fathers proceeding, and to despise all he had, seeing he had not all he desir'd.

The Duke, advertis'd of his Sons discontent, labour'd all he could to reclaim him, and make him see his error, which he afterwards did; neither could any thing be more grateful, and obedient, than he ever carried himself, so oft as he suffer'd himself to be govern'd by his own natural inclination.

Even before the King's death, the Fortune and Greatness of the Father, with the merit, and Riches of the Sons, had rendred their Alliances so considerable, that there were few persons of great Quality at Court, who had not been offer'd to the Duke in Marriage with them; but amongst the several Matches propos'd for the *Count de Candale*, his eldest Son, the Duke preferr'd that with the Dutchess of *Haluin*, Grand-child to the Duke of *Haluin*, and Daughter to the Marquis de *Megnelay*, the inheritrix of a rich and illustrious Family, before all the rest. Whereupon a Marriage betwixt them shortly ensu'd, though discontents soon after arising, grew at last to that height, that in a few years they came to an absolute separation. Those who had the power to sow division in the Marriage-Bed, had the same to perswade the *Count de Candale* into an

The Marriage of the *Count de Candale*, the Duke's eldest Son.

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an open breach with the Duke his Father; the grief whereof (the most sensible of any he had ever met with in the whole course of his life) as it was the cause of infinite others, which befel him afterwards, had like to have brought him to his Grave. Yet did the Duke (as if he had already foreseen what did after fall out) all an indulgent Father could possibly do, to reconcile himself to his Son, and his Son to his Duty: wherein though *Le Plessis* (the usual mediator of all differences in that Family) did as much as could be expected from an extraordinary prudence, and a sincere affection, it proved all to no effect; the *Count* either unable to support the injury he believ'd had been done him in the partition of the Offices, or not well enduring the presence of a Father, he was conscious to himself he had not kindly us'd, being resolv'd by a voluntary Exile, to seek some repose for his troubled mind. He determin'd therefore to forsake *France*, but the end of his Travel was not simply for diversion; neither could he satisfy himself with the meer exercise of some Vertues only to be practis'd in the obscurity of retirement, and in the privacy of a Closet; it was by painful, and perillous actions, and by exposing his life to the uncertain event of great Enterprizes, that he would qualify and sweeten his discontents. Spurr'd on therefore by this generous resolution, he took the second time the way of *Italy*, where arriving at the Court of the great Duke of *Tuscany*, at a time when he was equipping some Gallies for the *Levant*, he entreated that Prince to permit him with his friends to put himself aboard those Vessels. There had not any person of his condition, for many years, gone out of the Kingdom with so honourable a Train of Gentlemen, and those in so handsome an Equipage, as the *Count* did; having above fifty Gentlemen of good quality in his company, whom either their respect to the Father, or the esteem of his own person, had prevail'd upon to run the same fortune with him: *Loziere, de Themines, Monberaut, Calonges, Magnas*, the two Brothers *de la Tour, Villandry, Cipierre, Vernegue, Monplaisir, de Vic, la Boissiere*, with many other Gentlemen of note, were of this number; when the Duke his Father, how afflicted soever at his resolution, yet unwilling he should be expos'd to so infinite, and almost inevitable dangers, without some prudent and faithful person to stand by him in all hazards, permitted *Le Plessis* likewise, who had been very useful to him in his former Travels, to attend him in this sally also; not doubting but he would by his conduct be as serviceable to him in his military undertakings, as he had formerly been by his dexterity in other Affairs.

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The Count
de Candale's
Voyage into
the Levant.

The Duke of *Florence* having consented that the *Count de Candale* with his Companions should embarque in his Gallies, they cours'd up and down the Coasts of the *Levant*, performing some exploits by Sea, and making some attempts by Land, and always with good success: but the particular design of this expedition being upon the Fortress of *Aglimant*, the most important of all *Caramania*, they were to steer their course that way, and to prepare themselves to assault it. This Fortress, favour'd by a good Harbour, was man'd with six hundred *Turks*, and moreover furnish'd with Artillery, Ammunition, and all things necessary for its defense; which, as it lay expos'd to the inroads of the Christians, those who had the Guard of it, were so vigilant to its preservation, that there could be no hope of effecting any thing by surprize. Neither could the Admiral of the *Tuscan* Gallies (*Signior Enguerrany* by name) who was to answer for any miscarriage in the Enterprize, resolve to hazard an attempt, in which he evidently saw so many, and almost invincible difficulties: but the *Count de Candale*, having generously desir'd the greatest danger might be conferr'd upon him, and his, his noble resolution cut off all disputes, and the assault was forthwith concluded.

If in the proposition of this Enterprize the *Count* had evidenc'd the bravery of his Spirit, he made it in the execution more manifestly appear. *Don Pedro Medici* of the Duke's own Family, having resolv'd to make one in this Voyage, would do the *Count de Candale* the Honour to fight in his Squadron, which having had the precedency in landing, had the same deference continued to them throughout the whole Action; which so succeeded to the *Count's* glory, that after a stout resistance he forc'd the place by Petards, and took it; yet not without the loss of some Christians, whereof some Gentlemen of Quality in his own Squadron there lost their lives. *Pedro Medici* was himself desperately wounded, *Le Plessis* more slightly; as also *Monberaut*, and some others: but *Villandry*, *la Boissiere*, and *Verneque* were laid dead upon the place. A loss however soon recompens'd by that of the *Turks*, who had above 300. men slain in the Fight, with two hundred and fifty of them made slaves, as two hundred and forty Christians were set free: So that the *Florentine* General having seiz'd of all the spoil, the *Count de Candale* contented himself with the bare Honour of the Victory. The Fortress was set on fire, and in a short space totally consum'd; the chiefest the *Turk* had upon that Frontier, and that serv'd as a Port to being but five Leagues distance thence.

This action carried on with so great prudence, and perform'd
with

with so admirable Valour, was crown'd with an universal applause: So that the *Count de Candale* return'd into France loaded with Glory and Praise, and *Le Plessis* having whilst he was abroad sweetned his temper, and given him a better taste of his Fathers Affection, at his return home, he also return'd into his Duty and filial Obedience; which made the Duke with an excess of joy receive him with open arms into his bosom; a re-union that continuing some years, the *Count* liv'd at Court in great Honour, and as high Reputation as any Gentleman of his condition in the Kingdom.

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At this time there likewise hapned an absolute and perfect reconciliation betwixt the Duke and the House of *Guise*; for as the refusal of the Marriage of *Madamoiselle de Montpensier* had lost him the *Count de Soissons* friendship, so did the consummation of that of the Dutchess of *Montpensier* her Mother with the Duke of *Guise*, acquire him that of that Duke, and all his Family.

This great Alliance in the revolutions, that after hapned, was of no little importance to the Duke of *Espernon*. The favour of *Concino Concini Marquis d' Encre* began at this time to shew it self, and to appear out of the conceal'dness, and obscurity, where it had till now lain hid, and to raise it self to such a prodigious stature, as drew upon the Marquis the envy of the whole Court. I do not here pretend to speak of the Birth of this Favour, nor of the degrees by which it rose to that excessive height, to which it was so suddenly advanc'd. I shall only say that this Marquis, finding himself too weak to bear the great weight of Envy with which he found himself oppress'd, sought the friendship and support of the Duke of *Espernon*; who he knew was alone sufficient to protect him against all the rest, and to whom, how ambitious soever he might be in his own nature, he made no difficulty to submit. He had in the spring of his favour receiv'd several good Offices from him, in acknowledgment of which, or to interest the Duke further in his preservation, he caus'd the Marriage of his only Daughter with the Marquis *de la Valette* the Duke's second Son, to be propos'd unto him; offering with her in Dowry the Office of *Contable* for the Duke himself, so soon as the King should come out of his Minority, of which the time was near at hand; and for the Marquis, Money and Offices, as much, and as many as they could expect by the means, and through the mediation of a Favourite, who, through his Wife, possess'd an absolute Empire over the Queen Regents will.

Would the Duke have taken the advice of many of his Servants, he had not perhaps, as he did, rejected this proposal: but he

Anno 1612. *The Marquis d'Encres seeks the Duke of Espernon's Alliance, and is rejected.* would never suffer himself to be overcome, either by the importunity of his Friends, or the consideration of his own peculiar interest, as to that motion; insomuch that instead of receiving so advantageous offers with some shew of civility and respect, he fail'd little of rejecting them with injury, and contempt, as he did with great disdain: nay he express'd great offense, and unkindness against those who press'd him to it. An obstinacy that I have often heard condemn'd by some, who believ'd the Duke had never fall'n into those disorders, whereinto he saw himself afterwards plung'd by the Marquis d'Encres excessive favour, had he made himself Moderator, that is Master of Affairs, as he might with great ease have done: but as he would pretend to no favour himself, so could he endure no other Favourites; insomuch that he would rather make it his business to pull this down, than by his interest to serve himself in doing his own work.

Though by this repulse the Marquis d'Encres (upon whom all things depended at that time) was infinitely cool'd towards the Duke; yet did he not manifest any disgust at all: The Duke was so necessary at Court, the Queen could not be without him; he had propounded, and caus'd the Match with *Spain* to be resolv'd upon, contrary to the opinion of the Princes of the Blood, and divers others of great condition, who follow'd their interests; yet could not the business be carried on to the Queen satisfaction, if he did not remain at Court, to fortifie such in their first resolution, as otherwise might perhaps be taken off by the consideration of the great power of those, who so stiffly oppos'd it. It was therefore necessary to make use of him in this occasion for the accomplishment of what had been first propounded by him: and in the end the conditions of the two Marriages having been mutually accepted of in both Courts, there was great demonstration of joy in both Kingdoms, *France* particularly pouring out it self in magnificences to a degree almost of profusion, could too much gratitude have been express'd for a blessing that has already produc'd so much happiness, and that is likely to bring much more to the Kingdom.

Whilst the Court was busie about the preparation for these solemnities, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Count de *Soissons*, suddenly withdrew from Court; whose retirement, together with some discontent those of the Religion made shew of at the same time, gave great apprehension, that matters were likely to come to a speedy rupture: but the wisdom of the Queens Council having apply'd seasonable remedies to this disorder, if they did not absolutely take away the effect of what they fear'd, they at least deferr'd it,

deferr'd it; so that the publick Peace was for this time secur'd. The Queen caus'd the Princes to be treated with, who were at last content to return to Court, and to sign the conditions of the Marriage; and those of the Religion, having by this little disorder procur'd some inconsiderable concessions, referr'd to a fitter opportunity the design they had to interrupt the main work, which they conceiv'd would be infinitely prejudicial to their Interest, and Safety.

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I cannot in this place forbear another digression from my Subject, to speak of the acquisition the Duke made at this time of one of the principal Servants he ever had in his Family, and one whose merit made him afterwards very eminent at Court, where he obtain'd no little Favour and Esteem with the King himself; and this was the *Sieur de Marfillac*, a Gentleman of as great valour, and as graceful a presence as any whatsoever of his time. This man had formerly had a dependence upon *Balagny* (call'd the Brave of the Court) whom *Balagny* had taken out of the Regiment of Guards, where he trail'd a Pike, to put him upon one of the boldest, and most honourable Actions a Gentleman of his condition could possibly undertake, and that was to carry a Challenge to the Duke of *Eguillon*, since Duke of *Mayenne*. This business hapned in the Reign of *Henry* the great, who did not condemn him for it; and, though it was the first of this nature that perhaps had ever been known in *France*, gave notwithstanding the Duke of *Mayenne* his Father no satisfaction therein, what complaints soever he could make. I have heard *Marfillac* himself tell the story: He adventur'd a poor younger Brother as he was, to go execute his Commission even in the Duke d' *Eguillon*'s own Bed-Chamber, whose generosity and freedom he could never sufficiently commend, he doing him the honour to go out with him alone to give his friend satisfaction, without other caution, than his own bare word, though he could by no means prevail with him, to let him be further concern'd in the Quarrel, being resolute to end the dispute without a Second; the only thing whereof he could complain in the Duke's behaviour towards him; though he gave him at the same time as much reason, to magnifie the extraordinary, and noble care he took to conceal the action from the Duke of *Mayenne* his Fathers knowledge. He was in the house when the Challenge was brought, and has often been heard to say, that had he known his temerity, he would have caus'd *Marfillac* to have been tost out of the Windows, to have taught him what it was to bring a Message of that nature to a Prince, from a private Gentleman: and doubtless he would

A Challenge
carried by
Marfillac
from *Ba-*
lagni to the
Duke of
Eguillon.

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1613. have been as good as his word, he was so highly incens'd at the affront; which perhaps serv'd for an example shortly after to the Baron of *Luz*, in his challenge to the *Chevalier de Guise*. As for *Marillac* after the death of *Balagny* (who was kill'd in a Quarrel) being entertain'd into the Duke of *Espernon's* Service, he obtain'd under him in the command of his Guard, which he bestow'd upon him, so high a reputation, and esteem, that he was at last desir'd by the King; where his Majesty gave him a Company in his own Guards, and his deserts were infallibly raising him to a much higher fortune, if at the same time the King express'd the greatest esteem and affection for him, he had not at the Siege of *Privas* receiv'd a Musquet-shot in his head, which as it determin'd his hopes, was also the reward of all his Service.

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1614. New disorders in the Kingdom. We here with a new year enter upon a new disorder, of which the immoderate greatness of *Conchini* was either the effectual, or at least the pretended cause; and doubtless his favour and insolence were rais'd to that excess, as rendred him intolerable; either of which are sufficiently odious in whomsoever they happen to be found; but being united in him, pull'd upon him the hatred, or envy of all sorts of men. The most part of the great ones seeing themselves excluded from all knowledge of Affairs (neither is it possible to satisfy all who will pretend to that privilege) cast their eyes upon the Prince of *Condé*, to interest him in their discontentments; and the *Hugonot* Faction not being able without great jealousy to see the Marriage accomplish'd, was no less ready than those *Grandees* to break into open arms: The one and the other then being in such a disposition, had joyntly by the negotiation of the Duke of *Boüillon* recourse to the Prince of *Condé*, perswading him to oppose himself to *Conchini's* greatness, to demand punishment for those evils of which he had been the cause, and a Reformation in the State; the old and common pretense of all such as would infest the publick peace. The Prince had ever since the death of the *Count de Soissons* been in high consideration, not only by reason of his quality as first, but also as it were sole Prince of the Blood; to which his admirable endowments rendred him no less conspicuous, than did the preeminence of his Birth: He was knowing, dexterous, and intelligent in all sorts of business, beyond what could be expected from his age: notwithstanding all which great qualities, something yet being wanting, that some conceiv'd was requir'd in a person of his eminent condition, they had not allow'd him that share in the management of Affairs he either merited, or at least desir'd; an injury that he very much resneting, and moreover animated by the perswasions not of the Duke

Duke de Bouillon only, but also by the Dukes of Longueville, *Mayenne*, *Nevers*, and *Luxembourg*, who had every one a particular pretext for his defection, made him suddenly depart from Court, and retire himself to *Mezieres* in *Champagne*, from whence, should he be smartly laid to, he might conveniently retreat to *Sedan*. To this place he was follow'd by all the other discontented Lords: as for the Duke of *Vendosme*, who had likewise promis'd to do the same, not being able to get clear of the Court so soon as he intended (having been detain'd prisoner in a Chamber of the *Louvre*) he nevertheless finding means to deceive his Guards, escap'd soon after to his Government of *Bretagne*, where he did what he could to fortifie the Faction by the interest he had in that Province.

This great number of discontents put the Court into strange disorder, the old Ministers of State, who had seen nothing of a Civil War for many years, apprehending this would certainly involve the Kingdom in a desperate confusion: but the Duke of *Espernon* having consider'd that the Princes for the most part had neither mony, nor credit at home, nor no intelligence abroad, few places to retire unto, and fewer friends amongst the people, whom the serenity of the present Government had rendred very well satisfied with their condition, was of a quite contrary opinion. He therefore advis'd the Queen Regent to cause them by the Regiments of *French*, and *Swisse* Guards, with such Horle as were ready at hand to be suddenly pursu'd; assuring her, that if the King would please to put himself into the head of this little Body, he might with the greatest ease imaginable, and without resistance suppress a faction that had inconsiderately engag'd in a Rebellion without other ground than the meer instigation of some mutinous spirits, and no other support at all. It was the same advice he had formerly given *Henry* the III. in the time of his favour, and in the first commotions of the League; which not having then been hearkened to, had cost the King and the whole Kingdom so dear: but the same Counsel had here the same success, the wisdom of the Ministers of State could not give ear to an advice, wherein they apprehended so great a danger; so that for want of having observ'd what the preience of a King does in a Kingdom, where the respect to the Sovereign Authority has ever been so inviolate, as that it seems to be a quality inherent to that people, they lost the most favourable opportunity to have secur'd the present peace, and to have prevented the mischiefs that ensu'd, could possibly have been wish'd. An oversight that the Prince of *Condé* very well observing, as I have heard him say himself,

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1614.

The Duke
of *Espernon's*
advice.

Not follow-
ed, to the
great disad-
vantage of
the Royal
Affairs.

Anno self, he of that observation (as we shall see hereafter) made a
 1614. great advantage for the King's Service in the Queen Mothers
 Affairs.

The advice of taking Arms being thus rejected, the Duke of *Espernon* refus'd to have any hand in the insuing Treaty, wherein he saw they were to purchase a Peace he neither thought honourable, nor likely long to continue. It was nevertheless soon concluded, and the Princes having at this time found no disposition in the people to follow the humour of their priuate discontents; nor being able of themselves to raise any considerable force, made no great difficulty of selling a Peace, they would undoubtedly have bought at any price, had they once been made to feel the smart of War. But for this they had great summes of mony, that furnish'd them for another Rebellion, with some other conditions, as that there should be a Convocation of the Estates General for regulating such disorders as (they said) were introduc'd into the Kingdom. And this was that call'd the Peace of *Saint Menehou*, according to the Articles of which, there follow'd after a Convocation of the Estates, but not till the Declaration of the King's Majority had first been ratified in the Parliament of *Paris*; that Act having been thought convenient to precede the Assembly, to the end that whatever they should there conclude, might be more authentick, and admit of no dispute for the time to come.

During this Session of the Estates, and in the sight as it were of all *France*, which in the persons of their Deputies seem'd to be then present at *Paris*, the Duke did an action which made a great bustle, and noise in the beginning; but that in the issue, through the high consideration and esteem of his Authority and Vertue, was pass'd over well enough. I have already said, when speaking of the erection of the Duke's command of Colonel General in Title of an Office of the Crown, that the King annex'd thereto a Sovereign Justice, or Court Martial over all the *French* Infantry. In any difference betwixt Souldier and Souldier, the Duke, together with the Officers of that Body to which the Souldier did belong, was absolute and sovereign Judge of the Offense; but if the difference hapned to be betwixt a Souldier and a Citizen, there he was to call some Officers of Justice, together with the Officers of the Regiment to assist him. Rules that, being enter'd amongst the Statutes of the Crown, are at this day part of the Law, as they make up the most noble part of that brave command. It hapned that at this time, two Souldiers of the Regiment of Guards fighting a Duel in the *Pré-au-Clercs*, a place within the

the Jurisdiction of the Abby of *Saint Germans*, the one being slain, the other was taken, and delivered into the hands of the Prevoft of *Saint Germans*, who detain'd him in the Prison belonging to the Abby. Whereupon the Duke conceiving this had been ignorantly done by the Officer, who perhaps might not know how far in this case his Authority did extend, sent the Prevoft-Martial of the Regiment to the Bailiff to make him understand the right the Duke had to demand his Prisoner, and withal civilly to entreat him to deliver him up, that he might be brought to his Trial: But this entreaty was answer'd with a surly and positive denial, which being, in the terms it was deliver'd, carried back to the Duke, made him infinitely impatient, that the Laws establish'd in favour of his command, should suffer so great a contempt: neither could he on the other side submit to pursue all the due Forms, by which he was by order of Law and Justice to retrieve his man. Thinking it therefore the most expedite way to make use of his own Authority in the case, he commanded the Lieutenant of the Company of which the Prisoner was, to take a Squadron along with him, and by fair means or foul to bring him away; which was accordingly executed: and upon a second refusal the Prison of *Saint Germans* broke open, and the Souldier carried away to be punish'd according to the rigour of the Law, but by those nevertheless who were his proper and natural Judges.

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1614.

Hereupon the Bailiff goes to the Parliament to complain of the contempt had been offer'd to the Court by a violence upon their inferiour Officers: upon which complaint, and an Indictment *Viva voce* preferr'd by the Bailiff himself; the Parliament issued out a Warrant to apprehend the Lieutenant for executing his Colonels Order, with a Citation of personal appearance against the Colonel himself: A proceeding, that as it could not certainly be approv'd by all, surpriz'd and nettled the Duke to the last degree. He complain'd of it to the King, representing at the same time his reasons to justify the Act, and not being able to support the contempt he conceiv'd was cast upon his person, by a body he had ever honour'd, and sometimes oblig'd, he would give the world an accompt it was no easie matter to serve a Process upon him. That from the Parliament had been granted out the sixteenth of *November*, and on the nineteenth the Duke went thither in person, accompanied with five, or six hundred Gentlemen, besides whom there also crowded as many more young Souldiers of the Regiment of Guards into the Palace; inso-much that all the Base-Court, Galleries, and the very Hall it self

was

Anno was full of them. The Duke pretended he went to present himself in obedience to the Proceſs had been iſſued out againſt him; though no one could believe he went in ſuch a poſture with any intent of ſubmiſſion: So that the Parliament advertiz'd of his coming with ſo great a Train, and not knowing his deſign, nor to what his paſſion might transport him, ſuddenly adjourn'd, retiring every man his own way before their uſual time.

1614.

As it is hard to govern a confus'd, and unruly multitude, a ſort of young hair-brain'd fellows, who attended the Duke, offer'd ſome indignities, and affronts to ſome of the inferiour Officers of the Court; and being moſt of them in Boots, purpoſely intangled their Spurs in the Uſhers, and Proctors Gowns, thinking thereby the more to oblige the Duke, as they appear'd more ſenſible of his offence. An insolence that infinitely aggravated the buſineſs, which without that had been foul enough of it ſelf. A great complaint whereof was made againſt the Duke, as reſponſible for all that hapned at the Palace, every one believing that, in the deſign he had to brave the Parliament, all things were done by his order, which had paſs'd in his preſence.

If the Duke had manifeſted a relentment of the injury he had receiv'd from the Parliament, the Parliament expreſs'd no leſs for what the Duke had done to the contempt of their Dignity; yet did they make no complaint thereof to the King; but remaining in a profound ſilence (the trueſt ſign of a violent affliction) order'd a ceſſation of Juſtice, with a determinate reſolution never to meet again, till firſt a publick and ſolemn reparation ſhould be made.

This buſineſs, proceeding to ſuch a height, put the King and Queen into a very great confuſion; they thought it neither convenient nor ſafe in this juncture of Affairs, which ſeem'd to threaten ſome ſudden miſchief, to diſoblige the Duke of *Eſpernon*; neither did they think it an eaſie matter to perſwade him to pay the Parliament any great ſubmiſſions; who, on the other ſide, would in ſuch a caſe as this accept of no ordinary ſatisfaction. At laſt the King ſent the Duke *de Vantadour* to the Palace, to tell the Parliament from him, That by their Body his perſon being repreſented, all the injury they pretended to have receiv'd from the Duke of *Eſpernon* reflected immediately upon him: That his Majesty alſo took it to himſelf, to whom it did belong, to vindicate his own Honour, which he ſhould be ſufficiently able to do without any neceſſity upon them of eſpouſing his Quarrel: but that becauſe the buſineſs had made ſome noiſe, that might perhaps have given ſome offence to the publick, he therefore deſir'd they ſhould receive a publick ſatisfaction, and ſuch a one as ſhould

“ should satisfie the world of the great respect he had to Justice.
 “ That in order thereunto it was his pleasure the Prisoner should
 “ be return’d to the same place from whence he had been taken,
 “ and by the same person by whom he had been fetch’d away ;
 “ and as for what concern’d the Duke, who protested he had no
 “ intention to offend the Parliament in what he had done , he
 “ should be desir’d in his own person to make the same protesta-
 “ tion before them.

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Things being thus order’d, the Duke of *Espernon* the nine and twentieth of the same month went to the Palace ; when , though with no extraordinary Train about his person, so many nevertheless of his Friends had convey’d themselves into the Palace, as were sufficient to make head against his Enemies, should they, by taking advantage of the place, or by pretending to do a right to the Assembly, have attempted any thing against him. Being come into the great Chamber, and having taken his accustomed seat, he, speaking with his hat on, in few words Remonstrated :
 “ That having never had other intent, than to pay all due respect
 “ to an Assembly in which he had had the honour for many years
 “ to have some place, he could not but admire they should inter-
 “ pret what was an effect of that due honour and respect , for a
 “ premeditated offense : That he was not altogether so unthrifty
 “ of his own Interest , as to offer an injury to them, which he
 “ could not but know would rebound upon himself : That he
 “ had, for two and thirty years past, been a Member of that Ho-
 “ nourable Body ; during all which time there had not been per-
 “ haps a man of his condition, more passionate for their Service,
 “ than himself in the Kingdom : That he had set down amongst
 “ the good fortunes of his life , the opportunity he had happily
 “ met withal of expressing his good Affection to the Dignity of
 “ that Assembly, when after the death of *Henry* the Great, of
 “ Glorious Memory, he had first advis’d them to make use of
 “ their own Authority in providing for the Regency of the King-
 “ dom : That he had tendred them his Service upon that occasi-
 “ on, which had not been altogether ineffectual to the putting
 “ them in possession of a priviledge which would doubtless be ta-
 “ ken notice of in ages yet to come : That if any indiscreet per-
 “ sons had made use of his name, either for the pretense of their
 “ insolencies, or in the prosecution of their own private revenge,
 “ he seriously demanded their Justice, as the person most con-
 “ cern’d in the offense : That he very well knew his enemies
 “ would lay hold of that occasion, to make him appear in all the
 “ fault ; but that he did humbly beseech them to judge more fa-

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“vourably of his intentions, and that all things past might be
 “forgot (concluding his speech with these very words) That he
 “did intreat to be excus’d, if in a rude and unpolish’d discourse,
 “he had not given that satisfaction he could have wish’d to their
 “Learned Ears, who having been all his life a Captain of Foot,
 “had ever made it more his study to do, than to speak well. To
 which the first President *Verdun*, after having gather’d the Votes
 of the Assembly, return’d this Answer: “That since the King
 “was graciously pleas’d to incline more to Clemency than Ri-
 “gour, the Court by his Majesties express Command, and in con-
 “sideration of his many brave Services, as also willing to make
 “the best interpretation of what had pass’d, accepted of his ex-
 “cuse; hoping thereby for the future, to engage both himself and
 “his Sons to pay those Services to the King and Kingdom to
 “which they were in gratitude oblig’d; and to that Court the
 “Honour and respect was due unto them. Of which he never af-
 ter fail’d; neither at the hour of his death, was there any person
 “of his condition in the Kingdom, who had more friends than
 he in that honourable Assembly, nor that had more reason upon
 several occasions to magnifie their Justice.

The end of the Sixth Book.

THE



THE
 HISTORY
 Of the LIFE of the
 Duke of Espernon.

The Seventh Book.



Soon after the forementioned dispute betwixt the Parliament, and the Duke, the Assembly of Estates broke up; which, instead of the happy Reformation was expected to ensue, was immediately follow'd by a War; upon which the Council (after having long waver'd in the uncertainty of the Peace so lately and so dearly bought) saw it necessary at last to resolve. The discontents of the Prince of Condé was again the cause of this, as it had been of the late Commotion; and those discontents again founded upon the greatness of *Conchini*, now advanc'd to the honour of *Mareschal of France*. The *Mareschal* therefore finding the Prince had conceiv'd an implacable animosity against him, and very well foreseeing, that unless he freed himself from the difficulties he would eternally strew in his way, he could never raise himself to that pitch of greatness, to which he did aspire; he resolv'd to come to a publick Rupture with him, and to remove him from the King's Presence by a War that should for a sufficient time secure himself from those obstacles

Anno
 1615.

The Com-
 motion of
 the Princes
 to hinder
 the Marri-
 age with
 Spain.

Anno he was otherwise certain to receive from so powerful an Enemy.
 1615. The Prince was already retir'd in great discontent from Court; having as before, taken the way of *Champagne*, that he might be near *Sedan*, his surest refuge, should he be overmatch'd by the Royal Power: where after *Conchini* had long amus'd him with the hope of some advantageous Accommodation he at one blow cut him off that expectation, by causing a Summons to be sent him to be in readiness to attend the King in his Progress into *Guienne*, whither his Majesty was resolv'd shortly to take a Journey for the consummation of his Marriage; an Affair that having ever been oppos'd by the Prince, he very well understood the meaning of that Summons, and now plainly saw how he was to trust in the strength of his own Arms. He had ever since the last breach been so solicitous to continue his intelligence, and to maintain the League he had contracted with the Lords of his Party the precedent year, that it was no hard matter for him to engage them in this new Quarrel: the Dukes of *Longueville*, *Mayenne*, *Vendosme*, and *Nevers* declar'd highly in his favour, and the Duke of *Boiillon* (whose interest carried the whole *Hugonot* Faction along with it) did the same; so that all things were apparently dispos'd for an intestine War, in all the best Provinces of the Kingdom.

So many discontented persons, and those so considerable in themselves, put the Court into no little disorder; the Kings Journey in order to his Marriage had been resolv'd upon, and the time with the *Spanish* Agents concluded; which was every where so publickly known, that the Honour of the King and the Queen Mother was not a little concern'd in the consummation of a thing, to which they were so solemnly engag'd: but there was scarce any who durst undertake to overcome the difficulties were prepar'd to hinder that great Affair. For after the retirement of all the forenam'd Princes, there was not any remain'd at Court, except the Dukes of *Guise* and *Espernon*, who were capable of serving the King in so dangerous an occasion; and of these the Duke of *Guise*, though in shew well enough with the Queen, stood nevertheless so suspected to her, that she durst not trust an Army in his hands, lest by joyning with the discontented Princes (whereof the greater part were his Kindred, or nearly ally'd to him) his Majesties Person might be left wholly to their discretion; and although she had not the same jealousy of the Duke of *Espernon* (no body doubting his Fidelity) yet could not that command be conferr'd upon him, without giving offense to the Duke of *Guise*.

In this anxiety then how she might satisfy them both, the Duke of *Espernon* went one day to attend the Queen, where he made it his humble request; to her Majesty, she would not in the least consider his particular satisfaction in this occurrence: "Telling her he should ever be very well satisfied, provided their Majesties were serv'd as they ought to be: That he did hope they would, and that he was doing something in order to securing their Journey so far as *Bordeaux*; wherein he nevertheless pretended to no other Command, than barely to ride in the head of those Friends, which he should make ready for that Service: That perhaps a greater Authority might give distaste to some, who at this time were by no means to be disoblig'd: That for what concern'd the Princes, a good Army interpos'd betwixt them, and *Paris*, under the command of some man of Quality and Experience would be sufficient: and that for any thing could be apprehended from those of the Religion, whose greatest strength were in *Poitou*, *Xaintongue*, and *Rochelle* upon the way to *Bordeaux*, he himself would undertake; his Governments in those parts giving him sufficient power so to do.

The Queen Mother, by this assurance being confirm'd in her first design, told the Duke that she absolutely resign'd the King's Person, and her own to his care and protection; that she therefore desir'd him to order all things, as should seem to him the most convenient, as she absolutely left them to his Valour and Wisdom: A Commission the Duke had no sooner receiv'd, but that seeing himself authorized so to do, he caus'd the King's departure the seventeenth of *August* to be proclaim'd, perswading the Queen to confer the Command of the Army which was to attend the Princes motion upon the *Mareschal de Bois-Dauphin*; advising her Majesty further, and in the first place to provide for the security of *Paris*, that the Princes Servants, who had great Authority in the City, might raise no commotion there in their Majesties absence.

After therefore that had been taken order for, by the securing of some eminent and suspected persons, the Court departed from *Paris*, happily arriving in a few days at *Poitiers*: and had not Madam the King's Sister fallen sick of the Small Pox delayed their Journey, their Majesties had been upon their return before the Princes could have got their Forces together; but that unhappy accident, having constrain'd them to stay near two months at *Poitiers*, gave their Enemies leisure to put them into great apprehensions: which was also the only harm they received from this insurrection.

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1615.
The Duke
of *Espernon*'s
Service upon
this occasion.

Anno 1615. At the same City of *Poitiers* there hapned another disorder at this time, wherein had not the Duke of *Espernon*, who was principally concern'd in the Affair, rendred himself unusually tractable, another obstacle to that Progress had infallibly ensu'd. The Duke of *Guise*, from the time of his Marriage with the Dutches of *Montpensier*, had pretended to the Wardship of *Madamoiselle* her Daughter; who was Inheritrix to such a Fortune, as might reasonably induce any man to covet the management of so brave an Estate, which nevertheless he could not obtain, without the consent of the Duke who was great Uncle to the young Princess: and he, having very good reason to believe the Duke of *Guise* did in this claim, more consider his own interest, than that of the Dutches of *Montpensier* his Niece, would never gratifie him in that particular. But the Duke of *Guise* conceiving his Service to be altogether necessary at this time, took this opportunity to importune the Queen, either to cause the Duke of *Espernon* to satisfie him in this point, or to give him leave to retire. Whereupon the Queen spoke of it to the Duke, whom she found very averse to any such motion; he humbly entreating her Majesty to dispose absolutely of all his own concerns, but not to command him to neglect his Nieces interests: though in the end, the Queen, who could promise to her self no good issue of that Journey, without a good intelligence betwixt these two great persons, so far prevail'd upon the Duke, that he was content to satisfie the Duke of *Guise*; by which means their friendship upon the point for ever to be dissolv'd, upon this little occasion, grew greater and more firm than ever.

As it had been no hard matter to foresee how advantageous the long Sickness of *Madam*, and their Majesties stay at *Poitiers* would be to the designs of those of the Religion, and others who were engag'd in the Princes Quarrel: So had the Duke of *Espernon* omitted nothing that might any way serve to divert the dangerous effects of that untoward accident. And herein he had been especially solicitous to put his Governments of *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois* into a posture fit for his Majesties Service, upon that the security of that Voyage chiefly depending. To this purpose therefore he had sent thither the Duke of *Candale*, his eldest Son (already establish'd in the succession of those Governments) to keep them in Obedience: Nevertheless what he did for so good an end, succeeded otherwise than he expected, news being brought him, that this Son had entertain'd resolutions much contrary to his own, and having suffer'd himself to be misled by certain ungovern'd passions, was fall'n off from

from his duty to embrace new Counsels, and to follow new Designs.

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Whether it were the sense of this miscarriage in his Son (which also occasion'd a new, and a wider breach betwixt them) or the apprehension of being by this means made incapable of performing his word with the King and Queen, that put his mind into that disorder whereinto he soon after fell; so it was that he fell sick of so violent a grief, as every one expected would carry him to his grave. Things nevertheless succeeded in his Government according to what he had undertaken; their Majesties after the recovery of Madam, having left *Poitiers*, proceeded in great security to *Angoulesme*; neither there, nor in any other place throughout the whole Journey meeting with any impediment at all. But the Duke wounded to the soul with the violent sorrow of his Sons untoward carriage was now no longer able to bear it out; but having convey'd their Majesties to the utmost bounds of his Government (that is to say out of all danger, they there entring upon *Guienne*, where the way was clear to *Bordeaux*) fell suddenly into so great a weakness, that he was carried back for dead to *Angoulesme*: He lay above forty hours (a very extraordinary thing) without speech, pulse, or any kind of motion; insomuch that not a person about him, but concluded him absolutely dead: but at last his Spirits, which had been so long overcome with grief, and his strength weakned by a very long abstinence, being stirr'd up by a glass of Water (his ordinary and best Remedy, and which he ever made use of in all distempers) he began a little to come to himself, with so great an astonishment nevertheless, that he continued a great while without any kind of knowledge; his sighs, which were the issue of his grief, being the only evidence almost he gave that he was yet alive. Yet could he not, in this great and total neglect of himself, forget the care of his Masters Affairs, he being no sooner return'd to a new life, but that he dispatch'd away the *Marquis de la Valette*, who had continued about him, during his Sickness, to attend the King, and Queen; that the Friends he had engag'd in this Voyage, having himself as it were present with them, in the person of so dear a part of himself, might continue more diligent in their duty.

The Duke
of *Espernon*
falls desper-
ately sick.

The Duke had the honour, during this Sickness, to be visited by several persons sent purposely by the King and Queen to see him, by whom he receiv'd very obliging Letters, under their Majesties own hands; and when something recover'd, others of the same stile and kindness. *Monsieur de Villeroy* also, after their old animosities, being become his very great friend, writ very often

to

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to him ; wherein he still gave him an accompt of all Affairs, conjuring him to make all the haste he could to Court, where he said his Presence and Service was never more necessary than at this time. Two of which Letters I have seen, bearing date the twentieth, and four and twentieth of *October* 1615. Not that the Duke was nevertheless upon so good terms at Court, as he had formerly been : neither did those Letters imply any such thing , it being hardly to be expected he could be in any eminent degree of favour with the Queen Mother (upon whom , at that time , all things depended) being out with the *Mareschal d' Encre* , whose Wife had so strange an ascendent over her Majesties inclinations ; but that his Service could, in this juncture , by no means be spar'd : neither did he, how evidently soever he saw his favour decline, fail, out of that consideration , in any part of his Duty, being resolute rather to perish, than that their Majesties should suffer the least inconvenience. So soon therefore as he was able to Travel, he went to *Bordeaux*, where he arriv'd the twelfth day of *November*, and a few days after attended the King to *Castres* , a little Village upon the great Road from *Bayonne* to that City ; where the King would the first time see the Queen his Spouse , and where the Duke, who was very perfect in the *Spanish* Tongue, had the honour to entertain her at the Boot of her Coach , whilst his Majesty, in a crowd of some young Lords and Gentlemen on Horseback pass'd by *incognito* to view her.

Queen
Anne of Au-
stria arrives
at Bordeaux.

The young Queen, arriving at *Bordeaux* the 25th. of *November*, found the Court in a very great Alarm at the news of the Princes being advanc'd on this side the River *Loire* ; whose Forces being by this time united , and moreover re-inforc'd with some Foreign Troops, were likely to make their Majesties return to *Paris* very difficult, and dangerous. An occasion wherein the Duke of *Espernon's* Services were again of very great moment, who, during his abode at *Angoulesme*, after his recovery, had made many Levies, which were all ready at *Ville-Bois* ; a recruit that consisting of 5000. Foot, and 400. Light Horse , and joyn'd to the Forces their Majesties already had, absolutely secur'd their return through the Countries of *Xaintonge* , and *Poitou* , possess'd by those of the Religion, and without any difficulty made good their way to *Poitiers*, and so to *Tours*, notwithstanding whatever the Princes could do to oppose them.

In this return of the King to *Paris*, the Duke of *Guise* was made General of the Army, which had hitherto serv'd under the *Mareschal de Bois-Dauphin* , and the Duke of *Espernon* had also the absolute Authority of their Majesties Conduct conferr'd upon him ;

him ; who, for fear of distasting the Duke of *Guise* would never till then pretend to any command : an undertaking wherein he so acquitted himself, as might give him reasonable expectation of a grateful return : But who can promise to himself any fruits of his services, especially at Court, where the best are usually rewarded with hatred, or envy ? nor had the Duke's a better acknowledgment, when having perform'd all that could be expected from a Loyal Subject, and a brave Gentleman, and that their Majesties by his vigilancy and valour were once settled in safety, there was nothing more thought of, than how to revenge the *Mareschal d' Encre*, even at the price of so good, and so faithful a Servant.

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The first evidence the Duke met withal of any manifest disgrace, was upon the occasion of a vacancy that hapned in the Company of *la Courbe*, one of the Captains in the Regiment of Guards : a Gentleman that having serv'd long, and with great Reputation in that Command, and hapning to die in this Journey ; and his Son a young and hopeful Cavalier, having before his Fathers death been admitted Ensign to that Company, the Duke, who had been a great lover of the Father (whose brave and late Services seem'd likewise to plead in behalf of the Son) had mov'd their Majesties in his Favour, that that Command might be conferr'd upon him. Since the death of the late King, nor of long before, had the Duke ever appear'd zealous in any request he had not, without any great difficulty, obtain'd ; neither had he less, but more reason now, than ever to expect the same favour, his recent Services having been of that importance to the Kings Affairs : all which nevertheless being either not regarded, or forgot ; and the design had before been concluded to disoblige him, prevailing above the merits of the Father, the pretenders Right, and the Duke's Interest who interceded for him, *la Besne*, Lieutenant to the same Company, was prefer'd before young *la Courbe* ; how displeas'd soever the Duke seem'd to be at that Election. Yet did he not resent this ill usage so high as to leave the Court, satisfying himself at present with manifesting his discontents by many and publick complaints, though in vain, the Court now no more caring to offend him : but on the contrary taking this occasion to exclude him from the Council, where his candid, and unbyass'd opinions did nothing relish with such as would have all things give way to their own private interests (and doubtless had he at this time in the least bandied with his enemies, they would immediately have attempted upon his person) that the *Mareschal d' Encre*, and his Wife might by so powerful an opposer be no longer travers'd in their designs.

The beginning of the Duke of Espernon's disgrace:

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The Duke's Affairs were in this posture, when their Majesties having first recover'd *Poitiers*, and afterwards *Chastellerant* (where the Peace concluded at *Loudun* was sign'd) arriv'd in the end at *Tours*; neither did the Duke there fail, how ill soever he saw himself entertain'd, continually to pay all due reverence to the Queen, when coming one day into her Chamber with a great many other Lords and Gentlemen, one of the beams that supported the floor suddenly broke; insomuch that all that side of the Room fell down with a sudden ruine, overwhelming all those that stood upon it, to their exceeding great peril. Many persons of very eminent quality were engag'd in the danger of this fall, amongst whom the *Count de Soissons*, then very young, was one, as also the Duke *Bassompierre*, *Villeroy*, and some others: The Duke being always very well attended, his Servants suddenly leap'd into the midst of the ruines, to relieve him, where, though himself was dangerously engag'd, and very much hurt in several places, especially in one shoulder, he nevertheless call'd out to his Friends to run and save the *Count*, himself also assisting as much as in him lay to disengage him from the rubbish, and to put him out of danger by the Window of a low Parlour; being much more solicitous of this Prince's safety than his own: who, being by his own, and his Servants diligence secur'd, he afterwards disengag'd himself from the ruines, and wounded, as has been said, was convey'd to his own Lodgings. The Queen Mother, who, by good fortune had escap'd the danger (that part of the Chamber where she sat, being supported by the more faithful strength of the other Beam that remain'd entire) sent very graciously to visit all the persons of Quality, who had receiv'd any hurt by this accident, the Duke only (who was design'd for the worst usage) excepted. It is not to be doubted, but that the Duke must needs highly resent so manifest a preterition, by which he evidently perceiv'd they intended to make him sensible of his disgrace; so that fearing, should he continue at Court after so clear a testimony of disfavour, something of a ruder nature might be put upon him, he forthwith resolv'd to retire himself, as he did, but with high and publick complaints of the injustice was done him, and of the unworthy recompense he received for all his Service. He spent two days before his departure in visiting, and taking leave of his friends, forbearing nevertheless that Ceremony to all he conceiv'd not to be such, in what degree of favour soever they might be at Court; he either having never understood, or having never been willing to learn those mean Court Maxims that oblige men to dissemble their resentments, and to give thanks for injuries receiv'd: declaring

The Duke
in great
danger.

claring on the contrary to all the world, that he went away with the dissatisfaction an honest man ought to have for the loss of his time, and service. Notwithstanding at last, taking his leave of their Majesties, he was by the King and Queen very civilly dismiss, though the Queen Mother receiv'd his last complements with the usual coldness she had already begun to discover upon several occasions.

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1615.

The Duke
of Espernon
retires from
Court.

After this manner the Duke retir'd back to *Angoulesme*, his old, and ordinary refuge, in all his disgraces, whilst their Majesties continued their Journey to *Paris*, where they arriv'd in *June*; and whither the Prince of *Condé* also (imagining he had by the Treaty of *London* establish'd his Affairs in so sure a condition, that it was not in the power of event to work any alteration to his disadvantage) came presently after; but he soon found that nothing is more unstable, than a power, how great soever, that depends meerly upon its own strength, the sole name of a King (though a Child, and the publick administration managed by a man hateful to all) being sufficient to arrest him in the very arms of all his Confederates, and even in the City of *Paris*, where he believ'd his person, through the affections of the people in greater security, than in any other place of the Kingdom.

The Prince
of Condé
confia'd.

All the Princes, and Lords, not only those then present at Court, and who had engag'd with the Prince in the late commotions, but also all the rest of their party, astonish'd at so extraordinary a proceeding, and believing that after an example like this, neither respect of persons, nor any security in general was to be expected, they suddenly retir'd from Court; to whom the rest almost as suddenly re-united themselves for their common safety. The *Mareschal*, who thought that by securing the Head of the Faction, he had likewise secur'd himself from the danger of the rest, was infinitely surpriz'd when he saw them now united in more formidable numbers than before, and that the Lords of the House of *Guise* also absented themselves upon this occasion; wherein nevertheless he had this hope, that so many persons of equal quality would not long agree together, especially if press'd home by the Royal Arms: An opinion that made him resolve to set immediately such Forces on foot, as should be sufficient to encounter, and suppress them in several places at once. Neither did he care to reduce any by Treaty, save only the Duke of *Guise*, conceiving an Accommodation with him would be more easily effected, than with any of the other, by how much he had ever observ'd a greater moderation in him, and his Brothers towards himself, than the rest; to which likewise the complacency the

Anno 1615. Duke had ever manifested for the Queen in other occasions, gave him greater assurance of a flexibility in him to her Majesties desires in this, and that without much difficulty a good intelligence might be establish'd betwixt them; as there afterwards was, the *Gujes*, having receiv'd caution for their security, being content to return to Court.

The *Mareschal d'Encre* takes arms against the Prince of *Condé's* Partizans.

This little negotiation being so happily dispatch'd, the *Mareschal* immediately betook himself to Arms, and so vigorously, that in a very few days, three great Armies were set on foot, whereof one was sent against the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was retir'd to *Soissons*; another against the Duke of *Nevers* in *Champagne*; and the third against the Dutchess of *Nevers*, who with a generosity (something extraordinary in her delicate Sex) was resolute to defend the Dutchy of *Nivernois*, which was the Inheritance of the Duke her Husband.

Anno 1616. In this disorder of Affairs, the Duke of *Espernon*, apprehending that the hatred the *Mareschal* had conceiv'd against him, was no less than that he manifested against the rest, and that he would infallibly fall upon him, so soon as he had dispatch'd with them, he had no mind to be surpriz'd, nor to suffer himself tamely to be oppress'd; considering therefore that alone he should not long be able to resist the power of the King, whose name his enemy had usurp'd in all his Affairs, he address'd himself to the Duke of *Montmorency*, to engage him in his Quarrel; by whose mediation he made no doubt to draw over *l'Esdiquieres* also. The Duke knew those two to be no better satisfied with the present Government than himself; who, although they were not openly persecuted as he was, yet the example of the other persons of the same condition, making them reasonably to apprehend for themselves, what they already saw others suffer; he doubted not, but that without much difficulty they would be perswaded to embrace the union; neither was he mistaken herein, the Duke of *Montmorency*, as also *l'Esdiquieres*, absolutely engaging with him. So that these three Confederates, having opportunity to concur in the work, through the mediation, and by the assistance of several powerful friends the Duke had in *Guienne*, nothing could hinder them from uniting, in so necessary a defense, and so just a Quarrel.

Anno 1617. The Duke, notwithstanding he had thus wisely play'd his game, and that he was certain to receive very great assistance from his Confederates, did nevertheless very well understand, that as he was nearest to the approaching danger, so it would be very necessary for him to put himself soonest into a posture of defense, that

that the *Mareschal* might not surprize him. His thoughts therefore were fully intent upon the resolution of Arms ; but he wanted not only a cause, but even a pretense to colour his preparation ; without which only to go about it, was to make himself Criminal in the highest degree : neither (the Court Minion being absolutely his enemy) could he reasonably hope, either for a Commission from thence for the raising of men in the King's name, and at his expense ; or so much as to be permitted to do it at his own charge. In this strait and anxiety, what course to take, the *Rochellers* gave him as fair a pretense, as he could possibly desire, to do that under the vail of Duty, and Obligation, which he could not otherwise have undertaken, without incurring the highest censure. They had at this time surpriz'd a little Castle, near to their City, and situate upon the Sea-coast, call'd *Rochefort* ; an enterprize condemn'd by all the world for the most senseless, and unadvis'd, that could possibly have been undertaken, to begin a War by an action of so little importance, in a time when themselves, and their whole party were priviledg'd by so absolute, and inviolate a Peace. The Duke, who had been at so great a loss before, and that could not then have wish'd for a more specious pretense, it may easily be imagin'd was very ready to lay hold of this occasion now ; neither did he fail herein to aggravate the misdemeanour to the height : but repeating all the Accusations he had formerly preferr'd against the Ambition, and Infidelity of those of the Reformed Religion, and particularly against those of *Rochelle*, he of them drew up a kind of *Manifesto*, which he caus'd to be publish'd in all parts of the Kingdom. “ In this Declaration he forgot not to “ reckon up the several insurrections those of that Faction had “ broke into, to make their advantage of every disorder, had at “ any time hapned in the Kingdom, notwithstanding all satisfaction had been given them by the inviolate observation of several Edicts granted in their favour : That they had been observ'd “ for many years to call together Assemblies in *Rochelle*, without “ either his Majesties Order, or Royal Assent ; from which such “ unjust and unreasonable Propositions, and demands were usually sent to the King, as made it appear they did not Treat with “ his Majesty in the quality of Subjects, but like Free-States that “ were nothing ally'd to his Sovereign Power : That by such a “ behaviour it was plain enough, the City was arriv'd to the utmost degree of Licence, and that the *Rochellers* could never satisfy their Ambition, till they had introduc'd a popular Government amongst them : That if hitherto his Majesties Council “ had (contrary to his Judgment, and Advice) wink'd at the progress

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The Duke
of *Esperson's*
pretense for the
taking of
Arms.

Anno 1617. “gress of so dangerous a design; that nevertheless he, to whom
 “the Government of their City was entrusted, and who there-
 “fore was more concern’d, than any other to keep such in their
 “obedience, as were committed to his care, was resolv’d to cha-
 “stise their insolence; which he nothing doubted, but by the as-
 “sistance of his own friends he should be able to do, and to make
 “them know they had hitherto been only strong in the weakness
 “of our own Counsels. This had in truth ever been his saying,
 and the effects made it appear he had made a right judgment; so
 that under this pretense he took Arms; which, as it was colour’d
 by a design that immediately pointed at his Majesties Service, so
 did he not scruple to make use of the King’s mony in the Levies
 he made upon this occasion.

With these summes, though very small, and some mony of his
 own, he rais’d four Regiments of Foot, consisting of above four
 thousand five hundred men, and betwixt five and six hundred
 Horse; to which were added sixscore Guards on Horseback in his
 own Livery: a force, which though not very considerable for
 their number, were yet such as he conceiv’d sufficient to keep the
 Field against any he had a mind to offend.

The *Rochellers* (who formerly had by many injuries highly in-
 cens’d the Duke) no sooner saw him resolv’d, and ready to ad-
 vance in a posture of War, even to the Gates of their City, but
 they began now to examine their Forces, which they had not so
 well consider’d before the danger, and which the more they exa-
 min’d, the weaker they found them to be: This City the Capital
 of a powerful Faction, and that had so often disputed the
 King’s Authority, enrich’d by an extraordinary Traffick, and con-
 federated with all the Protestant Princes of Europe, finding it self
 in so weak a condition, that it could not in this necessity muster
 2000. men, to sally out of their Walls; utterly without Horse, or
 the least assistance from any of their Confederates and Friends:
 So that converting their usual Rhodomantades, and Menaces
 into the most submissive terms of Humble Supplication, addressing
 themselves by their Deputies to the King, they humbly, and with
 all importunity besought his Majesty to interpose his Royal Au-
 thority betwixt the Duke of *Espernon* and them, that he might not
 commence a War against them.

Had the *Rochellers* made this confession of their weakness at
 another time, it would doubtless have very well pleas’d the
 Council; and ’tis likely the Duke of *Espernon* would have been
 countenanc’d in his design, to the end that City might have been
 made to know, what they were one day to apprehend from their

Princes

Prince's indignation : but the *Mareschal d' Encre* unable to endure that his Capital Enemy should be in Arms, and consequently in a posture fit to frustrate the design he had long projected of his ruine, made the Council resolve to dispatch away *Boissize*, one of the Council of State, to the Duke with a positive command to lay down his Arms.

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Boissize at his arrival found the Duke with his Forces, quarter'd at *Surgeres*, but four Leagues only distant from *Rochelle*, and ready to march up to the City ; neither did he fail with all the Rhetorick he had to dissuade him from that resolution : “ Representing to “ him the danger of what he was about , lest the noise of the enterprize in hand should alarm the whole *Hugonot* Party, whom “ the King would by no means should be provok'd ; and in “ which case, of a particular Quarrel , he would be the cause of “ a general War. With which commands from the King , and Queen, he moreover mix'd menaces of their highest indignation, should he disobey ; with many promises on the contrary of all satisfaction from the Court, and the *Rochellers* if he would desist ; all which, wanting force to divert him from his purpose, the Duke gave order in the presence of *Boissize* to sound to Horse , and nettled to the last degree, at the difficulties he saw strew'd in the way of his designs, march'd directly towards *Rochelle*. *Boissize* seeing his endeavours altogether ineffectual, and that the Duke was obstinate in his first determination , after having highly protested against his proceeding, went, and put himself into the Town, giving the Inhabitants thereby to understand , that their Majesties had no hand in the Duke's Enterprize, that it was absolutely contrary to their order, and that therefore they were at full liberty to arm themselves for their own defense. But this consent, though it warranted their Arms, gave them nevertheless no other power, so that they were to suffer whatever the Duke was pleas'd to inflict upon them : He quarter'd his men in their best Farms, made his approaches up to the very Gates of their City , and defeated some who (under the protection of their Counterscape) attempted to oppose him ; till in the end , after having maintain'd his Army, for almost a month, at their charge , and that his fury was a little abated by that little revenge he had taken in some inconveniencies he had put them to, he grew more flexible to a new Order he receiv'd from Court, and was at last content to let them alone.

It was by *Vignoles* , that the Duke receiv'd this last Command, a man for many years, well known, and highly esteem'd by him, which rendred the Duke more flexible to a Treaty with him, than
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Anno 1617. the other; from whose mouth having receiv'd his Majesties pleasure, he made answer; "That having now made a discovery to
 "the whole Kingdom of the *Rochellers* weakness, the dis-union
 "of their Faction, and with how much ease they were to be re-
 "claim'd when ever his Majesty should think fit, he was content
 "to let them rest in peace: but that, if the King had pleas'd, he
 "might at this time have punish'd their insolence, as it was in his
 "power easie to do, he could without much trouble have done his
 "Majesty a very important Service; but he saw (to his great af-
 "fliction) his Enemies, who were prevalent with his Majesty,
 "envy'd him the honour of this Action; but that he must how-
 "ever give place to their malice in obedience to his Royal plea-
 "sure, though in a thing very prejudicial to his Majesties own
 "peculiar Interest: That therefore he would retire so soon as the
 "*Rochellers* should surrender the Castle of *Rochefort* into his Maje-
 "sties hands and; that after that act of their Obedience, having no
 "other particular concern, he had nothing more to desire of his
 "Majesty for his own private satisfaction, than that his Majesty
 "would please to assert, and avow what he had only undertaken
 "for his Service in the past occasion. Which being accordingly in
 "another dispatch brought him by *Vignoles*, and all those who had
 "assisted, and serv'd him in this occasion compriz'd, he rose from
 "before *Rochelle*; dismissing his Army nevertheless in such sort
 "that most of the Commanders (most of them having relation to
 "him) might be ready upon the least warning to re-unite in the
 "same equipage as before.

What the Duke had expres'd to *Vignoles* of his discontents by word of mouth, did not nevertheless save him the labour of writing to Court in such a style, as manifested he still retain'd the honest liberty his great spirit had ever suggested to him, during the Reigns of his two former Masters. He therefore sent a Letter to the King, in the beginning whereof having excus'd himself in that he had not paid so prompt an Obedience to their Majesties first Orders, deliver'd by *Boissize*, and given reasons for it, that directly pointed at the Honour of the King himself, which as he said he conceiv'd to be very much concern'd in the business of *Rochelle*, he continued in these words: "I have hitherto, Sir, preserv'd
 "my Hands clean, my Conscience uncorrupt, my Reputation entire, and
 "my Fidelity without reproach; I have never conspir'd but to do you
 "Service, neither do I find myself guilty of the least thought disconso-
 "nant to the Duty I owe to your Majesty, and your Crown: And al-
 "though I am not us'd with that Equity, nor rewarded with that Grati-
 "tude, that (without presumption) I conceive I have deserv'd, and that
 every

“every day I find something attempted upon my Offices, by the diminution,
 “and cutting off their just, and lawful priviledges (which were ever
 “preserv’d inviolate to me during the Reign of the late King your Fa-
 “ther) yet nothing, Sir, can prevail with me above my Duty: neither is
 “there any so ill usage, nor so sensible unkindness, that can hinder me
 “from persevering to do well, being resolv’d to the last hour of my life to
 “conquer whatever just resentments I may have, and to forget all those in-
 “juries, for which I can obtain no satisfaction, but at the publick
 “expense. A resolution, Sir, in which I am infinitely fortified, by the
 “firm belief I have, that all the disgraces I receive, and all the foul play
 “is continually practis’d against me, proceed from no dis-affectiō your
 “Majesty has conceiv’d against my person. I know, Sir, that being natu-
 “rally quick sighted, to distinguish betwixt your false Servants and your
 “true, you have ever honour’d me with your favour: But I have this ob-
 “ligation to those who are enemies to your Crown, that they have, upon all
 “occasions discover’d themselves to be particularly so to me; and have en-
 “deavour’d by their artifice, to represent things otherwise to your Ma-
 “jesty, than they really are, to restrain the liberty of your own Royal dis-
 “position, from obeying the natural inclination you have to love, and
 “cherish good men; that as much as in them lies, they may alienate your
 “Majesties good opinion from such, as by their long and faithful Ser-
 “vices have deser’v’d the best room in your heart. I hope, Sir, neverthe-
 “less, that truth will one day prevail in your Royal Breast over those lit-
 “tle Arts, and that your Majesty will then be pleas’d to distinguish your
 “true and faithful Servants from such, as Authorized by your Name
 “and presence, oppress your People, invade your own Authority, and
 “continually disturb your Majesties Peace by their inordinate and unruly
 “Ambition.

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From Surgere the 25. of Feb. 1617.

I have the rather inserted the express words of this Letter, that
 you may see after what manner the Duke took his disgrace, and
 how he behav’d himself towards his Enemies, notwithstanding
 they carried the whole favour, and sway of the Court: the *Ma-
 “reschal d’Encre* being manifestly pointed at in this dispatch. We
 have since liv’d in a time, when to speak our discontents so plain,
 and loud, would perhaps have been out of season: but in that
 wherein the Duke writ this Letter, men were at least permitted to
 complain; and oftentimes those complaints procur’d a relief, to
 such, as like the Duke, had the spirit, and power to accompany
 those complaints, with the effects of a vigorous resentment.

After this manner ended the Enterprize of Rochelle, which gave
 some jeering companions of that party, occasion to say, for a

Anno 1617. *piece of wit, what d' Aubigne has recorded since, That the Duke of Espernon was come to make his Entry before Rochelle: though it has been thought this entry before gave the King from that time forward to understand, it might also be made within, and that the Enterprize was not above his power to effect. We have since seen him bring about that glorious design; and it is certain that this action brought that present benefit along with it, that the Council ever after look'd with greater contempt upon the Hugonot Party, and the strength of the Rochellers, than before: They now discover'd the weakness of these by the dis-union of all the rest, and from thence judg'd aright, that it being impossible for the separate Forces of this Faction without great difficulty suddenly to unite for their common defense, one party might be suppress'd in one Province, before any of the rest could put themselves in a posture in another to relieve them. This opinion (that in the sequel prov'd true) made the Council the bolder by their Arrest of the 23 of June, 1617. to order the restitution of the Church Lands in Bearne; an Affair that had for three years together been depending in the Council, and so long fruitlessly solicited by the Deputies of the Clergy of France. Not that the Council did not conceive it very just, but they look'd upon it as a thing so highly important to the peace of the Kingdom, that they durst never till now give them that satisfaction. But the Duke's Enterprize cut off all difficulties, by which the Rochellers having been constrain'd publickly to confess their own weakness, it was conceiv'd the King's presence would have as much Authority in Bearne, as the Duke's had had in the Country of Aunis. I have heard several persons of Quality, and those men of employment at that time (as Mounſieur de Rouffy and others) say, that the Service the Duke did the Kingdom in this very occasion, was never duly consider'd, he having thereby first discover'd the weakness of the Hugonot Party, and perhaps chalk'd out the way to their extirpation.*

What advantages accr'd to the King, by the Duke of Espernon's Enterprize upon Rochelle.

The Duke of Espernon having openly declar'd himself an enemy to the *Mareschal d' Encre*, and already made some preparation in order to the defense of his Person, and Fortune, many persons who were afraid of persecution fled to him, settling themselves at *Angoulesme* under his protection: Amongst whom *Bulion*, at that time a Counsellor of State, and since Sur-Intendant of the *Finances*, was one; where he long continued in the Duke's Family; and who ever after retain'd a grateful memory of that obligation, as he had good reason to do, the Duke receiving him into his Arms in so critical a time, as he was threatned with no less than

than

than death, had he fall'n into the *Mareschal's* power. *Guron*, who was likewise another of the proscrib'd, with many others, came to seek the same refuge; all whom the Duke made no difficulty to receive into his protection.

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The Duke having (as has been said) settled the Friends he had in his Governments in such a readiness, as upon any occasion to make head against his Enemy, took a Journey into *Guienne*, his native Country, in that great Province to get together what numbers of Friends and Souldiers he could, for the better defense of his Fortune; in which Voyage he increas'd his Forces to such a degree, that being all joyn'd together, they were able to make up a Body of 8000. Foot, and 1200. Horse. The extremity he knew the Duke of *Mayenne* to be reduc'd unto in *Soissons*, and the Duke of *Nevers* in the places whereunto he had retyr'd, made him very well see, that the Torrent would suddenly break in upon himself: notwithstanding how reasonable soever his apprehensions were, and how necessary soever to put himself with the soonest into a posture of defense, it might be, he could not however forbear to prefer the last Duty he ow'd to a good, and vertuous Mother, before his own particular preferuation. This Lady having been dead from the year 1610. in an exceeding old age, and lamented by the Duke, as if she had been more immaturesly ravish'd from him, he had ever had a great desire to pay her memory the last office of her Obsequies: But the great and important Affairs, which had detain'd him at Court having hitherto frustrated that pious design, he no sooner now found himself in this little interval of repose, but that he resolv'd without further delay to satisfy that Obligation: Assembling therefore together at his paternal House of *Caumont* above 300. Gentlemen of Quality of his Relations and Friends, he there by a magnificent expense, manifested his gratitude to a person so near and dear unto him.

The Duke makes a great Funeral for his Mother.

The Ceremony of this Funeral was no sooner perform'd, but that the Duke departed from *Caumont* to *Bordeaux*, and from thence was also upon the point to return into *Angoumois*, there to draw all his Forces together, with a resolution to defend himself to the last, and rather to die with his Sword in his hand, than to suffer himself tamely to be oppress'd; when by *le Chalart*, Secretary to the *Mareschal de Roquetaure*, his intimate friend, he receiv'd intelligence of the death of the *Mareschal d'Encre*. This *Mareschal's* death hapned the 24. of *April*, 1617. and the news by an extraordinary diligence came the 27. to the Duke; which how welcome it was to a man who saw himself deliver'd from so powerful

The death of the *Mareschal d'Encre*, slain by a shot in the *Louvre*.

Anno 1617. and so implacable an Enemy may easily be imagin'd. He had very well foreseen, that with the assistance of all his Confederates and friends, he could not long be able to resist the Power and Authority of the King; with both which his enemy would have been arm'd against him: and on the other side, the King himself being by this execution become, as it were, the revenger of his particular wrongs, all his past actions would be justified in the exemplary punishment his Majesty had inflicted upon the person of *Conchini*.

The Duke of *Espernon* goes to Court.

In this excess of joy he departed from *Bordeaux* to *Angoulesme*, and from thence soon after to Court, there to make a new tender of his Fidelity and Obedience to the King, and to try in this new face of Affairs, what foundation he could lay to his own future peace. He was in this Journey attended by his two younger Sons, (his own misfortune, and miscarriages having banish'd the eldest from his favour, and presence, ever since his Majesties Voyage to *Angoulesme*) and at his arrival receiv'd by the King with all the demonstration of favour and affection, he could possibly expect, or desire: to which *Luines* the new Favourite (willing to be supported in his rising greatness by so powerful a friend) highly sought, and importun'd his friendship, which also by some good Offices he endeavour'd to acquire. One of the things the Duke was most earnest with him for, and that *Luines* did most faithfully promise was a Cardinal's Hat for the Archbishop of *Tbolouse* his youngest Son, at the first promotion: as for himself he was at the very first restor'd to the full, and absolute Function of all his employments, having satisfaction given for all the retrenchments had been made upon his offices, and commands, or any of their perquisites and rights, and in fine stood in a very good degree of favour.

Yet did not this continue long, and whether it were the too prodigious favour of *Luines*, (grown up on a sudden to a greater height, than that of the *Mareschal d'Encre* had ever been) that stir'd up the Duke's old aversion he had ever had for Court Mignons; or that his own private emulators, by their ill Offices had render'd his humour suspected to *Luines*: but the Duke soon perceiv'd him to be quite another man from what he had been at first: At which causeless alteration, being highly nettled, and preferring (according to his custom) a free, and profess'd enmity, before a faint, and dissembled friendship, he inveigh'd publicly, and highly against the new Favourite; by which means, and by cohering with other persons of condition, no better satisfied than himself with *Luine's* promotion, he drew upon himself alone the hatred, and jealousy that ought to have been common to them all.

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The first thing the Duke *de Luines* did to disoblige him, was the breaking his word, who contrary to what he had promis'd, and made him expect, concerning the Cardinal's Hat in favour of his Son, had preferr'd *Mounseur de Reits* Bishop of *Paris*, and openly assisted him in the pursuit of that dignity: To which was added, that they began afresh to intrench upon his command of Colonel, some Foot employments having been dispos'd without the Duke's consent; by which being further exasperated, he highly complain'd to some of the chief Ministers: amongst whom *Mounseur du Vair* \* *Garde des Sceaux*, one of the greatest Authority, having given him no satisfaction, but on the contrary new matter of discontent, he was not long before he took an occasion to let him see how sensible he was of the offense.

Anno  
1618.

A Rupture  
between the  
Duke of Es-  
pernon and  
the Duke  
de Luines.

\* Or Lord  
Keeper.

It was upon Easter-day in the year 1618. and in the Church of *St. Germain de l' Auxerrois*, that the Duke took occasion to quarrel with him. The Dukes and Peers who were then at Court offended at the place the *Garde des Sceaux du Vair*, not only in the Council, but also in all other both publick and private Assemblies, would assume above them, had generally address'd themselves to the Duke of *Espernon*, as to the eldest of their Order, to interest him in their discontent. It was also suspected that the Chancellor *Syl- lery*, (ill digesting that a man so inferiour to him in Dignity, should usurp upon him in State) was willing enough to promote a business of this nature against him; and that being upon very good terms (as he had ever been) with the Duke of *Espernon*, he had also help'd to blow the fire. However it was, or by whose suggestion soever it first came into the Dukes head, little persuasion would serve turn to make him passionately undertake a business, wherein he conceiv'd his own Honour and Dignity to be so much concern'd. It was therefore resolv'd betwixt the Duke of *Montmorency* (of all others the most incens'd against *du Vair*) the Dukes *de Monbazon*, *de Retz*, *d' Uzes*, and some others of the same quality, that he should be affronted upon the first occasion, should he again offer to take place above them. Wherein though it was a business of danger enough, to affront a Minister so powerful by the favour of his Prince, and so violent in his own nature, the Duke of *Espernon* nevertheless made no difficulty to undertake it; not having (it should seem) consented to the first proposal, with an intent to leave the execution of it to any other, than himself. Upon Easter day therefore (as has been said) the King and all the Court being in Ceremony at *Saint Germain de l' Auxerrois*, and the *Garde des Sceaux* having, according to his custom, taken his place above all the Dukes and Peers, the Duke  
of

Anno 1618. of *Espernon* violently pull'd him from his seat, and compell'd him to retire. It may easily be suppos'd an action of this kind could not pass without some untoward language; neither were those words thrown away upon a man insensible of offense; the *Garde des Sceaux* going immediately out of the Church, and expecting with great impatience the end of the Ceremony, that he might complain to the Duke *de Luines* of the affront he had receiv'd: Wherein nevertheless he did not reflect upon what had pass'd, as an injury meerly respecting his own person, "But as a Party, and a Faction form'd, and made in the Court, by the Duke of *Espernon*, who had seduc'd all the Dukes and Peers under the colour of an imaginary pretense, to interest them in his own private discontents: That this ambitious spirit so long inur'd to Government, and Command, thought himself depriv'd of his lawful possession, if remov'd from the absolute sway of the most important Affairs: That it was through the sides of a *Garde des Sceaux*, that the fortune of the Favourite was levell'd at; and that it was only a tryal, by attempting upon his creatures, what opposition they were to expect when they should immediately fall upon his own person: That it therefore highly import'd him, whilst he had power to do it, betimes to secure an enemy, that would not spare him, if he once got him into his hands. An advice that made so much the deeper impresson upon the Duke *de Luines*, by how much he was before well enough satisfied of the Duke of *Espernon*'s hatred so highly manifested, by what he had publickly declar'd against him. He therefore went immediately with the *Garde des Sceaux* to the King; where being come, he insist'd not much upon the scuffle betwixt the Duke and *du Vair*, endeavouring on the contrary all he could to disguise that action from looking like a particular Quarrel; but qualified it with the name of the most impudent and audacious practice that could possibly be introduc'd into a State, that a Duke of *Espernon* in the face, and presence, and in defiance of his King; should dare to make a combination with persons of the greatest quality in the Kingdom, to affront the Royal Authority.

The King was so highly incens'd at a Remonstrance preferr'd to him by two persons in whom he had so entire a confidence, that immediately, and without reserving to himself so much as the liberty to consider the interest he himself particularly had in the Duke of *Espernon*'s ruine, or to call to memory the long and faithful Services he had paid to the Crown, he in this case absolutely resign'd over his own Authority to them; insomuch that

at



at that very time ('tis said) it was resolv'd upon to arrest him. Nothing then remain'd but a fit opportunity to effect their design, which it was also requisite should be such, as might seem to warrant the success of the Enterprize, it being very unsafe to offend a man of his spirit by halves; who having power, places, friends, and mony to improve all those to the best, and withal a very high discontent upon him, might do more mischief than any other person whatever of his condition in *France*. To which may be added that from the time of his dispute with *Monsieur du Vair*, the Dukes and Peers at Court were scarcely ever absent from him, especially the Duke of *Montmorency*, who was no less dear to him (not only out of respect to the alliance betwixt them, but also by the particular love he bore him, and the esteem he had for him) than one of his own Children, was inseparably with him: They eat, went to Court, and made all their visits together, the Duke's two Sons also continually attending upon him; so that it was no easie matter to attempt four persons of their courage (and who were not without many Friends, and Servants of great Fidelity and Valour to serve them upon all occasions) at once. To all which, the Regiment of Guards were so made up of the Duke's Creatures, that he seem'd to be stronger in the King's own Palace than at home: to avoid all which difficulties it was concluded to surround him by night in his own House, and to seize upon his Person.

If the Duke had many, and those powerful Adversaries, his vertue had on the other side acquir'd him so many Friends, and some of those so careful of him upon this occasion, that he had timely notice of the design in hand, some say by the Princess of *Conty*, others by the Chancellor *de Syllery*; but by what means soever it came to his knowledge, upon the first rumour of it (which (as it did here) commonly fore-runs a more certain intelligence) he had taken a resolution to withdraw himself, to defeat the effects of what was threatned, and contriv'd against him: wherein though he was so far cautious as to prevent the intended mischief; yet could he not forbear so unseasonable an ostentation of the little fear he had in a place where so much was to be apprehended; as doubtless prompted his enemies sooner to push home to the intended business. He was for five or six days together continually seen riding through the streets of *Paris* with so extraordinary a Train, under colour of taking leave of several of his friends, and acquaintance, that those who had before premeditated his ruine, interpreting all for contumacy, and done on purpose to brave them, resolv'd in the end upon a positive night, wherein with four Companies

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The King  
resolves to  
Arrest the  
Duke of  
*Espernon*.

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The Duke  
of *Espernon*  
leaves the  
Court.

panies of *Swisse* to surprize him in his own house, and to carry him away. All which the Duke being likewise inform'd of from so good a hand, as that the intelligence was no ways to be suspected, he presently put himself upon his preparation, to make his best use of that advice. This caution therefore being sent him upon the sixth of *May* at night, and the surprizal being design'd the night following, he had so little time to lose, that he immediately dispers'd Tickets to all his most assured Friends, and Servants to be in a readiness by break of day to mount to Horse; according to which appointment, he found above 300. ready at the precise hour to attend him, who after having convoy'd him to his House of *Fontenay* in *Brie* (where they conceiv'd him lodg'd in a place of safety) most of them retir'd to follow their own affairs.

This retirement of the Duke's being but ten little Leagues from *Paris* was so far from frustrating the design of his surprize, that on the contrary it made the business seem more likely to succeed: the Duke *de Luines* therefore having consider'd, that in this solitude he would have far fewer friends about him, than in *Paris*, the former order was only one day deferr'd, and the *Swisse* commanded to march away the day following, being the 8. of *May*, together with some Brigades of Cuirassiers, and Light-Horse to invest *Fontenay*. But the same persons who had given the Duke the first intelligence, being no less vigilant to his preservation now than before, gave him also as seasonable notice of this, as of the other design; giving him to understand that his danger was not yet over, and that it concern'd him with all diligence to convey his person into some place of greater safety: Which advice having made the Duke resolve to get again to Horse, so soon as all the Family had sup'd, and that every one thought of retiring to his rest, he (having in the mean time with great secrecie provided all things necessary for a tedious journey) commanded his Trumpets to sound to Horse; his necessity enforcing him so to do at that unseasonable hour, (though he was certain to undergo all the inconveniencies of a very dark, and turbulent night) to get clear of the manifest, and approaching danger; at that time therefore he set out towards *Metz*, the place to which at his departure from *Paris* he had taken a resolution to retire.

The Duke  
takes his  
way towards  
*Metz*.

By break of day the Duke, and all his company, arriv'd at *Sezanne* in *Brie*, where both himself, and the Horse that were with him, were so weary, the rain, the dirt, and all other incommodities of an ill journey having equally toil'd out, and dejected horse and man, that he had a great desire, and very great need there to stay,  
and

and take some repose; though his Servants, conceiving him to be yet in danger, were so importunate with him, that they got him to mount again, making him to continue on horseback all that day, and the night following; when arriving the next day at *Montmirel*, he found himself so weary, and spent, with riding, watching, and the indisposition of Age, which now began to grow upon him, that he was ready to faint; but being laid upon a bed, and refresh'd by sleep, he soon found himself well enough to proceed in his journey, though with nothing so much precipitation as before.

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Through so many traverses and difficulties it was, that the Duke of *Espernon* waded to the foundation of the most glorious Act of his life, and which, in my opinion, ought to be plac'd on the highest Pyramis of his Fame; I mean the Queen Mothers escape from *Blois*: of which the treaty began soon after the Duke's coming to *Metz*, where he arriv'd about the 20. of the same month of *May*, having departed the 6th. from *Paris*.

The Treaty  
for the  
Queen Mo-  
thers escape  
from *Blois*  
set on foot  
at this time.

And then it was that the Duke *de Luines* highly, and openly declar'd himself an enemy to the Duke, giving his friends plainly to understand, he could in no wise repute them to be his, if they did not totally abandon the Duke's interest; offering them at the same time his favour and protection, if they would do it, and thundering out great threats against such as would not embrace his Quarrel: wherein the constancy of the Duke's friends is highly to be commended; who notwithstanding the greatness of the Favourite they had to deal withal, the great promises wherewith he endeavour'd to allure them, and the implacable hatred he publickly profess'd against their Friend, and Master, would scarce any one of them be debauch'd from the fidelity they had profess'd; whereas some on the contrary were so generous as to carry him intelligence of *Luines* his proceeding so far as *Metz*, and of the offers he had made to withdraw them from the Service, and Friendship they had promis'd, and sworn unto him.

The Duke very well judging by what had pass'd at Court before his departure thence, and by the continuation of those practices since, that his enemies intended to give the last blow to his ruine, began anew to consider of the means to defend himself. He was very confident they would never offer to attempt any thing against him by open force in *Metz*, neither would they be easily induc'd to provoke him to the utmost extreme, the consequence being of two dangerous importance: but doubted wisely withal, that no artifice would be spar'd, nor no covert practice unattempted against him which were by so much the more dangerous, by

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how much a man is oftentimes surpriz'd with the effect, before he is aware of the cause. There were in the City divers ill affected and seditious persons, whom he could never disgust, and whom *Luines* fail'd not to deal withal to put in for a Party in *Metz*, who being in themselves of too little authority for any thing of that kind, their malice converted to Spies upon the Duke's Actions, to send continual intelligence to Court, whether false, or true, and by their Artifice possess'd the Duke *de Luines* with jealousies, and fears, about things that were altogether uncertain, and vain. To make therefore a better discovery of the truth, and to the end he might penetrate with more certainty into the Duke of *Espernon's* intentions, *Favier* a Counsellor of State, and a man of great sagacity in Affairs, was sent away under the shadow of a Commission, to reside sometime in *Metz*, and to try if by his dexterity he could better guess at the Duke's designs; though all those endeavours were equally fruitless to the Favourite, who had to do with a man not easie to be pry'd into, nor surpriz'd.

A pleasant  
Story.

After *Favier's* return to Court, there hapned so pleasant a thing at *Metz*, as I hope, though mix'd amongst more serious Affairs, will not much importune my Reader, and that was this: The Duke *de Luines* continually expressing a great desire to have constant intelligence of what was done at *Metz*, and few being willing to undertake a thing the Duke's severe humour made appear so full of difficulty, and danger, one fellow, a Courtier, and who thought by such an undertaking to advance himself highly into favour, made a voluntary, and brisk tender of himself for that employment, offering publickly to go to *Metz*, and there to serve (as he said) *Monsieur de Luines*, against the Duke of *Espernon*: Which generous offer of his was as kindly receiv'd, and as readily accepted; so that with good store of Crowns in his pocket to defray his journey, he was presently dispatch'd away upon that design; yet not so soon, but that before his departure from *Paris*, the Duke had notice of what a *Monsieur* was coming to brave him in his own Government. In a few days my Gentleman arrives at the Gates of *Metz*, where at his first coming he was made to undergo all the severities usually observ'd in Frontier Towns; they made him dance attendance a good while at the Gate, where after having been sufficiently abus'd, hiss'd, and hooted at, he was by four Souldiers of the Garrison conducted to his Inn, who (it may be imagin'd) were not commanded to use him with overmuch respect. But if this first part of his entertainment surpriz'd him, he was much more, when his Host coming to him at night, demanded his Name, Surname, Country, Quality,

lity, and Age, with many other interrogatories, as if he had been upon the \* *Selette*. From all, or most of these questions, he for some time defended himself, till being threatned if he would not answer, to be proceeded against as a Spy, he was at last constrain'd to do it; when as his answers came from him, he saw them recorded in a great Book (order'd for that purpose amongst other ancient rules establish'd for the defense of the place) though he conceiv'd that under the protection of the Royal Name, which he had ready to produce, he ought to have been dispens'd from that Ceremony. He was scarce recover'd from his first astonishment, when he saw four of the Duke's Guards (at that time call'd *les Simons*, a name very famous at Court) entring his Chamber. Their first Complements (it may be suppos'd) were none of the most obliging; neither did they long forbear to tell the new come Gallant, "That they were order'd by the Duke their Master, to  
 " have an eye upon his actions: That the Duke very well knew  
 " upon what pretense he came to *Metz*, but that the true cause  
 " of his coming was to him much better known, which was to  
 " do a disservice to the King, to observe the weaknesses of the  
 " place, and to give intelligence thereof to his Majesties enemies:  
 " That therefore they were not to leave him, and that they very  
 " well knew how to prevent him from executing his malicious de-  
 " signs: That in the mean time it would concern him to have a  
 " care how he behav'd himself, since no mercy was to be expe-  
 " cted, if the least thing was discover'd in him contrary to his  
 " Majesties Service. At this declaration the poor man was put into a most terrible fear, he knew the Dukes Authority to be absolute in *Metz*, and that whatever he should determine, though it should reach to his life, and under what pretense soever it might be, would infallibly be executed upon him: Whereupon he ask'd his Guards if there were no possibility of safety for him? to which they reply'd, that doubtless yes, provided he attempted nothing against the Crown. After which they entertain'd him with stories of how many they had Bastinado'd at *Paris*, and after what manner the Duke us'd to chastise several fool-hardy fellows, who had imprudently attempted upon his Honour. If he went out of one Chamber into another, they were continually at his heels, and if he went to sleep, they lay down by him; never ceasing day nor night to afflict him: insomuch that after having two days endur'd this usage, such a terror seiz'd him at last, that he fell down at his Guards feet; weeping, praying, and conjuring them to assure the Duke that he was his most humble Servant, that he acknowledg'd his fault, begg'd his pardon, and did humbly intreat

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\* *Selette*,  
 that for  
 which we  
 have no  
 word, be-  
 cause no  
 such thing;  
 it signifying  
 a low stool,  
 on which  
 Criminals  
 in *France* are  
 plac'd to be  
 examin'd.

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he would give him leave to depart the City. At which, though his Guards seem'd to comfort and assure him, advising him not to fear, and protesting that the interest of his Majesties Service only excepted, they were there to no other end, than to do him Service: yet were all their consolations vain, so invincible a fear had possess'd him, and so wholly was he taken up with the desire to escape from the danger, whereinto he saw he had so precipitously engag'd himself. The Duke, after he had a few days made himself merry with mortifying his Gull, let him at last depart; who, as he had been before at *Metz*, became afterwards the Fable of the Court.

Yet did not the Duke spend his time altogether in diversion, having serious business enough to take up his thoughts with something of more concern, and those were the Affairs of the Queen Mother. This Princess after the death of the *Mareschal d'Encre*, having been constrain'd to leave the Court (where *Luines* could not suffer a person of her Authority, and offended to the degree she had been, to reside) had the Castle of *Blois* appointed by the King for her retreat. To which place accordingly the Queen, (in this change of her Fortune, being allow'd to keep very few of her Servants about her) departed with a very slender Train. The Bishop of *Luçon* (since Cardinal of *Richelieu*) who had been Secretary of State during the favour of the *Mareschal d'Encre*, was one of those who follow'd her in her disgrace, as *Chanteloube* also was another: but the Abbot *Rucellay* an *Italian*, and very affectionate to her Service, was, as a person altogether unnecessary about her Majesty, sent back into one of his Abbies: neither did the Bishop of *Luçon* remain long without another Order of the same kind, by which he was first oblig'd to reside in his own Diocess, and soon after to retire into *Avignon*.

The Queen  
Mother at-  
tempts to  
recover her  
liberty.

The Queen Mother, from the time of her departure from Court, had meditated nothing so much, as how to recover her lost Authority, and to overthrow that of the new Favourites; wherein, though she had communicated something to *Messieurs de Luçon*, *de Rucellay*, and *de Chanteloube*, men of the greatest Fidelity and Conduct about her: and though they had taken some pains for her satisfaction, yet could they discover no possibility of effecting her Designs: Neither were they permitted long to consider of the means, the entire confidence the Queen was discover'd to repose in them, being suspected at Court, having soon procur'd the banishment of the two first (as has been said before) of which that of *Luçon* had rendred him utterly incapable of all manner of correspondence with her: But *Rucellay* a man  
of

of great courage, vivacity, and ambition, having for some time conceal'd himself about *Blois*, and having from time to time in disguise taken opportunity to consult with the Queen, was (after having rejected several propositions) at last of opinion, that she should address her self to the Duke of *Boüillon*, to try, if with the party of those of the Religion, who were absolutely at his dispose, he might be induc'd to declare himself of her side, and to attempt something in her favour.

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The Queen being very well pleas'd with this proposition, *Rucellay* as chearfully undertook to make the first overture of it to the Duke of *Boüillon* at *Sedan*. I have often heard this Abbot (during five, or six weeks that I was continually with him in order to the Queen Mothers dispatches, which all pass'd through his hands after her escape) tell the whole story of this negotiation; so that I am able to say something of my own knowledge, both as to the qualities of his person, and the circumstances of that Treaty, which perhaps will not be altogether unpleasant to my Reader. *Rucellay* then was a Gentleman of *Florence*, descended from a Father, who by the Correspondence he had maintain'd with *Zamet*, *Bandiny*, *Cenamy*, and some other active men of that Nation (who in those times play'd their game so wisely, as to keep in with all parties of the Kingdom) had made himself a Fortune in *France*. Amongst other advantages he had there made to himself, he had got the possession of several Abbeys, arising in all to a Revenue of above ten thousand Crowns a year; amongst which that of *Signy* in *Champaigne* not far from *Sedan* was most considerable. His eldest Son (which was he of whom I am now speaking) as most eldest Sons of the best Families of *Italy* (that education making them capable of the greatest Dignities of the Court of *Rome*) was bred up to the Church: neither had he been wanting in his industry to acquire all those qualities that were most likely to recommend him to the highest Preferment. He had studied much, and particularly been diligent to learn to speak, and write accurately in his own Language; wherein he succeeded so well, that his own fine parts, together with the plentiful Fortune he was Master of (he having no less in Secular Revenue, than in Spiritual Entertainment) procur'd him so great a Reputation in the Court of *Rome*, that he there obtain'd the Office of \* Clerk of the Chamber. Pope *Paul* the Fifth, under whose Papacy he was there admitted, look'd upon him with a very gracious eye, and though a young man, intrusted his discretion with many secrets of State, not seldom making use of his Pen in Affairs of greatest importance; and often saying, by way of favour, that he

The Queen  
addresses  
her self to  
the Duke of  
*Boüillon*.

A Chara-  
cter of *Rucellay*.

\* *Clerc de la*  
*Chambre*, a  
kind of Se-  
cretary.

disco-

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discover'd something in him of *Signior de la Casa* his great Uncle. All which favours having possess'd the Cardinal-Nephews with a great jealousy towards *Rucellay* (as himself said) or he perhaps having fail'd on his part, in a fit complacency to oblige them, he was by them persecuted to that degree, that he was forc'd to quit the Court of *Rome*, and to retire into *France*. A good part of his Estate lay in that Country, the *Mareschal d' Encre* a *Florentine*, as he was, commanded all there, and those of his own Nation having ever been well receiv'd in that Kingdom, it appear'd he could not make choice of a safer, nor a more honourable retreat. He was thirty years of age, or thereabouts when he arriv'd in *France*, where he was at first very kindly receiv'd by the *Mareschal d' Encre*, and soon after in great esteem with the whole Court, where with twenty thousand Crowns a year, that he had coming in, he liv'd in so extraordinary a degree of splendor, as equall'd, if not out-went the greatest Nobility of the Kingdom: no Table was so neatly serv'd, nor so plentifully furnish'd, as his; no man more nobly, nor more handsomly attended than he; to which the presents he continually made of all the Curiosities wherewith *Italy* so abounds, as by her overflow to oblige all other Nations, were so many, and so considerable, as that single way of expense seem'd alone to exceed his Revenue. Neither did he win less upon the Ladies by his liberalities, and extraordinary fine fashion, than he did upon the men by his more considerable qualities; insomuch that he obtain'd the favour and applause of all. And although the *Mareschal d' Encre* had not as yet fix'd him in any settled employment in the management of Affairs, yet was he with him in so eminent a degree of favour, as was a fair step (in the height the Court Favourite then stood) to the greatest Offices of the Kingdom. The death of the *Mareschal* therefore, as it had put a period to all *Rucellay's* future hopes, so did it possess him with such a grief, as was not to be comforted, but by the last effects of an implacable animosity he had conceiv'd against those who had been the instruments of his ruine: And this spirit of Revenge it was that prompted him to be one of those who animated the Queen against the new Favourites; though such Counsels were not necessary to her, who of her self was sensible enough; the particular injuries she had receiv'd, having already incens'd her to such a height, that she was very easily dispos'd to employ him in a Treaty with the Duke de *Boüillon*, on her behalf. In this Journey *Rucellay* was to undergo much trouble, and very great danger, he never daring to Travel, but by night, and in disguise for the most part alone, and always without



without any Equipage; for how circumspect soever he had been in his intelligencies to the Queen, he could not however send them in so secret a manner, but that, she being continually, and narrowly watch'd on all sides by spies set over her by *Luines* to that purpose, some of his practices had been discover'd: insomuch that I have heard him say, he had notice given him, that several of his Pictures were sent to the Magistrates, and other inferiour Officers, that they might know, and apprehend him in any of their respective Jurisdictions. Yet could not all these difficulties fright him from undertaking this Negotiation, and if he had before given several testimonies of his wit, and bravery upon other occasions, he manifested no less in this of the constancy of his Courage, his Wisdom, and Fidelity, which were very eminent, and of great use in the conduct of this Affair. The main thing he apprehended in this undertaking was the infirmity of his own tender, and delicate constitution; who whilst he had liv'd in the calms of peace, the delights of *Rome*, or the effeminacies of the Courts of *France*, had ever been so impatient of the Sun, and Evenings Dew, Heat, and Cold, that the least intemperance of the Air would usually cause strange alterations in his health; which notwithstanding he was no looner in Action, but that he found those little inconveniencies left behind, as if he had had no leisure to be sick.

Whether it were that the Favourites only guess'd at the Queen Mothers discontents, by the offense they had given her, or that they had some more certain knowledge thereof, than meer conjecture, they were however very vigilant to frustrate her Designs: To which purpose soon after her Majesties arrival at *Blois*, and the Banishment of the Bishop of *Luçon*, they had sent to her *Monsieur de Roissy*, under colour of a Council for the management of her Affairs. A man that in truth at another season would have been acceptable enough: but in this juncture of time, and prefer'd to her by her enemies, could not but stand highly suspected to her. Neither had he without great reluctancy taken upon him an employment of that nature; the principal end of his Commission being, as it was, to discover the Queens practices and designs, though neither his unwillingness could excuse him from going, nor all his art and observation hinder the Queen from conferring sometimes in private with those of her Servants in whose fidelity she repos'd the greatest trust, when he was there. Of which *Luines* being advertis'd, and willing not only to give himself some present repose, but also to live in greater security for the time to come, he resolv'd to take Religion into his assistance, and by a principle of conscienc to engage the Queen in an absolute dependance on  
his

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The extraordinary precaution of the Duke de Luines, to make himself sure of the Queen Mother, fruitless.

his Majesties good will, and pleasure. To this end therefore he would exact from her an Oath in the presence of God, and his Holy Angels (the very words of the Declaration she was to make) “ That she neither now had, nor for the time to come would entertain other thought, and desire than what should tend to the prosperity, and advancement of the King’s Majestie’s affairs: That she would, so long as she had life, pay all the Duty and Obedience to his Majesty due, as to her Sovereign Lord, and absolutely resign her Will into his Royal power: That she would have no correspondence neither within, nor without the Kingdom in any thing whatsoever to the prejudice of his Service, his Crown, and Dignity; but did, and would disown all persons of what quality, or condition soever, that in her name should contrive any practice, or conspiracy, contrary to his Majesties pleasure: That she would moreover discover all Propositions and Addresses inconsistent with his Service, together with the persons themselves so addressing, and proposing, should any be so inconsiderate, as to offer any such thing; and impeach, and make known whoever should be so evilly affected; and that she would never desire to return to Court, till the King should be pleas’d to order her so to do. Which protestation was accordingly made betwixt the hands of Father *Arnoux* a Jesuit Confessor in ordinary to the King, who had been expressly dispatch’d to the Queen to receive it. Wherein we may discover the short-sightedness of humane Wisdom; when this great Minister, thinking by this expedient to settle himself in the security he so much desir’d, engag’d himself (even by his own precaution) in new, and greater difficulties than before. For as on the one side *Luines* thought, that, through the persuasions of the King’s Confessor, he had captivated the Queen under the Empire of Religion, she on the other side, satisfied to the contrary by Father *Suffran* her own Chaplain, and of the same Society, conceiv’d she did not violate her Oath, by attempting all ways to recover her freedom; insomuch that making use of her enemies credulity, she pursu’d her business at greater convenience, than otherwise she could have done. Neither was this the only benefit she receiv’d by this declaration; another signal advantage arising thence, which was a very gracious Letter under the King’s own hand; wherein, to manifest how absolute a confidence he repos’d in her Word, and Oath, he gave her leave to go whither she pleas’d within his Kingdom: which Letter serv’d afterwards as a pretense for her going from *Blois*, as we shall see when we come to speak of that Affair.

Whilst

Whilst at *Blois* the Court Agents were thus diligent to cheat themselves, *Rucellay* was arriv'd safe at *Sedan*; where he had acquainted the Duke de *Boüillon* with his Commission, and wherein he fail'd not with his best Rhetorick to induce him to undertake the Queens deliverance. But the Duke, who had no mind to stir from *Sedan*, where he thought himself so secure, who was already wearied out with his late troubles, who in the conduct of those troubles had run so great a hazard of his life, and liberty, and who likewise foresaw many great, and almost invincible difficulties in the business propos'd, would by no means be perswaded to engage in that Affair. Contented therefore to serve the Queen Mother with his advice, instead of that real assistance was expected from him, he gave *Rucellay* this answer, "That being old, and infirm, as he was, well satisfied with his present condition, and upon so good terms at Court, as to apprehend no ill usage from thence, it would be a great indiscretion in him to deprive himself of the peace he now enjoy'd, by engaging in a new Quarrel, full of trouble and danger: That he was notwithstanding the Queen Mothers most humble Servant, of which truth the best testimony he could at present give, was to point out to her Majesty a Neighbour of his, a man of a vigorous Constitution, though in a declining age, Wise, Valiant, Rich, Strong in a posterity of men capable of great things, that was withal possess'd of many very considerable places, both in the Heart, and upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom; and (which was more to be consider'd than all) who was so nettled with the ill usage he had receiv'd at Court, that there was no doubt to be made, but he would readily embrace any overture, that would direct him to a just revenge. In the conclusion of which Character he nam'd to him the Duke of *Espernon*. *Rucellay* was not so ill read in Affairs, but that he very well knew the person the Duke of *Boüillon* had propos'd, was of all other the most likely to do the Queens business: but besides that he had no order to address himself to the Duke of *Espernon*, there had moreover in the time of his being at Court, some difference hapned betwixt the Marquis de *Roilbac*, the Duke's Nephew, and himself; wherein the Duke's Authority having protected *Roilbac*, *Rucellay* had not receiv'd that satisfaction, he might otherwise reasonably have expected, for injuries of no ordinary kind. These injuries therefore, being still fresh in his memory, made him very averse to any Treaty with the Duke: neither was he ignorant how ill the Queen had us'd him, at his departure from Court, after the many, and great Services, that during her Regency she had receiv'd

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*Rucellay* arrives at *Sedan*, and treats with the Duke of *Boüillon*, who refuses to engage in the business.

The Duke of *Boüillon* advises the Queen Mother to treat with the Duke of *Espernon*.

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ceiv'd at his hands, which altogether put him into a very great confusion. All these considerations nevertheless laid aside, either out of the desire he had to serve the Queen, or to be reveng'd of the Favourites, or to re-establish himself at Court, which he hop'd would put on a new face in the change of the Queens Fortune, he dispatch'd away to her with all diligence to acquaint her how the Duke of *Boiillon* had excus'd himself, and of the advice he had given concerning the Duke of *Espernon*, that he might thereupon receive her Majesties further Command.

*Rucellay*  
sends *Vin-*  
*centio Ludo-*  
*vici* to the  
Duke of  
*Espernon*.

This posting to and fro took up so much time, that the Queens Letters of Credit to the Duke of *Espernon* could not come to *Rucellay*'s hands, till towards the latter end of *July*, nor he send them to the Duke till the month following; I say send them, *Rucellay* having no mind to sound the Foard himself, nor to make the first overtures of that Treaty in his own person, for the foremention'd reasons. He therefore employ'd herein one *Vincentio Ludovici*, a man in whom he repos'd an absolute trust, and one, who having formerly been chief Secretary to the *Mareschal d' Encre*, after a long, and very severe imprisonment he had suffred since the death of his Master, had retir'd himself to *Signy*, and put himself into *Rucellay*'s protection. Where living in expectation of some considerable employment, *Rucellay* propos'd this negotiation to him, who as readily undertook it; and having receiv'd full instructions, together with the Queens Letters of *Credence*, came to *Metz*, where at the *Moors-Head* he took up his Inn, and from thence sent to *le Pleffis* (whom all the world knew to be the man in greatest trust about the Duke) to entreat him that he would take the pains to come see one of his old acquaintancè, without further discovering himself.

I have heard *le Pleffis* say, that by this Complement he presently guess'd what the business might be, that brought this man, whoever he was, to *Town*; yet would he not appear upon this first Summons: but having a *Valet de Chambre* in his dependence, that he had bred from a Boy, in whom he durst confide, and of whose dexterity, and discretion, he had often made tryal upon several occasions, he commanded him to go to the *Moors-Head*, to see who it was desir'd to speak with him, and to observe if it were a face he had formerly seen, or one that was altogether a stranger to him. This man's name was *Cadillac*, which I insert here, because we shall shortly find him a principal Agent in this Affair.

*Cadillac* accordingly comes to the Inn, where his eye had soon found out his man; he observ'd him, spoke to him, and by his accent soon discover'd him to be a stranger, of which he presently carried back a report to his Master; giving him withal a descri-  
ption

ption of his person. *Le Plessis* confirm'd by this accompt in his former opinion, would by no means confer with him till he had first acquainted the Duke: but having receiv'd his Order, takes his way towards the Inn. Thither being come in the confusion, and hurry that usually happens in those houses of publick entertainment, he soon found out the man he sought for, runs to him, and embraces him, as if they had been the greatest friends in the world, though they had never seen one another before, enquiring of him aloud of their friends in *Xaintonge*, where this stranger had never been; who, nevertheless very well understanding *le Plessis* meaning, deliver'd him the services of several persons they neither of them both knew: after which *le Plessis* drawing him aside, and entring into more particular conference with him, receiv'd from his mouth the first overtures of his Treaty, which he also undertook to carry back to the Duke.

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No sooner therefore was he parted from *Vincentio*, but that he went to find out the Duke at the *Haute Pierre* (the place where the Governours of *Metz* ordinarily reside) where he gave him an accompt of the strangers business; together with the humble request he made to be admitted to a further Conference with his own person. Whereupon the Duke call'd for his two Sons, the *Marquis de la Valette*, and the Archbishop of *Tbolouze*, since Cardinal *de la Valette* (it appearing very reasonable they should participate of the Counsel, who were to have so great a share in the execution of the design) where amongst them it was concluded, that the Duke should the next day give audience to this Envoy in the Abby of *St. Vincent* in *Metz*, belonging to the Archbishop of *Tbolouze*. According to which determination the stranger was early the next morning conducted thither, by the foresaid *Cadillac*; whither the Duke coming presently after, under colour of a visit to the Abbot, he went to seek out *Vincentio* in the Chamber before appointed for him, where he gave him his first audience in the presence of *le Plessis* only, and where *Vincentio* deliver'd him a Letter from the Queen Mother that contained these words.

The Duke  
of *Espernon*  
receives a  
Letter from  
the Queen  
Mother,  
by *Vincentio*  
*Ludovici*.

*Cousin,*

“ I entreat you not to doubt the Fidelity of the person that shall deliver you this Letter, but to believe whatever he shall tell you; leaving it however to your own choice, either to return your answer by him, or by any other you shall think fit, to the earnest request he shall make you in my behalf: promising you withal that he shall propose nothing to you contrary in the least to the Service of the King my Son, who shall

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*Your very good Cousin,*

From Blois this 18th.  
of July, 1618.

Marie.

This Letter being read, and the Duke having ask'd the Bearer what he had more to say, "He represented to him the many  
"and signal Services he had formerly perform'd for the Queen,  
"first in promoting her Interest when she was declar'd Regent,  
"and afterwards throughout the whole course of her Administration: telling him withal how infinitely her Majesty was  
"afflicted: That she had not acknowledg'd those Services at so  
"just a rate, as the quality of them did truly deserve: That nevertheless she having shew'd her self ready to gratifie him in several things of some importance to him, she doubted not, but  
"that a generous heart, as his was, would be apter to record  
"those testimonies of her Favour and Affection to him, than  
"some little discontents, that could not so justly be imputed to  
"her, as to the necessity of the time, and the occurrences that imposed them: That he very well knew the late King her Lord,  
"and Husband had a few days before his death (as if he had foreseen the persecution was preparing against her) recommended  
"her Interests to his care and protection, wherein he had already  
"in part so worthily perform'd the Trust that great Prince had repos'd in his Vertue, that she had reason to believe he would  
"continue to oblige her for ever: That she was now reduc'd to  
"such a condition by the violence of her Enemies; as after being  
"depriv'd of her liberty, to think her self in great peril of  
"her life: That the King her Son, though his constraint was less  
"apparent; was not himself however exempt from the tyranny  
"they exercis'd upon her person: That it was in his power to  
"redeem them both from the slavery they were in; wherein, although she  
"doubted not, but that the King would one day acknowledge a Service of this nature to such a degree, as the  
"importance of it would justly deserve; she in the mean time would  
"notwithstanding take all the obligation upon her self, and engage to  
"make him see the effects of such a gratitude, as he might reasonably expect  
"from a Princess, who conceiv'd her self oblig'd to his generosity for her  
"liberty, and her life. The Duke having made answer to this discourse in such terms of submission, and respect, as befitted a Subject to a Princess of her condition,

And hears to the Proposition.


dition, the Mother of his King, and one from whom, amongst some little unkindnesses he had receiv'd many benefits, and signal favours, proceeded without more ceremony to the negotiation; in the progress whereof, *Vincentio* in the Queens name promis'd so many men, and places, and such summes of mony, proposing withal so great and so advantageous conditions for the Duke, as made him conceive the proposition worth the thinking of, and to promise him in a few days a positive answer.

He was no sooner therefore parted from *Vincentio*, but that he sent for his Sons to deliberate with them about this Affair, in whom he met with young spirits, full of heat, and courage, that presently advis'd him confidently to embrace that motion, wherein they said there was no question to be made, but that the issue would be glorious for him, advantageous to the State, and easie to be effected in it self, through the concurrence he would certainly find in most of the great men of the Kingdom, who were apparently dissatisfied with the present Government, which was also no extraordinary thing in the best, and most happy Reigns. The Duke on the contrary by a long experience become more circumspect could not suffer himself so easily to be overcome; but considering he was about to expose his Life and Fortune, his Children, Friends, and Family for a Princess who had not at other times been over-mindful of his former Services, he had some reason to fear he should receive no better an acknowledgement of this, than he had done of the rest. Besides he knew very well that he should no sooner appear in Arms in order to the design in hand, but that the Kings whole Power, and his Person would immediately be upon him; and seeing no visible Forces sufficient to resist that Torrent, he could not clear his mind from those apprehensions wherewith it was involv'd. He represented therefore to his Sons, that all those Confederates they seem'd to rely upon, should they joyn in the Quarrel, would most of them vanish at the very sound of the Royal Name: That the most discontented of them would be reconcil'd to their Duty by the least satisfactions should be given them, and that then he alone should do the work of all the other great men of the Kingdom, at the price of his own particular ruine. So that after having again and again consider'd of this proposal, he could not perswade himself to condescend to the importunities of his Sons, and *le Plessis*, who was present at this deliberation, all they could say being able to prevail no further upon him at that time, than that *Vincentio* might in his name assure the Queen, he had a passionate desire to serve her, provided it would please her Majesty to enable him so

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But without  
engaging  
himself at  
this time.

to

Anno 1618.  to do, by letting him know what persons of quality she had won over to her party, with what summes of mony she could make for carrying on the War, until when he humbly desir'd he might reserve to himself the liberty of his promise, with an assurance of his Secrecy and Fidelity in the mean time.

*Vincentio*, after having staid eight days at *Metz*, went back with this answer to *Rucellay*, who with great impatience expected his return; and who having receiv'd this accompt of the business, thought they had done enough at this first push, in prevailing with the Duke to hearken only to the proposal: neither did he doubt, but that the difficulties he had represented, though very rational in themselves, would in the end be overcome by the success of those things, whereof the Duke, before he would give a determinate answer, desir'd to be assur'd. He therefore in all haste signified to the Queen the Duke's disposition to serve her, assuring her withal of the Duke *de Boüillon's* Concurrence with the Duke of *Espernon*, provided the last would undertake the Service. Whereupon her Majesty, secure of her Interest with the Dukes of *Guise*, and *Montmorency*, and many other persons of great quality; and nothing fearing also, but she should be able to raise a great mass of mony, what by borrowing, what upon her Jewels, and what by the Revenue of those Provinces would be engag'd with her, sent the same *Vincentio* a month after to the Duke, to give him full assurance of all things he desir'd. Upon which second dispatch, the Duke conceiving he might confide in the Queens word, engag'd himself (though not without some reluctance) to declare openly in her Quarrel, dismissing his little Ambassadour with a much better accompt, than before, and delivering him a Cypher for his future Correspondence with the Queen; after which, and a particular answer to the Letter her Majesty had honour'd him with by *Vincentio* the first time, he launch'd so far into the Affair, that it was afterwards impossible for him to retire.

*Rucellay* takes himself the Treaty in hand.

*Rucellay* having pump'd the whole secret of this Negotiation out of *Vincentio*, and having no mind he should carry away the Reputation of an Affair of that importance, and so successfully begun, resolv'd for the time to come to undertake the Treaty himself, and laying aside his former aversions, with all other respects (which he likewise conceiv'd were not of so high a nature, as ought to stand in competition with the Affair in hand) would treat with the Duke in his own person. In order whereunto he advanc'd as far as *Pont a Moulins*, a little Village about a League distance from *Metz*; either unwilling, or not daring to venture himself



himself in the City, till he first knew how the Duke was dispos'd to receive him. From this place therefore he immediately sent away for *Cadillac* (the same *le Plessis* had sent the first time to *Vincentio*) not doubting but he would be the first should be sent to discover who he was. *Cadillac* thus sent for by he knew not whom, would not go out to him without first receiving his Masters Order, nor his Master give it him, till he himself had first receiv'd an Order from the Duke: Neither could the Duke suddenly consent to this intelligence, who, although he did not know the stranger to be *Rucellay*, yet suspecting him to be some new Negotiator, and unwilling to have so many intrusted with a business, upon the secrecie whereof depended his Life and Fortune, he waver'd long before he would give way to an interview betwixt *le Plessis*, and this new Agent. He was at last notwithstanding content he should go: but if he had at first made some difficulty of allowing this Conference, before he knew *Rucellay* to be the man he was to confer withal, he was so out of all patience when he knew the secret was committed to an *Italian*, his enemy, and disoblig'd by him, that he was many times upon the point to have recall'd his word, and absolutely to give over the design. *Le Plessis* was then forc'd to return back to *Rucellay* with a very unsatisfactory answer; who, without being much out of countenance at this repulse (the Duke refusing to admit him into the Treaty) or the seeing the civility he had advanc'd so far towards a reconciliation rejected, told *le Plessis* coldly, "That since the Duke had a mind to do the business without him, he might, if he pleas'd, in good time proceed; but that in the mean time he was to understand, that it was to him the Queen had intrusted the secret of that Affair, and not to the other, who had hitherto appear'd in it, who was but his substitute, and by him sent to make the first overtures to the Duke, presuming his own person might not be so acceptable to him; but that he had seen the Duke of *Boüillon*, and treated with him: "That *Vincentio* had given him an accompt of all he had done at *Metz*, and had deliver'd a Cypher to him: That he knew very well that he *le Plessis* in the Canting of that Cypher was call'd *Floze*, the Duke by another name, and his Sons by others. After which explanation he desir'd him to consider whether a man so well inform'd in, and able to give so good an accompt of the business, was fit to be laid aside: "That he could not but wonder the Duke of *Espernon* should continue to use him so ill, who had never given him any offense; but on the contrary had been highly offended by him, and his; that having so many and just inducements to revenge those

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 " his honour far dearer, than his ill usage was sensible to him :  
 " but that he would tread all those considerations under foot, to  
 " preserve his Fidelity to the Queen his Mistress, provided he  
 " should not be urg'd on to the last extremes.

*Rucellay*  
 with much  
 difficulty  
 admitted in-  
 to the  
 Treaty.

..  
 Resolutions  
 taken be-  
 twixt the  
 Duke of  
*Espenon*  
 and *Rucellay*.

This Declaration, though something high from an Enemy, and very rough from a man that pretended he came to Treat, carried nevertheless so much sting with it, and threatned so much to the ruine of the design in hand, that the Duke saw it necessary either to admit him into the Council, or to dispatch him out of the way : the latter of which being too cruel for him to consent unto, and on the other side it appearing of better advantage to treat with a man of the Quality *Rucellay* was, than with *Vincentio*, who could do nothing, but as he receiv'd Orders from him; the Duke resolv'd upon the first : So that *Rucellay* being upon these terms admitted into the negotiation, he came by night to *Metz*, and in disguise (as he always went) was conducted to the *Haute Pierre*, where he had a Chamber made ready for him in the Duke's own Lodgings; out of which he never stirr'd for a whole month together. Being there receiv'd, he had *Cadillac* appointed to attend him, as also one of the Duke's own *Valet's de Chambre*, whom he knew was to be trusted, order'd to bring him all necessaries from the Kitchin, and other Offices; without any bodies being able to guess who this person might be, that was so carefully, and diligently attended. The Duke went almost every day to see him, his Sons very often, and *le Pleffis* oftner than them all; by which regular visits in the Duke, and by the great care was taken to seek out the best water (for *Rucellay* drank nothing else, and was very delicate in that) it was suspected some Woman of Pleasure was kept private in the house: A suspicion that perhaps contributed something to his better concealment, and to the restraint of a further curiosity in such, as possibly otherwise would have been more inquisitive into the truth of the business, had they not entertain'd this mistake for the truth it self. During this time of *Rucellay's* stay at *Metz*, things were fully concluded amongst them; where above all things, it was thought necessary, that a strict League should be contracted betwixt the two Dukes of *Espenon*, and *Boiillon*, that things might the better succeed. There had indeed some former Jealousies hapned to the discomposure of these two great men, but such as had rather begot a coldness, than any disaffection betwixt them; which *Rucellay* undertook to reconcile, as by the assistance of the Vicount *de Sardiny* (a very particular Servant to the Duke of *Boiillon*, and a man absolutely devoted to the Queen) he

he afterwards did, though it wrought not that good effect, was expected from it, as shall in its due place be made to appear. Anno  
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The Queen having heard no news of Rucellay, during his abode at Metz, though she had taken care to send to him, and in such an impatience to know how her Affairs succeeded, as may be imagin'd in the condition she then was, writ a Letter to the Duke in a borrowed hand (I think Chanteloube's, he being then the only man of trust about her) and in a fustian style; the Queen here taking upon her the quality of a Merchants Wife of Saverne, absent from her Husband: of which these were the words.

“ Sir, since the Sieur Artus (meaning Rucellay) parted hence to  
 “ seek you out, I have heard no news either of him, or you; which so  
 “ much afflicts me, that I must entreat you to write to me by this bearer,  
 “ who I am told by a friend of mine will soon be back, he being to ride  
 “ post upon some business of a Gentlemans, whose name I have forgot.  
 “ If no accident have befallen Sieur Artus, he is much to blame to leave  
 “ me so long in suspense, without giving me some accompt, whether he  
 “ have paid you the money I deliver'd him, or no; which though it be no  
 “ great summe, I should be very sorry you had not receiv'd. Oblige me  
 “ therefore so far, as to send me word what the matter is, as also of the  
 “ state of your health, which I wish may be such, as you your self desire. I  
 “ forgot to tell you that the Armourer (meaning the Duke de Luines) with  
 “ whom we have the business you know of, has sought to me for an Agree-  
 “ ment; though I know not what to say to it without my Husbands advice,  
 “ for whom I have so much respect, as to do nothing, but what he shall think  
 “ fit: if he refer it to me to do what I think best, I shall make no agree-  
 “ ment with him. The Judges, who are to determine our controversie,  
 “ will, I doubt, not very well understand who has the wrong, and that our  
 “ cause is good; God also being always for the right, I hope we shall  
 “ have as good an issue as we can desire. I shall trouble you no further,  
 “ than to conjure you to write me word; when I may hope to be so happy  
 “ as to see you; if your Affairs would permit, I could wish you were  
 “ ready to begin your Journey to morrow: however I shall refer that to  
 “ your discretion, humbly entreating you to believe, that I shall honour  
 “ you all the days of my life, as I ought to do, and shall pray to God to  
 “ keep you in his Holy Protection, and preserve you as long in health as I  
 “ desire.

Sir,  
 Your humble, and very obedient Wife, and Servant,

Sign'd X.

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Mony sent  
to Metz by  
the Queen.

It appears by this Letter, that Affairs were now in a very good forwardness, some mony having been sent by the Queen to Metz, which, as it was the most important place of her Party, and wherein the Duke had resolv'd to leave the Marquis de la Valette his Son, he would not he should be left without some mony in his greatest necessity to assist him. He very well foresaw that after the Queens escape he should be the first assaulted, and expos'd (as he afterwards was) to the fury of the Royal Arms, and that upon the preservation of Metz depended, in part, the life of the whole Action: but of how great moment soever this place might be to the design in hand, the summes nevertheless were very moderate, that were there left for its defense, arising to no more in all, than an hundred thousand Crowns, carried thither by Wagon from Saverne; of which summe Vincentio receiv'd an hundred thousand Livers for the use of the Duke of Bouillon, who was to take Arms in favour of the Queen, a part of the remainder only being left at Metz, for the raising of men necessary for the defense of the Town, and to buy Ammunition.

The Duke  
resolves to  
go serve the  
Queen.

The Duke having found by this mony coming in, some, though very little effect of those promises, had been made him by the Queen, did from thence conclude her Servants had provided so carefully for the rest, that nothing would be wanting of all those things whereof they had given him before so ample assurance: In which belief he set himself wholly upon his preparation to be gone; of which also having given notice to the Queen, her Majesty, whose condition was much worse than his, to quicken his haste, sent him another Letter in the same Canting style.

A second  
Letter from  
the Queen  
in the same  
style with  
the first.

“ Sir, I shall make use of Magurin's, one of our Factors Pen  
“ (meaning Chanteloube) to let you know, that I was never more over-  
“ joy'd in my life, than when I receiv'd the Letter you did me the honour  
“ to send; wherein you give me assurance of your constant love, which is  
“ so great a comfort to me, that what affliction soever God shall be pleas'd  
“ to lay upon me, I shall notwithstanding rejoyce in this, that my Hus-  
“ band loves me, and that I shall shortly have the happiness to see him.  
“ Neither do I doubt of his affection, who has so good a soul, that I  
“ know he can never forget her, who in this world most honours and  
“ loves him; and that so soon as he has settled all our Affairs where he  
“ now is, he will come to take order about those we have in these parts,  
“ which praised be God, are already in a very hopeful way. But I am  
“ in great pain to know the place where you are pleas'd I shall expect you;  
“ for if you think it better that I go to our own house, than to stay longer  
“ here,

“ here, send me word, and I shall do what possibly I can to overcome the  
 “ incommodities of the season to obey you ; but if it should fall out that I  
 “ cannot stir from hence, write me word how I may meet you upon the  
 “ way ; and provided I be not put to rise too early, I shall do wonders. I  
 “ expect therefore your Commands, which I shall faithfully observe, be-  
 “ seeching you to give me your instruction concerning all our other Affairs,  
 “ that I may do nothing may turn to our prejudice ; it being impossible  
 “ I should ever fail in obeying whatever Commands you will lay upon

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*Your humble, and very obedient Wife, and Servant.*

And in a Postscript,

“ This shall be the last Letter I shall write, wherefore I conjure you  
 “ to remember to give me notice of your setting out, that accordingly I  
 “ may prepare my self


G. G.

And for the Superscription, as upon that before,

“ *A Monsieur, Monsieur Fabert, being at this present at Saverne.*

This Letter, which, betwixt persons so well read in one anothers designs, might with great ease be explain'd, was by the Duke presently put into deliberation ; first, that a day might be resolv'd upon for his departure, and next that something might be concluded about the order was to be observ'd in going to receive the Queen. To this Consultation the Dukes two Sons, *Rucellay*, and *le Plessis*, were only admitted, where (as it usually falls out) the nearer they approach'd to the execution of their design, the harder it seem'd to be effected. From the time the Duke had first engag'd his word to the Queen, he had been very instant at Court, to obtain liberty to go into his Governments of *Xaintonge* and *Angoumois*, very well foreseeing, that without such a formal leave, he should meet difficulties enough in the very Journey it self, had he had no design to favour the Queens escape ; but the more importunate he had been to procure that Licence, the more obstinate he had found them to be in the denial. They look'd upon him, as it were mew'd up in *Metz*, and were resolv'd to keep him in a manner a prisoner to his own Government, in that remote part of the Kingdom. So that the Duke in despair of procuring that priviledge, and seeing that under the colour of some very inconsiderable excuses, the King had a mind to make his presence at *Metz* appear altogether necessary to his Service, he sent his Majesty a very full Remonstrance of the urgency of his Affairs

Some difficulties arise, about the execution of the design.

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The Duke of *Espernon's* preparation, and the policy he made use of to cover his design.

By this Letter it was, that, whilst he was making preparation for his departure, the Duke endeavour'd to conceal his Design ; wherein his policy was of infinite use, and this that follows of no less. He had a mind to send away before his Stable of manag'd Horses, consisting of thirty, what Gennets, and Barbs, the finest, and best in *France*, an equipage he had ever been very curious to maintain, as he continued to the last hour of his life. These horses that had been very unfit to travel such Journeys, as he must of necessity take, had they staid to go along with him, and that could not in the mean time be convey'd out of *Metz*, without much notice taken, to hinder that observation, and to delude such as were too clear-sighted, and too prying into all his actions, the Duke caus'd, for fifteen days together, bridled, saddled, and in all their equipage as they had been to go a long Journey, to be led out at several Gates of the City : wherein though it was given out by the Grooms, as done only to air them, lest they should become useless by standing continually still ; yet for a few of the first days they were seen to go out in that manner, no body believ'd other than that they were the Dukes forerunners, who intended himself soon after to follow. An opinion that made the people crowd in multitudes to gaze upon the sight, every one certainly concluding at first, what was effectually the Duke's real design : but in the end, seeing them, after a walk of four or five hours, continually brought back at night, and that which at first surpriz'd them by its novelty, being grown familiar by the continuation of it, even the most penetratingly inquisitive began to grow weary of their suspicion, letting them at last pass to and again without any regard at all. And then it was that the Duke commanded the *Sieur de Campels* the Gentleman of his Horse, who, till that time had been as ignorant as the rest, at his next ordinary sally, to ride clear away, and to go to a House near *Sanserra*, and upon the Banks of the River

River *Loire*, call'd *Rezé*, belonging to *le Puigeolet* his Lieutenant in the Regiment of *Champagne*, there to expect him, which was accordingly perform'd without the least notice taken, or any noise at all.

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This part being thus perform'd, *le Leige*, Major to *Rembure's* Regiment, a Gentleman very expert in the Geographical Cart, and an excellent Quarter-Master for the lodging of an Army, came back to *Metz*, whom the Duke had sent a few days before to discover all the ways, by which he was to pass into *Angoumois*; by whose extraordinary diligence, the way was already chalk'd out, and divided into Journeys, the Fords all founded, and the whole thing exactly drawn into a Map. After all which precautions, the Duke still living at *Metz*, as if he never had design to part from thence, and having concluded with his Sons, *Rucellay*, and *le Plessis* the day of his setting out to be the 22. of *January* the ensuing year, all things were thenceforward prepar'd with the greatest secrecie, and diligence imaginable, to be ready against the time to come. The Queen Mother had, as you have heard, signified in her last dispatch, that she was in hope she might convey her person to any place the Duke should think fit to name, thinking that the Letter she had receiv'd from the King (after the Protestation she had made to Father *Arnoux*) would privilege her so to do, she having full liberty given her therein to go whither she pleas'd into any part of the Kingdom: but because that it was probable the design of that Letter was rather to comfort her in her solitude, and to sweeten her captivity, than intended to give her absolute liberty to dispose of her person; it was moreover thought impossible so to order the time, that she could at a certain and punctual hour transfer herself to a place where she might be free to dispose of herself at her own choice: Especially considering that all those who were about her, the major part at least, were Servants made, and corrupted by the Court Minion. Which sole difficulty appearing invincible, it was at last resolv'd, that, to avoid all suspicion, her Majesty should not stir from *Blois*, but that the Duke, or some other trusty person by him appointed should advance thither, to receive, and convey her first to *Loches*, and from thence to *Angoulesme*.

This resolution being taken, the Archbishop of *Tholouze*, attended only by his own ordinary Train, parted from *Metz* eight days before the Duke his Father, to go into *Angoumois*. The pretense of this Journey was to try to raise mony upon their Territories in those parts for their better support, they having not (as was pretended) wherewithal to defray their necessary expense, the Duke's Offices being now no longer paid him since his dispute with the

*Garde*

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The Archbishop of *Tholouze*, afterwards Cardinal de *la Valette*, departs from *Metz* before the Duke his Father.

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The whole  
design in  
great dan-  
ger to be  
ruin'd,  
through the  
infidelity of  
one of *Ru-  
cellay's* Ser-  
vants.

*Garde des Sceaux*; though indeed the true cause of his going was to confirm the Servants the Duke had in his Governments there in their Duty, and to secure the strong Holds he had in *Xaintonge* and *Angoumois*, by a seasonable prevention of any practice from Court. There was also at the same time a dispatch sent to the Queen Mother, to acquaint her with their resolutions, that she might make her self ready against the day prefix'd; the charge whereof *Rucellay* having taken upon himself, he intrusted it to a young fellow whose name was *Lorme*, one whom he had bred up of a Page, and by whom he had in truth been very faithfully serv'd at Court, in some affairs of no ordinary nature; though in this, and in the most critical time for the ruine of the Enterprize in hand, he play'd fowl, and stumbled into the foulest Treachery in the world. He had often been employ'd to and fro upon this occasion, wherein he had ever acquitted himself with great sincerity and discretion: but now, though he had not penetrated into the depth of the design, yet guessing by the secrese had been enjoyn'd him, that it must necessarily be of very great importance, what recompenses soever he had been promis'd by his Master, he chose rather by his infidelity to obtain them, than by a vertuous action to deserve them. Instead therefore of going to *Blois*, and from thence to *Consolant* in *Angoumois* (where he was order'd to expect the Duke, after he should be dismiss'd by the Queen, from whom he was to bring an accompt of the precise day of her escape) he went directly to *Paris*, where he address'd himself to some of the Duke *de Luines* his Servants, to be by them presented to their Master; to whom he said, provided he might be secur'd of a good reward, he would discover something of more than common concern. To this desperate pass was the state of Affairs reduc'd, when Fortune by a strange and unexpected accident set the Machine again on work upon its own proper Base. Those to whom *Lorme* had apply'd himself for admission to *Luines*, looking upon him as an Impostor, either made no mention of him to the Duke at all, or, if they did, represented him for such a fellow, as they themselves took him to be, making him wait at the Gates for three whole days together, without giving him either admittance, or answer. In the interval of which three days *le Buiffon*, a Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, heard by chance that *Lorme*, *Rucellay's* man was in Town; which he had from one of his own people, who, being of *Lorme's* acquaintance, had met him accidentally in the street. At which intelligence *le Buiffon* (a man passionately devoted to the Queen Mother, privy to her designs, and an affectionate Servant of the Duke

of



of *Espernon's*, by reason of a Brother of his, a Lieutenant in the Regiment of Guards, who was one of the Duke's domesticks, being infinitely surpriz'd; forasmuch as *Lorme* had at other times ever been directed immediately to him, and not being able to comprehend the cause of this alteration, began presently to suspect there was some knavery in the wind. He therefore presently took order to have my companion narrowly watch'd, and was by his spies as faithfully inform'd of his being continually seen waiting at the Duke *de Luines*'s Gate; by which discovery judging aright at what he was about, and foreseeing what mischief the sight of those Letters, he knew he had about him, would produce, he undertook a dangerous, but a very necessary act, and that indeed prov'd the safety of the whole design. By a supposititious hand, one that took upon him to be a Servant to the Duke *de Luines*, he caus'd five hundred crowns to be paid down to *Lorme* by virtue of which he retriv'd the Packet out of his hands, disposing so of *Lorme* himself, that he was never seen or heard of after; by which means this great design in the greatest danger imaginable to be discover'd, and lost, was again restor'd to its former condition.

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The Duke, who as yet was totally ignorant of *Lorme's* treachery, and who knew nothing of it of above a month after, put himself in the mean time upon his Journey; the order whereof at his setting out, and which he also continu'd during the whole Voyage, I shall here present you. Wherein we shall observe so admirable a conduct, that we cannot forbear (notwithstanding the Duke's modesty) who ever gave Fortune too great a share in all his performances) to attribute the whole success of this enterprize immediately to his own prudence. No body knew of his resolution, till the night before his departure, when all the Gates of the City being shut, which at *Metz* (as at all other Frontier Towns) was commonly betimes, he commanded every one to make ready for their departure the next morning. He had some time before this caus'd eight thousand Pistols (his whole stock at that time) to be sowed up in Girdles of Leather (which were all found in his Truncks at his death in the same condition they were at his departure from *Metz*) such as a man might, without much trouble, wear about him, which he distributed to fifteen Gentlemen of his Family (whom he knew to be the most faithful, and that were the best mounted) to take care of, with orders to follow him wherever he went, should any cross accident befall him in the way. His Jewels also, which were lock'd up in a little iron Chest, and carried in a Male, was committed to a *Valet de*  
*Chambre*

The Duke's  
prudent  
conduct in  
the manner  
of his de-  
parture  
from *Metz*.

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*Chambre* of approv'd fidelity, who had likewise order not to stir from his person. He had fifty Gentlemen only in his company, every one arm'd with a Case of Pistols, and a Carabine, forty Guards, with each one a Musket, and a case of Pistols, fifteen Sumpter Mules, the ordinary Officers of his Household, with several common Servants. With this Troop amounting in all not to above an hundred good Horse (and that would have been too little had he gone upon the accompt of a private quarrel only) the Duke of *Espernon* adventur'd upon a Journey, contrary to the King's express Order, from one extremity of the Kingdom to another, and thence to return back again into the very heart of the same Kingdom, there to assist the Queen Mother; resolv'd (contrary to the King's will) to make her escape from a place, to which she had been, by his Majesty in the nature of a Prison, confin'd; and without certainly knowing by whom he was to be assisted in his design, undertook to change the face of a mighty State, so quiet, and so united within it self, as that it seem'd impossible either at home or abroad to be threatned with the least danger, or trouble: Wherein, if the attempt was bold, we shall find the execution no less worthy to be admir'd. He must alone make an end of what he had alone begun, his good Fortune, it seems, to his Glory, ordering it so, that not one great man of the Kingdom (either envying, or astonish'd at so daring a design) would be drawn to embark in an action the honour and success whereof could derive to none but the Duke of *Espernon*: So that they were content to let him bustle it out alone, whilst themselves sat idle spectators of this haughty and noble Enterprize; though it was certainly reported, and believ'd, that many of them had engag'd themselves to the Queen to serve her upon this occasion.

*Memoires de  
Monsieur de  
Roban.*

The Duke having thus order'd his little Train, and not being able to separate himself from the Marquis *de la Valette* his most beloved Son, without taking his leave, he call'd him aside, where embracing him with the tenderness of an affectionate Father, he told him; "That the greatest testimony he could possibly give him  
" of his Affection and Esteem, was (as he now did) to commit  
" to his Vigilancy, and Valour the Custody of *Metz*, it being the  
" principal member of his Fortune; and to the conservation of  
" which he ought to be the more awake, as it concern'd himself  
" much more than it did him, who having but a short time to  
" live, could expect but a few years possession: That he might as-  
" sure himself, he should with the soonest be beleaguerr'd with all  
" the Forces the King could make; and that no better was to be  
" expected from the Inhabitants, how well affected soever they  
might

‘ might pretend to be ; to oppose both which ; much prudence  
 ‘ and constancy would be requir’d : That upon the success of  
 ‘ the Action, wherein they were now engag’d, depended not on- Ann<sup>9</sup>  
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 ‘ ly their Fortunes, but their Reputations also ; which if it suc-  
 ‘ ceeded well, they should be loaded with Honour ; but if other-  
 ‘ wise, be look’d upon as Criminals, and Traytors : That there-  
 ‘ fore they were to put on a Resolution rather to dye, than to fall  
 ‘ into that disgrace ; but that it was much better to live, and to  
 ‘ overcome, as his heart assur’d him they should honourably,  
 ‘ and fortunately do. By which few words the Marquis, being  
 confirm’d in the generous resolution he before had taken, humbly  
 besought the Duke his Father to be confident he would never do  
 any thing unworthy his own Birth, or his expectation ; when his  
 tears having stop’d all further expression, he by that tenderness gave  
 a much better testimony of his courage than otherwise, and at a  
 greater liberty of speech, his own modesty would perhaps have  
 permitted him to do.

The Duke was no sooner parted from his Son, but that he pre-  
 sently went to Horse to begin his Journey, it being Monday the  
 two and twentieth of *January*, as had been before appointed.  
 The Gates of the City had not been opened since the evening be-  
 fore, and then only that by which the Duke was to sally ; which  
 was also shut again so soon as he (who would himself be the last  
 man) was gone out : Neither of three days after his departure  
 was any one opened at all, the Duke having moreover (left any  
 Tickets might be thrown over the Walls, or any persons let down,  
 who might carry intelligence of his motion to Court) left order  
 with *Paul*, Lieutenant to a Company of Carabines, belonging to  
 the Garrison of *Metz*, night and day to scour the Road to *Paris*,  
 and to intercept, and stop all that should travel that way ; a pre-  
 caution of so good use, that the last news the Court receiv’d of the  
 Duke of *Espernon*’s departure, came from *Metz*, so well had all  
 the Avenues been guarded on that side.

The Duke  
 goes out of  
*Metz.*

The Duke, being now out of the City, pursu’d his way with great  
 diligence, taking as long Journeys as the heaviness of his Sumpter-  
 Mules would permit, which, though they ty’d him to one stage a  
 day, yet was that stage always nine or ten Leagues at least ; and his  
 good Fortune was such, that at this season, commonly the most  
 turbulent of all the year, the weather was so exceedingly favour-  
 able and fair, that there fell not one drop of rain all the way ; inso-  
 much that he not only could foard all the Rivers, but mounting  
 every morning so soon as the Sun was up, both he and all his com-  
 pany rid without their Cloaks all the day long, as it had been the

Anno 1619. warmest time in Summer. The fourth day after his departure from Metz, he pass'd by the Trenches of *Dijon*, where the Duke of *Bellegarde* his Cousin being Governour both of the Castle, and Province, and having the *Sieur de Mun* his Lieutenant in the Castle, the Duke sent for him, who being it seems at that time out of the way, *Fouquieroles* Ensign to the Duke's Life-Guard came out in his stead to receive the Duke's commands. Of whom the Duke having enquir'd of the Duke his Master, he entreated him, so soon as he should write, to present his Service to him, and to acquaint him with his motion, but that nevertheless that complement requir'd no such haste, that he was oblig'd to do it otherwise, than by the ordinary way of the Messenger (the Packet Office being at that time not erected in *France*) as he desir'd he would not do; adding withal, that having been starv'd out of *Metz*, he was constrain'd to go into *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois* to live there upon his own Estate: Wherein, though *Fouquieroles* promis'd to obey his Orders, yet he was not so good as his word, he dispatching away an express Currier the next morning to the Duke de *Belle-garde*, to acquaint him with the Duke's motion; by which means it was that the King had the first intelligence of his departure from *Metz*, though it was not before he had been eight days upon the Road, and that it was now too late to stop him.

The news of the Duke of *Espernon's* motion carried to Court.

It is not to be imagin'd how strangely this news alarm'd the whole Court, the King openly saying, that he ever thought if the Duke of *Espernon* could not obtain the leave he desir'd, he would infallibly take it: but the Duke de *Luines*, conceiving that (in all probability) the Duke would never have done such a thing without some design, thought fit to try if he could not effect that by fair means, he saw was not to be done by foul; and to that end dispatch'd away *le Maine* (otherwise call'd *Chabans*) to the Duke, with a Letter from the King to Authorize his Voyage, together with all assurance of satisfaction in his Affairs, as also a particular complement, that he would accept of his Service, and that all things pass'd might be no more remembered betwixt them. Which Envoy we shall in due time find upon his way.

*Dijon* being pass'd, the Duke continu'd his Journey without intermission, baiting, or staying near the great Towns, till he had pass'd the River *Loire* at *Port de Vichi*; from whence he sent a new dispatch to the King, to give him notice of his Voyage into *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois*; where he had (as he said) no other design, than to live under his Majesties obedience. With this dispatch *Baussionniere* Nephew to *le Plessis*, (a Gentleman of as good Parts, and as much Valour, as any other of his time) was sent away

away to *Paris*, where at his arrival he was very well receiv'd; but hapning to be still at Court, soliciting an answer to his dispatch, when the news was brought of the Queen Mothers escape, he ran a very great hazard of his life, his head being often brought into debate, that in his person they might punish the high Offense done to the King by the Duke his Master.

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Two days Journey short of this *Port de Vichi*, the Duke's Quarter-Masters (who always carried *Ruceday* along with them in disguise, and who, the better to conceal him, us'd him with no other respect, than as a Comrade) discover'd two Parties of Horse standing in a Field, a little distance from them, which at the first sight they apprehended to be two Troops, whereof mention had been made to the Duke, one of Light-Horse belonging to the Queen, and another of Carabines commanded by *Arnout*; which he had been inform'd were dispos'd in Garrison near this part of the River (out of an opinion had for some time been entertain'd at Court, that the Duke (whether his Majesty would consent or no) would infallibly undertake this Journey into *Guienne*) to obstruct his passage. And indeed those Troops had waited some time thereabouts; but whether it were that they had accidentally only been Quarter'd there, or that they had been tyr'd out with expecting, or that the coming of the Duke's great Horses towards *Sanserra*, (for they were now march'd that way) had made them alter their design: but so it was that the Duke receiv'd not the least impediment from them. His people notwithstanding, something surpriz'd at the sight of these two Troops, return'd upon the spur to give the Duke notice of what they had seen; at which intelligence, as at a thing that requir'd some consideration, he made a little halt, when immediately with a cheerful and confident countenance, he said to those who were with him. We are now come too far my Masters, to return back again, we must either thorow, or dye. Which being said whilst he was drawing up to charge, he sent to discover who they were; when having word back, that they were two Gentlemen, who, being at Suits, had rais'd men on both sides to take possession of a House in dispute betwixt them, he continu'd on his way, this being the only Alarm he receiv'd throughout the whole Journey.

An Encoun-  
ter by the  
way.

But almost in the same place, at least at the *Pass* of *Briare*, which is not far from it, the Duke miss'd very little of an Encounter of far greater importance; which was that with the Duke of *Guise*, who was retiring, dissatisfied enough with the Court, into his Government of *Provence*. Neither had he been gone above two hours before the Duke arriv'd at this *Pass*: whereas had he

Another  
Encounter  
with the  
Duke of  
*Guise*, miss'd  
but a few  
hours.

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had the fortune to have come a little sooner, the Duke of *Guise* would doubtless have had much ado to perswade the Court, that so pat an Encounter had not been before completted betwixt them. A jealousy that the known friendship betwixt the Duke and him would have rendred so plausible to all, that the Duke of *Guise*, not seeing a possibility of justifying himself against so violent a presumption, could hardly have avoided engaging on the Queens Party, seeing he must inevitably stand highly suspected to the other; though the Duke of *Espernon* concluding him absolutely engag'd in the same design, did not much care to send after him, for fear of giving the Court too great a discovery before Affairs were yet ripe: So that by this means, and from the very business it self, wherein he was thought to be so deeply concern'd, as perhaps he was, the Duke of *Guise* took occasion to make his own Game at Court, and to reconcile himself to the King, and the Favourites, he sending thither, seal'd up, as he receiv'd them from the Queen, the Packets wherein she made her application to him, to engage him in her designs.

The twentieth day after the Duke's departure from *Metz*, he arriv'd at *Confolant* in *Angoumois*; where his Son, the Archbishop of *Tholouze*, together with the *Sieur d' Ambleville*, the King's Lieutenant in the Province, and the Duke's most faithful friend, and about three hundred Gentlemen more, came to wait upon him. And here it was that the Duke was infinitely astonish'd and surpriz'd; he had all the way expected to find *Lorme* there, with the Queens instructions about the manner of her escape: but his treachery (as yet unknown to the Duke) having turn'd him quite another way, gave the Duke reason to believe, either that the Queen Mother had alter'd her resolution, or that otherwise she had been betray'd, and that the whole design had been discover'd: The one or the other of which had been equally ruinous to him, who must either way be certainly expos'd single, and naked to his enemies discretion. And as one mischief never comes alone, it fell out, that in the heighr of this confusion, he was assaulted by another of no less moment, and that consequently added very much to the perplexity he was in before. The man of the house where *Rucellay*, and *le Pleffis* lay, was one of the \* *Gend'arme* of the King's own Troop, whose name was *Betison*. This man discourring with *Cadillac le Pleffis's* Servant about the Affairs of the time (the common talk of that kind of people) innocently told him, amongst other things, that there was a bruit in the Country, as if the Duke were come to carry away the Queen Mother from *Blois*. It could never be found out from whence this rumour should

The Duke  
and his party  
in a great  
confusion.

\* Or *Cuirassiers*.

should arise, for it was so great a secret in the Duke's own Family, that the very persons who were continually employ'd in it, had not the least inckling thereof. Insomuch that *Cadillac*, who was himself as ignorant as the rest, told his Master this story for a ridiculous thing : but *le Plessis*, who took it after another manner, and that on the contrary was astonish'd to the last degree, that an affair which had been carried on with the greatest secrecie imaginable, should become the discourse of the people, went immediately to acquaint *Rucellay* with what he had heard; who being no less surpriz'd, than he, they went both together to the Duke, who was yet the most amaz'd of the three, and who by this was still more confirm'd in his former belief, that he was abandoned, and betray'd, wherein also the appearances were so great, that his opinion was not indeed much to be contradicted.

*Le Plessis*, who had waded very deep into this Affair, could by no means perswade himself that the Queen had any ways alter'd her resolution, yet did he not know what to say to her silence; He saw his Master's Enterprize was no more a secret, and that consequently he could not, without eminent danger make a longer stay at *Consolant*, his residence in that little place giving too manifest evidence of some secret design. The consideration whereof made him resolve generously to expose himself to search out the truth of the business, and to clear those doubts the Duke was in at the hazard of his own life. In the close of the evening therefore he departed from *Consolant* upon his own Horses, to go take post at *Chastellorant*, and from thence to *Loches*; where, as he pass'd by he was to make sure of *la Illiere*, Governour of that place under the Duke of *Espernon*. This Gentleman, however faithful, and affectionate to the Duke his Master and Benefactor, was nevertheless at the first proposal very much surpriz'd with the greatness of this design, and to such a degree that he could not on the sudden prevail upon himself to embark in an Affair, wherein he discover'd so eminent, and inevitable danger: Insomuch that *le Plessis* not being able to overcome his apprehensions, and aversions, at this first Conference, durst proceed no further in his Journey, it being above all things necessary to make sure of *Loches*. In the interim he saw he lost a great deal of time, and the Queen he knew, if she continu'd in her first resolution, must needs be in great anxiety, and suspense. He had moreover great reason to believe that the news of the Duke's Voyage was by this time arriv'd at Court, and that then all possible diligence would be us'd (whatever they might be) to prevent his designs. In which perplexity, not daring to depart from *Loches*, without having first made

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*Le Plessis*  
takes a journey to discover how Affairs stood.

*Illiere*

Anno 1619. *Liere* firm to their purpose; or at least till the Archbishop of *Thoulouze* (who was to follow presently after him) should come to secure the place, that being design'd for the Queens first retreat, he found a necessity upon him of committing the secret of this great and important Affair to *Cadillac's* fidelity and discretion: Calling him therefore to him, entreating, and conjuring him to be faithful, with great promises of reward, he deliver'd him Letters for the Queen, with two or three words to the *Count de Brenne*, that he might by his favour be admitted to her Majesties presence. The *Count* had hitherto, 'tis true, been entrusted with no syllable of the design; but *le Plessis* knew him to be very faithful to the Queen his Mistress, and that they had usually apply'd themselves to him to obtain Access, for several private Messengers that had been sent to her Majesty about this Affair. *Cadillac* acquitted himself very well in his dispatch, he came to *Blois*; presented his Letter to the *Count de Brenne*, and was by him that very night presented to the Queen, who entertain'd him some time alone in her Cabinet; and who after having heard the humble request he made in his Masters behalf, that her Majesty would please to send some trusty person to *Montis* (a post stage distant only from *Blois*) with whom he might the next day confidently confer. She made answer that she had no soul about her whom she durst trust; but that he should immediately back to *le Plessis*, to tell him from her, that without staying at *Montis*, he should come on as far as the Suburbs of *Blois*, where at the little *Moor* he should hear further from her. *Cadillac* accordingly return'd, riding all night back again towards his Master, to acquaint him with the Queens desire, whom at his arrival at *Montis*, he found got thither before him: *La Liere* (who had never faultred in his duty, and whom the fear of his Master's safety, rather than any consideration of his own, had made a little shie at first) being upon better deliberation now resolute to run the Duke's fortune, having it should seem set *le Plessis* at liberty to pursue his Journey: wherein nevertheless he light upon an Encounter by the way, that had again almost overthrown the whole design; and that had certainly done it, had he not by his dexterity, and the vivacity of his judgment, manag'd it in such sort, as to make it in the end contribute much to the good success of the Affair in hand.

An unexpected and important Encounter upon the way.

You have already heard that upon the first intelligence the Court receiv'd of the Duke of *Espernon's* departure from *Metz*, *Luines* had dispatch'd away *le Maine* to him with an approbation of his Journey from the King; and it now fell out that this Gentleman in pursuance of that dispatch, hapned to meet *le Plessis* upon



upon the Road betwixt *Ambois*, and *Blois*; an Encounter that did not a little surprize *le Plessis*, who knew him to be a subtle man, and no very good friend to the Duke, by whom he conceiv'd he had not been so well us'd, as he deserv'd to be. Neither was there any possibility of passing by him unknown, they had been too long acquainted at Court for that; and it was much to be fear'd, lest the meeting of *le Plessis* upon this Road might make *le Maine* penetrate into the truth of his design, and consequently endeavour to obstruct it. In this apprehension, I have heard *le Plessis* say, That he was once in mind to have kill'd him; though considering that an act of that nature was likely to draw after it consequences that might utterly overthrow the Affair he had in hand, he quickly alter'd that resolution; conceiving it therefore better not to avoid his Encounter, he went chearfully up to him, where after he had some time entertain'd him with great demonstrations of intimacy, and friendship, he so order'd the matter, that he (without discovering the true intent of his own) got out of *le Maine* the business of his Journey, which was, that he was sent by the King, and the Duke *de Luines* to the Duke of *Espernon*, to let him know that his Majesty was very well satisfied with his expedition, and that *Luines* desir'd to be his Servant. In order whereunto, having further enquir'd of *le Plessis* where he might find the Duke, he made answer, that certainly at *Angoulesme*, where he arriv'd two days before he came from thence. After this manner did *le Plessis* disingage himself from this dangerous encounter, diverting *le Maine* from the way to *Loches*, whither before he was going, to go enquire upon the Post Road some more certain news of the Duke: Whereas had he held on his way, and met him at *Loches*, as infallibly he had, the Queens Affairs had yet been in very great danger, *le Maine* returning in all diligence to Court, having had leisure enough to give *Luines* time, either to prevent the Queen Mothers escape, or at least to have taken her upon the way, had she been gone from thence, *Loches* being but one days Journey Post from *Paris*.

This untoward accident thus shuffled off, and *le Plessis* being inform'd by *Cadillac* of the Queen Mothers order for him to come into the Suburbs of *Blois*, he fail'd not to execute her commands; where he was no sooner arriv'd, but that the *Count de Brenne's* Steward came to seek him, to guide him to the Castle, and to lodge him in the Anti-Chambre of the *Count* his Master. Night therefore being come, he was accordingly by him conducted thither, when, so soon as every body was retir'd, and the Queen left at liberty, and alone, she sent for him into her Chamber,

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*L. Plessis*  
coming to  
*Blois*, is se-  
cretly ad-  
mitted into  
the Queens  
Chamber.

Anno 1619. ber, to consult with him what remain'd to be done; where after he had in few words given her an accompt of the long, and dangerous Voyage his Master had undertaken, out of the sole, and passionate desire he had to serve her, and that she had acknowledged that obligation in the handsomest manner she could by words express, *le Plessis* proceeded to represent to her Majesty the many dangers that attended this delay, remonstrating to her: "That it was now a great while since the Duke's departure from Metz: That he had already waited four or five days in a Village, in expectation of her Majesties Commands in order to her escape: That the true design of the Duke's Journey (though he believ'd it had no other ground than meer suspicion) was already become the common discourse of the people: That he had met *le Maine* going towards the Duke, upon the intelligence had already been carried to Court of his departure from Metz; and that therefore it was very requisite her Majesty should make immediate use of the present occasion, which perhaps might in two days be irrecoverably lost. To which the Queen made answer: "That she was of his opinion, and that therefore they were then instantly to resolve upon the order, and the means of her escape. Whereunto *le Plessis* having reply'd, "That that depended chiefly upon some man of Trust: The Queen made answer again: "That she had not one about her (*Chanteloube* the only man of all her domesticks, to whom she had entrusted the secret of that Affair, being dispatch'd away to the Princes, and Lords, which she either conceiv'd already were, or soon would be engag'd in her Quarrel) in whom she durst confide.

Whereupon, *le Plessis* conceiving there might be something of the humour of her Sex, or Nation, in so general a distrust, of his own accord propos'd to her the *Count de Brenne*; who, he said, had sufficiently manifested his fidelity in those Services he had already perform'd. A proposition the Queen did not seem absolutely to reject, saying (which are her own very words), That 'twas true she believ'd the *Count* to be a man of honour, but that notwithstanding she thought him very young for the conduct of so important an Affair. Which scruple being satisfied by *le Plessis*, undertaking to make him capable enough; and seeing it was necessary to trust some one of the Queens domesticks, he thought a man of his condition, her Majesties Gentleman of the Horse, and Brother to the *Marquis de Mony*, a most passionate Servant of hers, was the most proper of all others to be made use of in this occasion. And accordingly, though it was then very far in the

far in the night, went immediately to talk with him about it; to whom (after he had felt his pulse a while, and found him very ready to undertake any thing for her Majesties Service) he at last declar'd the resolution had been taken, to deliver the Queen Mother out of her captivity: a design, that he told him was to be executed by a person of very great quality, (concealing however the Duke of *Espernon's* name) who had drawn great Forces together in his Government, to favour her Majesties retreat; and in conclusion, that therefore he was the very next day to take order for Ladders, to get the Coaches ready, and to lay in fresh Horses, with all the secrecie he in his own discretion should think fit, to the end that the night following without further delay her Majesty might be restor'd to her former Freedom. Not forgetting withal to recommend to his consideration, what he might expect from the gratitude of a Mistriſs, restor'd again to the whole sway of Affairs, her due Authority, and Greatness; besides the honour he would infallibly acquire to himself in so glorious an occasion.

Anno  
1619.

The Count thus prepar'd and instructed, accordingly made provision of all things necessary for the design; and *le Plessis* himself remaining conceal'd in the Queens Cabinet (either to be, as it were, a Hostage for his Master's fidelity, or to be present with his directions in the execution of the design) sent *Cadillac* only back to the Archbishop of *Tholouze*, to acquaint him with the Queens readiness, the night following to make her escape. The Archbishop, who was to part from *Confolans* immediately after *le Plessis*, had order to advance no further than *Loches* (that place being design'd for the Queens first reception) only to clear the Road in order thereunto: but *le Plessis* by *Cadillac* intreated him to advance as far as *Montrichart*, which was half way betwixt *Blois* and *Loches*; assuring him that the Queen would infallibly come thither the night following, which hapned to be the 22. of *Feb.* an exact month to a day after the Duke's departure from *Metz*. *Cadillac* therefore posted with extraordinary diligence back again to *Loches* to meet the Archbishop there; where being come, he found not only the Son, but the Father also, entring together the Suburbs of the City. The reason of which was, that though it had been at first resolv'd, the Son should go before with twenty or thirty Gentlemen only, to make the less noise, and give the less suspicion; yet could not the Duke his Father, when it came to't, consent to let him go so slenderly attended, where he apprehended the peril to be so manifest, and great. He knew not, in the anxiety and doubt wherewith he was involv'd, what to think of the Queens silence, of whom he had hitherto heard no news at all,

Preparation  
for the  
Queens es-  
cape.

*Anno* 1619. to which the rumour that was already spread abroad of his real design, having more encreas'd his apprehension, nature would not permit him to expose his Son to so great an adventure, chusing much rather to run the whole hazard together with him, than that he alone should tempt the danger, whilst himself lay idle and secure.

The Duke  
of *Espenon*  
hears from  
the Queen.

*Cadillac*, having discover'd them at distance, spur'd up to them, transported with joy of the good news he brought; where he gave them a full relation of what had pass'd betwixt the Queen, and himself, and of what he had in Commission from his Master, together with her Majesties readines to depart, and the secrecie that had hitherto been preserv'd in the Queens Household: but he could give them no accompt, why they had heard nothing from her Majesty at *Confolans*, she having deny'd to *le Plessis* that *Lorme* had ever been with her, as it was too true; or that she had ever heard a syllable from the Duke, since his departure from *Metz*, which she said had put her into no little fear.

And here I cannot but wonder at the infirmities of men, and the disproportion we may sometimes observe in the bravest and most heroick minds. The Duke of *Espenon* had for six months together been continually projecting this design, had foreseen all the accidents could happen, was come from *Metz* for no other end, and had wish'd for nothing more than to see things at the pass they now were: notwithstanding all which he was strangely astonish'd at this news, and the immediate sight of the object representing to his imagination at once, what he had only consider'd by particulars before, he seem'd to stagger in his resolution whether he should proceed any further or no in an Enterprize, the last Act whereof could only crown all the rest, and secure him for what was already done. He made *Cadillac* repeat above an hundred times in less than half an hour, what the Queen, and what his Master had said, with what he had himself observ'd: when suddenly, and of himself, grown generously resolute in his first design, he commanded *Cadillac* to return immediately to *le Plessis*, and to assure him, that the night following, the Archbishop his Son with fifty Light-Horse should infallibly be ready at *Montrichart*, and that the next day after himself would follow with the rest of his party, to receive the Queen, and to secure her retreat, should any thing upon the way be attempted against her.

*The end of the Seventh Book.*



THE  
H I S T O R Y

Of the LIFE of the

Duke of Espernon.

The Eighth Book.



IF the Duke had on his part been alarm'd with these jealousies and mistrusts, the Queens Servants on the other side were in no less diffidence and fear. These were upon this occasion reduc'd to a very contemptible number; wherein I cannot but admire, that in so plentiful a fortune, as this Princess was Mistress of (notwithstanding her disgrace) there was so little fidelity to be found amongst her people, that she durst entrust the secret of this Affair to but four of her domesticks only. Of these the *Count de Brenne* was the chief, the others were *Mazure*, and *du Lion* \* Exempts of her Guards, and *Katherine* one of the women of her Chamber, an *Italian*, and exceeding faithful. These being all strangers to *le Plessis* (and the Duke of *Espernon* being not as yet declar'd undertaker of the Enterprize) disputed very stiffly against her Majesties resolution, as being very unwilling to consent she should commit her safety to persons altogether unknown. The debate whereof was very hot in the Queens Closet,

Anno  
1619.

The Queen prepares for her escape.

\* *Exempts des Gardes* are old Souldiers of the Royal Guards; who as a recompense for their long Services are priviledg'd and exempt from Duty, Taxes, and Imposts, common to the rest of the people.

*Anno* 1619. whilst in the mean time her Cabinets were packing up with her choicest Jewels, where though they could not very well approve of the thing, yet had they not however neglected to fix the Ladders; and *Cadillac* who had set out of *Loches* by eight of the clock that evening, was got betwixt twelve and one, upon the Bridge of *Blois*, to give the last blow to the design. He was here staid by the *Count de Brenne's* Gentleman of his Horse, and one of the Queens Footmen, who had been to convey the Coach out of Town, and who had orders to suffer one Currier only to pass; which, though this were the man intended in that direction, yet would they not permit him to pass upon his own word, but would themselves go along with him to the Castle, though he had taken so exact observation before of the way from without the City, to the Ladders that he serv'd for a guide to those, who pretended to conduct him. In the heat therefore of this diligence, he was not long e're he recover'd the first Ladder, by which having mounted the Terrass, he went to the second, which from the Terrass lead up to the Queens Closet Window, by which she was to come out. Being got up to the Window, which he found shut, he there heard the noise the Queens Servants made in their Debate; who were not yet to be perswaded out of the apprehensions they had conceiv'd of her Majesties person, and safety. Which first fears had been infinitely augmented, by the recovery of the Packet entrusted to *Larme*, and retri'd by *le Buisson*, which the Queen had but that very night, and almost at the same instant receiv'd: by which, though they were satisfied the treachery had fail'd of its effect, that knowledge was nevertheless so far from making them secure, that on the contrary it awak'd their jealousy, and by rendring them more apprehensive of others which they doubted might succeed, made them more circumspect than before: Wherein though the Queen appear'd the least surpriz'd, yet did she not think it as yet convenient to discover the person who was to assist her in this escape. Whilst they were in this suspense, *Cadillac* knock'd at the Window, who brought news that would satisfy all their doubts. The Window was presently open'd to *Floze* his man (that being the phrase) who was no sooner within the Cabinet, but that transported with joy, to see things so well prepar'd, he threw himself at her Majesties feet, telling her, that now all things were in as good a posture, as her Majesty could her self desire; that *Monsieur d'Espernon* was at *Loches*, *Monsieur de Tholouze* at *Montrichart*, and with them three hundred Gentlemen ready to serve, and attend her Majesty, whithersoever she should be pleas'd to go. This was the first time the Duke

Duke of *Espernon* had been mention'd in all this Affair, whose name was no sooner heard by the Queens domesticks, but that it clear'd them of their former apprehensions, no one after that once offering to oppose their Mistrisses resolution. They making no doubt, but that a man whose wisdom and power were so generally known, had taken order for all things necessary for the Queens, and his own particular safety. Here then was a sudden change of faces, not a person in the Cabinet, who discover'd not alacrity and satisfaction in their looks; especially the Queen, who without losing more time, her self gathering up her Gown, that she might at better convenience get out of the Window, gave the *Count de Brenne* her hand, who went out before her, her Majesty following next, *le Plessis* the third, and after him all the rest. The Queen had found so much difficulty, and trouble in this first descent, that she had no mind to make use of the Ladder, to go down from the Platform into the street of the Suburb, chusing rather (the earth being mouldred down in many places, by reason the Terras was not yet fac'd with stone) to sit upon a Cloak, which being leisurely drawn down, convey'd her to the bottom with very great ease. The rest, either by the same way, or by the Ladder suddenly follow'd, when the Queen being immediately taken by the arms by the *Count de Brenne*, and *le Plessis* as they were leading her along the Suburbs, they chanc'd to meet some of her own Officers; who seeing a woman led betwixt two without a Torch, concluded her to be a Wench; which she hearing, said laughing to *le Plessis*, *They take me for a good one.* Yet did not these encounters hinder them from suddenly recovering the Bridge, where they were to take Coach; but being come where they expected to find it, there was no Coach to be seen, nor any body left to tell them which way 'twas gone. So that here they were in a new disorder. The Queen knew not what to think of her people, nor *le Plessis* what to imagine of the thing: they began to suspect one another, and (as it happens in all dangerous occasions) every one was so intent upon their own particular concern, that no one had reserv'd so much judgment as to advise what was best to be done. In this general jealousy, and consternation, comes one of the Queens Footmen, to guide them to the Coach; which they had convey'd into a little blind lane out of the way, that it might not be taken notice of by such as should have occasion to go over the Bridge. This fear then being then blown over, all past jealousies and apprehensions now vanish'd, and were forgot. The Queen put her self into the Coach, with the *Count de Brenne*, *le Plessis*, and *Katherine*, the rest had all Horses ready to

Anno  
1619.

The Queen  
goes out of  
the window  
of her Ca-  
binet.

mount,

*Anno* mount; the Queens Cabinets also were all thrown into the  
 1619. Coach, one excepted, which by oversight was left upon the place; but being miss'd, before they had gone two hundred paces, was sent back for, and found; and it was worth the labour, having in it Jewels, to the value of above an hundred thousand Crowns. And this was the last alarm. They went out of the Suburbs, the Torches were lighted, and the Queen held on her Journey towards *Montrichart*, without any further adventure worth repeating.

It hath already been said, that the Archbishop of *Tholouze* had taken with him fifty Gentlemen to advance as far as *Montrichart*, to secure that little Town; of which party *Rucellay* was one. They had over night possess'd themselves of the Gates, to be Masters of the Bridge, which affords passage over the River, that almost environs the Town; neither were they ordered to stir from thence: but *le Fleffis*, fearing the Queen should meet any accident, or receive any fright by the way, dispatch'd again *Cadillac* in all diligence to the Archbishop, to give him notice of her Majesties coming; and withal to desire him to send out twelve, or fifteen Gentlemen to meet her for her further assurance: which was presently done, and *Rucellay* would needs command the Troop, whilst the Archbishop staid behind to guard the *Pass*; which, should it have been obstructed, would infallibly have overthrown the whole design.

The Queen  
 Mother is  
 receiv'd by  
 the Duke of  
*Espernon*.

Not long after *Rucellay's* departure, the Queen arriv'd at *Montrichart*, where she was complemented by the Archbishop, and whence (staying no longer there, than fresh Horses could be put into the Harness) she continued her Journey towards *Loches*, better attended than hitherto she had been. About a League on this side the City, she was met by the Duke of *Espernon*, with a hundred and fifty Horse (what Gentlemen, and what of his own Guards) he having dismiss'd most of the Gentry, as not necessary upon this occasion. At this meeting the Queen deliver'd the most passionate expressions of Obligation, together with the largest promises of a grateful return, a Princess of her condition could possibly make to a Servant who had so highly merited from her; which the Duke having receiv'd with all becoming respect, he was by the Queen commanded to come into the Coach; where being seated, she began to tell him of *Lorme's* treachery, of which till this instant he knew nothing; proceeding to acquaint him with greater liberty, than by Letter before she durst do, with her designs; naming to him the persons she conceiv'd she had won over to her party, and giving him hopes of several things which

not



notwithstanding succeeded not according to her expectation.

Anno  
1619.

The Queens escape had been carried with that secrecie, that not a soul in the Castle had perceiv'd it; so that it was far in the morning, when the domesticks appointed for the Service of her Majesties person (seeing themselves not call'd to their ordinary employments, and not knowing what to think of so profound a sleep) resolv'd to venture into the Queens Chamber: Where being enter'd, and not seeing the Queen, they look'd for *Katherine*, who likewise was no where to be found. Every one therefore being amaz'd at so strange a Solitude, they sought, and call'd, but all in vain: neither could they imagine which way they could be gone; the Ladders, by which the Queen had gone down, having been thrown into the River; the better to conceal the manner of her escape. At last having been some time in suspense, they had some news of the Queens motion, which begot a new astonishment amongst them, though proceeding from several motives. The most faithful and affectionate were glad she had recover'd her liberty; whereas those who had been corrupted by the Favourite (which were very many) fearing on the one side they should stand suspected at Court, to have been assisting to the Queen in her design, and on the other, lest her Majesty (well inform'd of their infidelity) should punish them according to their desert, knew not which way to turn, nor what to do. Whilst they were in this confusion, her Majesty writ to the *Marquise de Guercheville* her Lady of Honour, to let her and the rest of her women know of her arrival at *Loches*; where she would stay two days to expect them, and where both they, and her other Servants, who had a mind to come to her should be welcome, excepting five and forty, or fifty which (as suspected to her) she gave order should be turn'd away; withal that such as could not come time enough to *Loches*, might find her at *Angoulesme*, whither she was design'd to go.

The Queens  
Mother ar-  
rives at  
*Loches*.

The Queen no sooner saw her self at full liberty, but that she began to meditate of the means to defend her self from the Favourite's persecution, which in all probability was likely to be violent enough; as also to give the Duke the best colour she could, to justifie what he had done. To this purpose therefore she deliver'd him the original of the Letter the King had sent her under his own hand; whereby she was permitted to go whither she would, into any part of the Kingdom: Which Letter she also accompanied with another from her self to the Duke, a few days antedated, and after the time of his arrival at *Consolans*; wherein

The Queen  
begins to  
fall to her  
business, and  
in the first  
place en-  
deavours to  
justifie her  
escape.

she

*Anno* she entreated his assistance in the prosecution of her design. By  
*1619.* which means the Duke was clear'd of the imputation, the Court  
 laid to his charge, that he had taken away the Queen by force, and  
 against her will; which had been a crime as well towards the Mo-  
 ther, as the Son. The two Letters were these.

*The King's Letter to the Queen under his own hand.*

*Madam,*

“ Having understood you have an intention to visit some Religious pla-  
 ces, I am infinitely satisfied with the news, and shall be much more, if  
 for the future you would resolve to stir, and travel more abroad, than  
 hitherto you have done; as I conceive it may conduce much to your  
 health, which is exceeding dear unto me. If my Affairs would per-  
 mit, I would with all my heart accompany you in my own person, as I  
 shall do with my Letters to the places where you go; to the end you may  
 be receiv'd, respected, and honour'd equally to my self, who am, more  
 than can be express'd,

*Madam,*

From Paris this last  
 of October 1618.

Your most humble, and obedient Son

Louis.

*The Queen Mothers Letter to the Duke of Espernon, deliver'd  
 to him with the former.*

*Cousin,*

“ I stand oblig'd to represent to the King my Son, the general Dis-  
 contents of his people at the ill management of his Affairs, and the  
 troubles, which by reason of his Nobilities being absent from him, I  
 apprehend will ensue, to the prejudice of his Crown and Kingdom. A  
 duty, which as all good men inform me it is particularly mine, I resolve  
 to perform, though I were certain to lose thereby that little remains to  
 me both of liberty, and life. Both which you may secure by permit-  
 ting me to this effect to retire my self first to Loches, and then to  
 Angoulesme, and by assisting me in my way with your company, and  
 advice: wherein if neither the necessity, nor the justice of my inten-  
 tions can prevail upon you; yet the reading this inclosed from the  
 King my Son ought to do it: by which you will see he permits me to  
 to travel whither I think fit, expressing a desire that his Subjects  
 should, in all places where I go, pay me all honour, and respect equal to  
 his own person: though I intend to make no other use of it, than what  
 shall

“ shall be consistent with the good of his own Service. Which, being per-  
 “ form’d, I do promise, and protest unto you, that when his own good na-  
 “ ture shall be as free, as my word is now, he himself shall thank you for  
 “ the assistance you have given me in an occasion so important to him, and  
 “ his own particular Affairs. The rest I will commit to the fidelity of this  
 “ bearer, that is, as to the time and manner of my removal, wherein I  
 “ conjure you not to fail: without nevertheless enjoyning you, either se-  
 “ crecie, or care, which your own wisdom will inform you to be very re-  
 “ quisite: Only I shall tell you, that by this you will eternally oblige me  
 “ to you and yours. So praying God to inspire you with this good delibe-  
 “ ration, and to give you all the satisfaction I desire. I rest,

Anno  
 1619.  


From Blois the 14. of  
 February, 1619.

Your very good Cousin,

Marie.

This Letter of *Rucellay's* style (who now (although a stranger) undertook nevertheless to serve the Queen in the nature of a Secretary) being dispatch'd, it was necessary they should think also of writing to the King, to give his Majesty notice of the Queens removal, and of the design she had to retire her self to *Angoulesme*: In which Letter she represented, “ The ill usage she had for some  
 “ time suffer'd at *Blois*, doubtless without his Majesties intention;  
 “ but through the sole Tyranny of some about his person, who  
 “ exercis'd no less Authority over his Majesties own Royal dispo-  
 “ sition; whose insolence, and cruelty descending from her upon  
 “ most of the great men of the Nation, she had very great reason  
 “ to fear, that so many men of quality being discontented, and  
 “ those discontents concurring with the dissatisfaction of the peo-  
 “ ple, oppress'd by all sorts of violence, would, in the end, be the  
 “ ruine of his Kingdom. That therefore she had put her self into  
 “ liberty, that she might at greater convenience represent to his  
 “ Majesty matters of so high importance to him, and his Affairs;  
 “ and had chosen to retire her self into the Duke of *Espernon's* Go-  
 “ vernments, by so much the rather, by how much his fidelity,  
 “ and good affection to the Crown, had never suffer'd the least  
 “ dispute: That the late King her Lord, and Husband, out of  
 “ the testimonies he had receiv'd of his Vertue, and Integrity, had,  
 “ but a few days before his death, advis'd her to repose her confi-  
 “ dence in him, above all other great Ministers of the Kingdom,  
 “ and that therefore she conceived she could not erre in following  
 “ the advice of so mighty a Prince, and in committing her self to  
 “ the conduct of so faithful a Servant.

The Queen  
 Mothers  
 Letter to  
 the King.

From *Loches* the 25th. of Feb. 1619.

Z z

The

Anno  
1619.

The King's  
answer to  
the Queen  
Mother.

The King had no sooner receiv'd this Letter, but that the Favourites began to study an answer; which, though it were in shew respective enough to the Queen, was yet full of threats towards the Duke. Wherein after his Majesty had express'd to the Queen his astonishment at the violence the Duke of *Espenon* had committed upon her person, he went on with great heat to declare: "That of all others he could never have suspected an offense of that nature, believing there had not been that man in the world, who, in a profound and inviolate peace, had had the impudence (which were the express terms of the Letter) not only to execute, but even to meditate a resolution to attempt upon the liberty of the Mother of his King. From whence his Majesty proceeding to menaces of the most severe, and exemplary punishment, he in the end justified those about his person from the ill usage whereof she complain'd; as having been done by his own order, and that with as much favour and respect as any Son of a much inferiour Birth, could pay to a Mother: declaring withal, that he was resolv'd to take Arms, thereby to put her in full possession of that liberty, her enemies had taken from her; and to cause the honour, and respect to be paid her which was due to her person. The rest was committed to the *Count de Bethune*, who was sent away with this dispatch, and who was to reside with the Queen to treat with her about an Accommodation; a Treaty his Majesty immediately set on foot, not thinking it fit, till that way had first been try'd, to commence a War, wherein the Queen his Mother would be head of the adverse party: A respect that did not long continue.

The Count  
de Bethune  
sent to the  
Queen to  
treat with  
her.

The Queen  
prepares for  
a War.

Whilst *Bethune* with this Commission took the way to *Angoulesme*, the Queen Mother, who departed from *Loches* the same day that she sent her Letter to Court, was there arriv'd. It was upon the first of *March*, 1619. that she enter'd the City; where she was no sooner come, but that she dispatch'd away to all parts, to dispose those who had promis'd to engage in her quarrel, to declare now in her favour. Most of the *Grandees* of the Kingdom were at this time retir'd from Court, and almost all dissatisfied with the present Government; yet whether it were (as I have said) that seeing the Duke of *Espenon* had already so engross'd the entire honour of the Action, they could not in reason expect to share with him, who had alone executed the most glorious, and dangerous part of the design; or that they had been taken off by the Favourites promises (who in this juncture had not neglected to prevent the effect of their discontents) however it was, they were glad to do their own work at the Duke's expense, and as they had had

The whole  
burden  
whereof  
falls upon  
the Duke of  
*Espenon*.

had no hand in the action, would 'not in the least appear in the Queens behalf.

Anno

1619.

The Duke of *Espernon* therefore, with such Friends, and Servants as he had, must alone stand the brunt of the Royal Arms, and undergo the utmost effect of his Majesties indignation. The Queen 'tis true granted out several Commissions, and disburs'd some money, not considerable, for Leavies; all which, though it signified little to the work, yet had she betwixt five and six thousand foot, and betwixt eight and nine hundred Horse, that were rais'd in the Duke's Governments by his own interest. He had from the beginning of the Queens Regency made provision of Arms for ten thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, which were now taken out, and of so great use, that could the Friends he had in *Guienne* have assisted him according to their affections, he had upon his own accompt rais'd a very considerable Army: But the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was Governour of that Province, having in this occasion been prepossess'd by the Favourite, (by whom the command of the Army that was to go against the Queen, was conferr'd upon him) it was not likely he should suffer those Troops to go out of his Government, which were to be employ'd against him; yet did not the Duke fail however of a very considerable succour from thence; so great an affection, and esteem they had for him in that Countrey: the Marquis de *Montferrant*, and *Foncaude* Brothers, the Count de *Calonges*, and some other Gentlemen of quality, all considerations laid apart, exposing themselves freely to the persecutions of the Court, and the displeasure of a powerful Governour, to pay that duty they ow'd, and had sworn to the Duke of *Espernon*, though having opportunity to draw away their men by Files only, and that with great difficulty and danger, they could not serve him so effectually as they desir'd.

If the Queen found her self thus weak in the place where she was in person, her party was in no better a condition in other parts of the Kingdom. The Duke of *Boüillon* himself, of whom the Marquis de la *Valette* thought himself secure, refusing so much, as to declare for the Queen, who having long expected what the first success of Arms, and the issue of the Queens Declarations would be, and seeing neither the one, nor the other (which novelty often renders vigorous, and considerable) had produc'd any signal effect; he was content to sit neuter, and to attend the event: by whose example, some other persons of condition, who had engag'd to take Arms in *Champagne*, *Ficardie*, and the neighbouring Provinces, and that had been made to believe the Duke of

*Anno* 1619. *Bouillon* would head them, refus'd likewise to stir, all the most zealous, and affectionate to the Queens Service could do, being to come in in their own persons, which signified no great matter. Of which number were the *Marquis de Mòny, Breauté, Bourbonne, Bethancourt,* and some others. The *Marquis de Themines* came in also of another side, though the *Mareschal* his Father was on the contrary party; but it was only to command the Queens Guards, of which he was Captain; so that in effect the whole weight of the business lay still upon the Duke of *Espèron*.

The Favou-  
rites power-  
fully arm  
themselves.

The Favourites were in a far better condition, who after they had on all sides prepossess'd the minds of the great ones, and perverted the inclinations they might have had in favour of the Queen Mother, had powerfully arm'd themselves, rather indeed against the Duke than her. The Duke of *Mayenne* was in the head of ten thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse (for the most part, old Souldiers) ready to enter into *Angoumois*. The *Count de Schomberg*, the Kings Lieutenant under the Duke in *Limousin*, had receiv'd order to make Leavies, to impede those the Duke was making in that Countrey; which having done, he soon employ'd them in an Enterprize of greater noise, than moment, though very disadvantageous to the Queens Interest. The *Abbey d' Vzerche* in *Limousin* stood for the Queen, where some of her party had fortified themselves; and the *Count de Schomberg* fate down before it; whereof the Duke of *Espèron* having intelligence, he went in all haste to relieve them. His diligence herein was notwithstanding fruitless, for the playing of a \* *Salpêtre* having put them out of all possible defense, they were forc'd to surrender before he came. Neither was the place any thing considerable, though, in the beginning of a War the first successes being of great importance, the Duke would willingly have prevented this disaster; which, seeing he could not come time enough to do, he set himself to repair that little loss, by some signal advantage, he might with great facility have obtain'd over the *Count*, when he receiv'd intelligence from the Queen, of the Duke of *Mayenne's* being entred with his Army into *Angoumois*. Which Army, though it was indeed a good one, and the coming of it very well foreseen; yet its greatness being made more formidable by report, it is not imagin'd to what a degree the Queen, and those about her were terrified with its approach. The Duke had taken along with him for this expedition of *Limousin* but very few Forces; but the life and soul of the Queens party consisting in his person, and experience, her Majesty dispatch'd away to him Post after Post, with so much importunity, that he was in the end constrain'd to quit

\* A fire En-  
gine cover'd  
with Leav-  
ies like un-  
to, but  
much big-  
ger than a

The Duke  
of *Mayenne*  
enters with  
his Army  
into *Angou-  
mois*.

quit all his designs in *Limousin*, to return back to *Angoulesme*.

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Before the Duke's return, the Archbishop of *Tholouze*, his Son, who had staid behind to command those Forces, had been left with the Queen, having intelligence of the Duke of *Mayenne's* motion towards *Cognac*, was jealous he might attempt something upon that little Town, the situation whereof rendred it very considerable, there being a stone Bridge over the River *Charente*: though otherwise very weak in it self, and without any fortification at all. All which notwithstanding the Archbishop, with two thousand men, went, and put himself into it with a resolution either to preserve it, or dye. So that the Duke of *Mayenne*, advancing to view it, was entertain'd with so brisk a charge, that he had no hope of doing any good upon men so well prepar'd for their defense. Not therefore to waste time to no purpose, he went on, and took up his quarters at *Chasteu-Neuf* within three Leagues of *Angoulesme*; where the Duke of *Espernon* being now return'd, presented himself, and his Forces, to oppose him; so disposing them into places of most advantage, that the Duke of *Mayenne* could make no further progress into the Countrey: He made indeed some light Skirmishes, but such as won no great reputation to the one side, or the other, whilst the Peace was in Treating by the *Count de Bethune*.

It was doubtless by no ordinary conduct, that the Duke of *Espernon*, with so few Forces as he had about him kept so considerable an Army as the King's in play, and to manage the several sorts of people he had with him, with that dexterity as to keep them from Mutiny, and Disorder: Such as have been engag'd in parties where the Royal Name has been oppos'd against them, and who have commanded men, who have had no less to apprehend from the Sword of Justice, than from those of the Enemy, will easily conceive, the Duke had never greater use of his Prudence, and Valour, than upon this occasion; it being certain, that had his Authority suffer'd by the least accident of that kind, he had infallibly been deserted by the greatest part, and consequently expos'd to his enemies discretion.

If the King's Forces were thus powerful in *Angoumois* against the Duke, they were every whit as considerable in the *Messin* Countrey, against the *Marquis de la Valette*. The Duke of *Nevers* had there an Army, nothing inferiour to that of the Duke of *Mayenne*; to which outward Force he had also added secret practices within the City, and the Inhabitants whose affections were warp'd with the fortune of the Duke's Family (which every

The Duke of *Nevers* with a great Army against the *Marquis de la Valette* at *Metz*.

one

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The Mar-  
quis de la  
Valette de-  
fends Metz,

one believ'd to be so depress'd, as never to rise again) were not the least part of the enemies power. In which extremity (which could hardly be greater) the Marquis *de la Valette* having reinforc'd his Garrison, which was faithful to him, with some Leavies that came to him out of *Lorraine* (where he found very good Friends) he so secur'd the place, that the Duke of *Nevers* from that time forwards lost all hopes of doing any good upon it.

And by that  
preserves  
the whole  
Party.

The Peace  
concluded.

It is not to be believ'd what good effects the conservation of *Metz*, by the vigilancy and bravery of the Marquis *de la Valette*, produc'd to the advantage of the Queen Mothers Affairs, which was no sooner perceiv'd impossible to be taken from the Duke, but that they began to think it unsafe to urge him to the last necessity, lest an extreme despair might prompt him to desperate resolutions; so that the Court began now to be more facile, and flexible to the conclusion of a Peace; the resolution whereof had hitherto been so highly debated, and in so great suspense.

The Queen  
Mothers ge-  
nerous pro-  
ceeding, as  
also the  
Count de *Bethune's*.

The Treaty of this Peace receiv'd, it may be imagin'd, many difficulties, and delays, when the *Count de Bethune*, having open'd the first proposals in the beginning of *March*, things were not fully concluded at the end of *May*. He had with his Commission receiv'd express instructions, by all means if possible to perswade the Queen Mother to exclude the Duke of *Espernon* from the Articles of that Accommodation, with power, that being granted, to promise her all the satisfaction she could her self desire; wherein I have often heard the Duke highly commend not only the Queens constancy, who would never hearken to that proposition, but the *Count de Bethune's* generosity also, who being himself a man of great worth, and honour, could never countenance so unhandsome an advice. But what one of the King's Ministers, commanded, and authoriz'd by him, and importun'd by the Duke's enemies, was asham'd to insist upon, was nevertheless with great eagerness pursu'd by a person he had very highly oblig'd. It is of *Rucellay* I speak, who ambitious, and puffed up with a vain opinion of himself, and the Services he had perform'd for the Queen, was impatient, that any one should rival him in the Queens favour, or take the freedom to oppose his Counsels: And it will be imagin'd by such as have consider'd the former passages of the Duke's life, he was not of an humour to be jostled, either in the one, or the other by a man upon all accompts so inferiour to him. This disparity therefore both in their persons, and judgments, which at first begot a coldness only in the Duke (who was very unwilling (having lov'd, and esteem'd *Rucellay* at a very particular rate) to withdraw his friendship totally from him) proceeded



ceeded at last (as it commonly falls out in such cases) to a final and absolute rupture betwixt them. It was at this time, and upon this occasion, that I withdrew my self from *Rucellay*. *Le Plessis*, thereunto mov'd by the old affection he had born my Father, had taken me from my studies, to place me with this man, in hopes that one time or another I might by his favour be introduc'd into the Queens Family; but finding that after this breach I was become suspected to him, and that he look'd upon me, as one of the Duke's creatures, for having only been born in his Government, and recommended to him by one of his domesticks, I acquainted *le Plessis* with my discontent, and the desire I had to withdraw my self from his Service; who approving my resolution, and speaking of me to the Duke, he was thereupon pleas'd to receive me into his dependence, from whom I never after parted till his death; nothing but that inevitable necessity having the power to separate me from him, which was not however till after three and twenty years, without intermission, I had the honour to live in his Service. I shall therefore henceforward be able to speak more regularly, than hitherto I have done, of the Duke, and his Affairs, as having been an eye-witness of the rest; though I can almost with the same certainty aver the truth of what I have already deliver'd, the testimony of so many famous Authors, and what I receiv'd from persons of great repute, now living, who have been assisting to me in this undertaking, having no less authority with me, than what I have seen with my own eyes, and collected out of my own obseruation.

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A breach  
betwixt the  
Duke and  
*Rucellay*.

The Duke was inform'd by the Queen Mother her self of the importunity wherewith *Rucellay* had press'd her to seize upon the Castle of *Angoulesme*, demonstrating to her at the same time with how great facility it might be effected. Her Majesty went sometimes to walk in the Park belonging to the Castle, where being admitted, as she ever was, without the least scruple, or distrust, she might, he said, without the least opposition, thrust out the Baron *d' Anton*, the Duke's Nephew, and under his Authority Governour of the place; which being done, she would, he told her, be Mistress of the Duke's Fortune; whereas one might now (with much more reason, than at *Blois*) declare her a Prisoner, being as she was at the discretion of her Vassal: Endeavouring moreover to render the Duke odious to her, by making his free humour, and some complaints (the non-performance of some things, had been promis'd by the Queen, had perhaps extorted from him) appear like affronts, and indignities to her Person, and Honour. But the Queen (as has been said) nobly rejecting so unhandsome a pro-

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proposition, her self gave the first intimation of it to the Duke; who incens'd, as he had just cause, at a practice so foul, and an advice so pernicious to his Affairs, from that time forwards forbore any more, either to speak to, or to treat with *Rucellay*; though he could by no means consent his Servants, and particularly *Marfillac* the Captain of his Guard, should revenge the injury by any outrage upon *Rucellay's* person, which he absolutely, and expressly forbid, as to my knowledge it was high time.

The Bishop  
of *Luçon*  
since Cardinal  
de *Richelieu*  
comes to  
*Angoulesme*.

In the heat of these disorders in the Queens Court, and in the greatest difficulty of Affairs, the Bishop of *Luçon*, afterwards Cardinal *Richelieu*, came to *Angoulesme*; neither could he possibly have arriv'd in a better time for himself: The Queen Mother was grown weary of *Rucellay's* violent Counsels, and was moreover dissatisfied with some undecent liberties he had taken in her presence; to which the Duke of *Espernon* was also highly animated against him, desiring nothing more, than his removal, or at least some notable disgrace; and to all this the Treaty of Accommodation was then upon the point to be concluded; so that the Bishop of *Luçon* coming at so opportune a season, could not fail of thanks on all sides, both from the King, and Queen, how little soever he contributed to the work, and in the mean time of being infallibly well receiv'd at the Queen Mothers Court. Which in my opinion was a pretty criticisme in his good fortune, and from whence he, in the revolution of time, deriv'd all those other advantages, that prefer'd him at last to that height of greatness, to which he afterwards arriv'd. At his coming he first alighted at the Duke's lodgings, protesting he would not enter the City, till he were first satisfied, whether, or no, it stood with his good liking; and afterwards entreating he would please to give him leave to make his first Addresses to the Queen in his Company. He was by the Duke (for I my self was present at their meeting) receiv'd with the greatest freedom, and friendship, he could possibly expect or desire; and soon after they went together to the Queens Lodgings, where her Majesty was at that time perswaded by the Duke to give him her Seal, which till then she had entrusted to none, and to admit him the first in her Council, which accordingly was the next day perform'd.

The reason  
of *Rucellay's*  
retiring  
from *Angoulesme*.

*Rucellay* nettled to the quick, that a new comer should in one day be possess'd of what he could not by so many signal Services obtain, and impatient, that he at so great ease should reap the fruits of all his care and pains, from that time forwards began to think of retiring himself from the Queens Court, to go put himself into the King's. Yet was it not without highly complaining of


of

of the ill usage he had receiv'd; nor perhaps without repenting his carriage towards the Duke, who had been his very good friend, so long as he behav'd himself civilly to him. A resolution that being known to the Queen (however her self at that time in great distress for money) she sent to present him with thirty thousand Crowns, as an acknowledgement of the pains he had taken in her behalf; though he seeming to be more offended at that than all the rest, that the Queen should think any one could set a price upon his Services, scornfully refus'd it, and went to put himself into the Duke *de Luines* his protection; where he was by that Favourite at first receiv'd with great civility and respect, and afterwards into a very eminent degree of favour, and trust, both as to private, and publick Affairs. The Marquis *de Mōny*, *Rucellay's* intimate friend, had some days before preceded him in this defection; the occasion of whose discontent was, that he had not obtain'd the Government of *Angers*, which had been granted to the Bishop of *Luçon*, for his Brother *Richelieu* Camp-Master to the Regiment of *Piedmont*, at the Duke's Recommendation, who was as solicitous of all the interests of that Family, as his own.

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The departure of these two Gentlemen, both of them of so great consideration in the Queen Mother's Court, soon begot very great disorders there; which (as his profession more expos'd him to his enemies revenge, than that of the Bishop his Brother did him) fell wholly at last upon *Richelieu*. The Marquis *de Themines*, a very intimate friend of *Rucellay's* (though as ill satisfied as the rest) could not however leave the Queens Court, as being ty'd there by the obligation of his Command: A consideration that forcing him to continue there, he would nevertheless let his absent friend see, how much he interest'd himself in his disgrace, by quarrelling with those he conceiv'd had most contributed to it: Wherein his malice must of necessity be directed against the Bishop of *Luçon*, and those of his party. Neither did the excessive favours they all receiv'd from the Queen, a little add to the jealousy, and envy of her other Domesticks, and Servants, they having alone obtain'd all the Governments of *Anjou*, granted to the Queen in this Accommodation; neither indeed was any thing granted, but to them, or at their request, who alone absolutely dispos'd of all Affairs. *Themines* therefore, having resolv'd to take upon himself the revenge of all the rest, took occasion to require an explanation from *Richelieu* of some things, of very little moment, which in the heat of the Debate (as it commonly falls out) grew at last to an absolute quarrel betwixt them: Wherein having several times been prevented from fighting, sometimes by

Several disorders in the Queen Mothers Court.

Anno 1619.  the friends of the one party, and sometimes of the other, one day the Marquis de Themines mounted upon a little pad Nag met Richelieu in the open street; whereupon alighting from his Horse, they talk'd together, but not long before their Swords were out; when the Marquis stooping to get under Richelieu's Sword, which was longer than his, receiv'd a thrust, which running all along his back, rip'd up the skin only; whilst at the same time he ran Richelieu quite through the heart, who fell stone dead upon the place, without being able to utter one word. I hapned (amongst some others) accidentally to be a spectator of this Duel; by which unfortunace thrust, how many future Offices and Commands were made vacant? and what might not this unhappy man have pretended to, and expected from the infinite power of a Brother, so affectionate to him, had he liv'd to see him in that height of greatness to which he afterwards arriv'd?

Richelieu  
slain by the  
Marquis de  
Themines.

The condi-  
tions of the  
Peace.

Some days before this accident the Peace had been concluded to both their Majesties mutual satisfaction; wherein the Queen (as has been said) had granted to her the Government of *Anjou*, with the Castles of *Angers*, *Chinon*, *Pont de Cé*, with the other places of that Province, being promis'd withal that she should see the King (as she did) and from his Majesties own mouth be assur'd, that when ever she pleas'd, she might go to Court. As for the Duke of *Espenon*, after having receiv'd a ratification from the Queen of those Services he had done for her, he at last sued out his Pardon from the King, the only Pardon he ever stood in need of in all his life; as having never (excepting here in the Queen Mothers quarrel) had a hand in any commotion whatsoever. Both he and the Marquis his Son were restor'd to all their Estates, Offices, and Honours, in the same condition they were before the War, one thing only excepted which he could by no means obtain, and that was the *Cittadel* of *Xaintes*; which, that it might not be put into an enemies hand, he was forc'd to consent it should be demolish'd.

During the time of this Treaty, the Council had generally been held in the Duke's Lodgings, where the Bishop of *Luçon* was ever very diligent: he came continually to the Duke's Table, waiting very often in the Parlour, and in his Bed Chamber, his vacancies, and leisure, an assiduity, and respect that promis'd for the future, an inviolate love and friendship; the Duke also on his part was infinitely obliging to him, espousing all his Interests, and declaring himself upon all occasions, highly partial, and affectionate to him: notwithstanding all which, we shall in time see so strange an alteration in them both, and so antartick to those good

good dispositions betwixt them, as will sufficiently inform us, how little dependence there is upon the humours of men, when an inconsiderate passion, a little interest, or (which is more light than either) a meer jealousy, has power in a moment to overthrow the greatest and most inviolate friendship.

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Whilst this Treaty was in agitation, there hapned yet another untoward accident, though no great matter was made of it, and that was this. A little before the conclusion of the Treaty, a Powder-maker of *Limousin* came, and made an offer of his person to such, as he very well knew were enemies both to the Queen, and the Duke of *Espernon*, undertaking to insinuate himself into the Castle of *Angoulesme*, and to fire the Powder in the Magazine; the quantity whereof was so great, as must infallibly have blown up the whole Town, with the Castle, and have reduc'd them both to ashes: Which fellow, though taken in the manner, and upon the point to execute his cursed determination, had nevertheless no greater punishment for his crime, than bare imprisonment, and that of a few days only, the Queen, it should seem, desiring no other satisfaction, than that of having escap'd the danger, nor permitting he should so much as be put to the \* Question, that she might not be oblig'd to an animosity against those who had either suggested to him the thought, or encourag'd him in the execution of so damnable a design: So that the Treaty receiv'd no interruption by this practice, *Bethune* by his dexterity, and prudence, bringing it in the end to a happy conclusion. All things therefore being resolv'd upon, the King (desiring that those assurances, had been given to the Queen his Mother by his Agent, should be further confirm'd to her by some person of eminent condition and Authority, sent to her on his behalf) dispatch'd away the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, whom he knew to be a man of great conduct, and exceedingly acceptable to her.

A conspiracy against the Queen Mother at *Angoulesme* discover'd.

\* viz. The Wrack.

The Duke, beginning from this time forward to live after the rate of a man reconcil'd to his Prince, would do all the Honour he could to his Ministers; and therefore treated the Cardinal, and *Bethune* with a magnificence that tasted nothing of the incommodities of the late War: The Duke *de Luines* also desirous to regain the Queens favour, and to satisfy her that he intended for the future really to become her Servant, sent to her *Brantes* his younger Brother, and since Duke of *Luxembourg*, to assure her thereof; by whom he also sent very civil, and obliging Letters to the Duke of *Espernon*: to which the Marriage that was celebrated at this time betwixt the Prince of *Piedmont* since Duke of *Savoy*, and Madam *Christina* of *France*, having given this Prince, together

The Queen Mother complemented from Court, And the Duke of *Espernon*.

*Anno* 1619. ther with Prince *Thomas* his Brother, occasion also to come pay their respects to the Queen; her Court seem'd, in that little place, little inferiour to the Kings at *Paris*. The change of her fortune invited moreover every day new Servants over to her, every one now appearing as zealous to obtain her favour, as they had before been shie, and cold in embracing her interest, and engaging in her quarrel. Upon which occasion the Duke of *Espernon*, though very much incommodated with the expense of this War (maintain'd almost throughout at his cost, and by his interest) endeavour'd nevertheless all he could to turn the best side outward, pouring out himself in so many magnificences, as perhaps he never had, in his most flourishing condition, so fair an opportunity of shewing the greatness of his mind, and fortune. After having lodg'd the Princes of *Savoy* in the Palace belonging to the Bishop of *Angoulesme*, furnish'd throughout with his own rich Hangings, emboss'd with Silver and Gold, he entertain'd them with the pleasure of hunting a Stag, presenting them with two very beautiful Coursers, he had supply'd them with for that Chace. After which he treated them three several times with so much splendour, and magnificence, that it could hardly have been greater at *Paris*. The Tables which were forty times cover'd, were at every covering serv'd with five several Courses; neither was the profusion less at the entertainment of the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, and *Bran-tes*, wherein if the excess made the Duke's liberality highly esteem'd, it gave no less reputation to that little Countrey, which could of it self furnish all sorts of provision in so great abundance.

The Duke  
of *Espernon's*  
magnifi-  
cence.

It was not by the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault* alone that the Queen Mother was complemented from the King, and assur'd of his good inclinations, and affection to her; *Luines* who had a desire so soon as was possible to allure her from *Angoulesme*, sending moreover thither *le Pere Berulle*, at that time General of the Congregation of the Oratory, and since Cardinal, to settle her mind in a full confidence, and security. This Father, a man of great Vertue, and no less Capacity, was very acceptable to the Queen, and in no less esteem with the Duke; to whom he had another quality of it self sufficient to commend him, which was his near relation to President *Seguier*, the Duke's most intimate friend. After this person had dispos'd the Queen, so soon as she could, to come to the King, he afterwards treated at great liberty, and freedom with the Duke in the behalf of the Favourite, from whom he deliver'd him other Letters full of affectionate expressions; promising him withal in his name all sorts of good Offices

Offices, and Service ; to which the Duke having answer'd with the same civility, the Queen was in all apparence likely to be very secure, and the Duke very well us'd for the time to come, whose discontents, as they had been the occasion of the War, their satisfaction ought in all probability to have settled the Peace of the Kingdom ; though notwithstanding this fair outside of Affairs we shall see things fall out quite contrary in the ensuing year.

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But to go on with the Subject in hand, the Duke, seeing all things now perfectly reconcil'd, conceiv'd it very fit for him to write to the King, to excuse what was pass'd ; which he accordingly did, and indeed in terms of very great submission, and respect, though nevertheless far from any meanness, or so much as any acknowledgment of the least offense : “ Wherein he represented to his Majesty, that having obey'd the Queen his Mother, whom he had ever known passionately solicitous of the Kingdoms prosperity, he never so much as imagin'd, that the reverence he should pay to a person so nearly related to him could be reputed for a Crime : That although in the very act of taking Arms (to which he found himself oblig'd by an inevitable necessity) he might possibly have given his Majesty some distaste, he nevertheless conceiv'd he had by his behaviour therein so amply justified his good intention, that no impression ought to remain in his Royal Breast, but what should be to his advantage: That he could confidently say, that without so much as ever reflecting upon his own grievances, and disgrace, he had govern'd his passion from resolutions that might evidently enough have succeeded ; wherein he had sufficiently manifested the Reverence he bore to his Majesties Name, and Arms, though in the hands of his own particular enemies : That he call'd all good *Frenchmen* to the test, whether ever his own interest, or animosity had transported him to any action contrary to his duty ; and whether he had not ever preserv'd his fidelity unspotted, and pure, during all the disorders of this Kingdom : That he had now remaining but a short time to live, and that he should himself conclude he had already liv'd too long, could he find himself guilty of the least thought contrary to his Majesties Service, and his own Duty : That his Conscience being clear in that particular, he demanded no other recompense for his Services pass'd, than only a little repose in his old age ; expecting an occasion wherein he might honourably dye for his Majesties Service : which was the conclusion of his Letter.

Dated at *Angoulesme* the 7th. of *June*, 1619. The Archbishop of *Tbolouze* his Son was dismiss'd away with this dispatch, who had

also

The Duke  
of *Espernon*  
sends a dispatch  
to the  
King by the  
Archbishop  
of *Tbolouze*.

Anno also another Letter for the Duke *de Luines*, in answer to those  
1619. the Duke had receiv'd before.

The Queen in the mean time was preparing for her departure, but her equipage being not to be made ready so soon as was desir'd at Court, where she was with great impatience expected, the Duke *de Monbazon*, Father-in-law to *Luines*, had yet time to come kiss her Majesties hands, which was nevertheless, by giving her new and greater assurances of all the good usage she could desire, to press her with the soonest to part from *Angoulesme*, and to separate her self from the Duke. In the beginning of *August* therefore, according to the Favourites desire, she departed from *Angoulesme*; in which Voyage the Duke only attended her to the borders of his own Government, not caring to engage himself nearer to a Court, to which he was so lately reconcil'd; where the Queen at his taking leave, after many gracious expressions of the infinite obligation she had to him, presented him with a Ring of very great value; together with a request that he would continually wear it for her sake, as he did almost to his death: This Ring was a Diamond cut into a heart, and is at this day reputed one of the finest and clearest for its size in *France*; and this was all the Recompense he receiv'd for his Service he had done the Queen, and for above two hundred thousand Crowns he was out of purse upon that accompt, which nevertheless was more than he expected in the condition she then was; having propos'd to himself in the undertaking no other acknowledgment, and reward, than the honour to serve her effectually, and well upon this occasion.

The Queen Mother departs from *Angoulesme* to go towards the King.

The Queens parting with the Duke, her complements, and Present.

The King and Queen Mother come to an interview.

The Queen after her departure from *Angoumois*, arriv'd in a few days at *Coussieres* in *Touraine*, a house belonging to the Duke of *Monbazon*; where *Luines* (accompanied (like a Favourite) with many persons of very great quality) came first to wait upon her, complementing her with the greatest civility, and respect imaginable, as he was also very graciously receiv'd. And here the Queen, who had no mind to be kept any longer at a distance from the King her Son, endeavour'd with *Luines* (and that with all the insinuation, and artifice her haughty and imperious nature would permit) to remove those difficulties, which, as they had been the causes of their former separation, were most likely to oppose their concurrence now. The next day after her arrival, the King with all his Royal household came also to *Coussieres*, where at their first interview there was nothing but mutual manifestations of great affection, and tenderness on both sides: from whence their Majesties went the same day to *Tours*, where for some days they continued together; but in the end, after all this dissembled kindness, the



the King returning towards *Paris*, left the Queen more dissatisfied to see her self oblig'd to go to *Angers*, after so many assurances that had been given her she should no more depart from Court, than she had been before pleas'd with these demonstrations of Honour and Respect, wherewith they had endeavour'd to deceive her credulity, and to flatter her sincere intention.

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From whence she departs dissatisfied.

From thenceforward therefore she so far resented *Luines* his ill usage, as to meditate a revenge, and how by a second War to procure, what by this first Peace, she saw, she could not obtain; neither was the Bishop of *Luçon* (become now absolute with her) sorry to see her so dispos'd: He consider'd, that whilst his Mistresses remain'd thus excluded from Court, her power being so small, his could not consequently be very great; a consideration that made this aspiring spirit, who already had propos'd to himself no less than the Government of the Kingdom, suffer, if possible, with greater impatience, than the Queen her self, those obstacles that he saw were oppos'd to the level of his haughty Ambition, and vast designs.

The Queen Mother dispos'd to a new War.

Animated therefore with these reflections, he began to labour a good intelligence betwixt such, as he knew were dissatisfied with the present Government, to re-unite them in the Queens Interest, as discontented as they: Neither was it any hard matter to win many over to her side, the happy issue the Duke of *Espernon* had single, and alone, procur'd to this Princesses Affairs, having got him so great a reputation, that the major part of the great ones of the Kingdom made no great difficulty of engaging in a cause, they had seen so easily, and by so little means to succeed. Of this number was the *Count de Soissons*, and the Countess his Mother, the Dukes of *Longueville*, and *Vandosme*, the Grand Prior of *France*, the Dukes of *Mayenne*, and *Retz*, with many other Princes, and Lords of very eminent condition. Had the Duke of *Espernon* not been concern'd in the first business, he could never have been drawn into this; so many confederates of almost equal quality, giving him to apprehend more from their ill intelligence betwixt one another, than he could reasonably hope from their union: but the Queen, who repos'd her chiefest confidence in him, who had already made trial of his Service, and found it so successful to her, did so ply him with reiterated favours, and entreaties, that he could not handsomly avoid engaging in her behalf. Neither had he so long stood off, that he had fewer particular grievances than the rest; but having engag'd his Faith to the Duke de *Luines*, it would have been almost impossible to have perswaded him to break his word, had not *Luines* himself given the first example:

and

*Anno* and on that side it was, that the Queen assaulted the Duke, by  
 1619. representing to him the non-performances of those things  
 had been promis'd, and that as it had been principally through  
 his assistance she had obtain'd all that had been granted to her,  
 she expected he should see the Articles of the Treaty fulfill'd; en-  
 deavouring to perswade him, that his own honour was no less  
 interest'd therein, than her satisfaction.

And that he might the better taste her reasons, she fail'd not to  
 prepossess him with all sorts of civilities, and favour, honouring  
 him with some presents, whereof one was a very fine Watch, set  
 all over with Diamonds, and very curiously wrought; which  
 she accompanied with a Letter as kind, as could possibly be writ  
 upon such an occasion, wherein, amongst other obliging expres-  
 sions she told him: "That the Diamonds, wherewith it was embel-  
 lish'd, were not more firm than her affection, and that he might af-  
 sure himself the Services she had receiv'd from his generosity, should  
 after come into her memory, than the hand of that Watch should point  
 out hours every day: To which words (which were, it seems,  
 the way of writing at that time, and none of my invention) I  
 have neither added, nor diminish'd: But by this complement, and  
 several other testimonies of affection, and esteem, the Queen ha-  
 ving awak'd the passion the Duke had to give her always all sa-  
 tisfaction, she gave him consecutively a full accompt of her deter-  
 mination, of all the persons of quality she had made to her par-  
 ty, and of the powerful means she intended to make use of to re-  
 instate her self in that degree of honour, which was due to her  
 Person; and Dignity: Whereupon the Duke considering this se-  
 cond action, as dependent upon the first, solemnly engag'd him-  
 self, and made an absolute promise, once more to serve her.

The Queen  
 Mother re-  
 engages the  
 Duke of  
 Espernon in  
 her quarrel.

*Anno* If the Queen was thus diligent to form, and redintegrate her  
 1620. party, Luines, on the other side, was no less industrious now, than  
 he had been before, to break and disunite it. He very well knew  
 the Queen to be discontent, which she had her self so publicly  
 profess'd; that could be no secret: He was moreover inform'd,  
 that most of the great persons in the Kingdom had engag'd with  
 her; and though he doubted not, but that the Duke of Espernon,  
 from whom she had for the time pass'd receiv'd so many good  
 Offices, continued still his ancient fidelity to her; yet would he  
 notwithstanding feel his pulse by la Croix de Bleré, whom he dis-  
 patch'd away to him to that purpose. This Gentleman therefore  
 comes to the Duke to Angouleme, in the time of the Carnaval;  
 where he found him taken up with entertainments, that nothing  
 relish'd of the meditation of an approaching War, making merry  
 with

The Duke  
 de Luines en-  
 deavours to  
 gain him  
 first by la  
 Croix le  
 Bleré.

with the Company of the Town, which at this Festival was increas'd with several Families of the neighbouring Gentry.

*Ann*  
1620.

*La Croix*, who would by all means make use of his dexterity, to find the Duke's intention, met with a person in him, that was not easie to be pry'd into; so that the Duke, after having discours'd with him, in general terms, of the Queen Mothers Interests and Affairs; and having return'd a civil answer to *Luines* his Complement, dismiss'd his Ambassadour, perfectly instructed of what he conceal'd from none, and of what he did not care *Luines* himself should know.

The first Essay having given the Favourite no great satisfaction, who already saw, that Affairs began to grow hot, with the season; that the *Count de Soissons*, with the Countess his Mother, had left the Court, that the Duke of *Mayenne* had done the same, and that the Duke of *Longueville*, and the Brothers of *Vandosme* were already in their Government in actual Arms: He would therefore be no longer in suspense, what he was to expect from the Duke of *Espernon*, who of all others he had the greatest mind to withdraw from the Queen Mothers Interest; well enough foreseeing, that if the youth and inexperience of most of the other Lords were not govern'd by his prudence, they would be easie enough to deal withal. He therefore dispatch'd away *Toiras* (since *Mareschal* of France) to treat with him about this Affair. The Duke was then at his house of *Plassac* in *Xaintonge* (since famous for his disgraces) making private Leavies, by the assistance of his Friends; to whom he had given instructions to make sure of their own people, without nevertheless telling them what they were to be employ'd about, till his further order. *Toiras* had here in Commission to tell him: "That the Duke *de Luines*, absolutely  
"relying upon his friendship since their late reconciliation, could  
"not give credit to some reports he had heard to the contrary; that  
"since that time he had not fail'd the least in any of the good Of-  
"fices the Duke had requir'd at his hands; that all his Commands,  
"Pensions, and Assignments of Offices, had been in part already  
"paid, and should suddenly be fully discharg'd: That for the fu-  
"ture he should be maintain'd in all their functions, and privi-  
"ledges more advantageously, than hitherto he had ever been:  
"That if yet all this fair dealing was too little to satisfie him, let  
"him but say what he would have, and that *Monsieur de Luines*  
"would endeavour to procure it for him: That in the mean time  
"he only conjur'd him to separate himself from the Queen Mo-  
"thers Interest, with whom he had now no reasonable pretense to  
"engage: That he had already serv'd her so well, and so wor-

And after-  
wards by  
*Toiras*,

Anno 1620. *W* thily acquitted himself of all he had undertaken in her behalf, as thereby to acquire the esteem, and commendation of even his greatest enemies: That therefore he ought not to expose a reputation, wherein he had no rival, to the hazard of being overthrown, and blemish'd by some sinister disgrace: That all things had been perform'd, had been promis'd the Queen in the Treaty of *Angouleme*; but that nothing could satisfie some ambitious spirits about her, who doubtless possess'd her, she was not well us'd, if not permitted to rule in Chief. The Duke having given *Toiras* audience for two days together, without declaring himself, and having entertain'd him by intervals with shewing him some Garden Instruments, an employment wherein he said he intended to pass away the remainder of his life, he at last drew him aside, where he told him: "That he was too brave a Gentleman to be otherwise dealt withal, than with a free, and open heart: That in truth he had some reason in his own particular (whatever might be said to the contrary) to complain of not having receiv'd, both as to his own, and his friends concerns, that satisfaction, whereof they had been so amply assur'd; insisting in some things, and amongst others the refusal of a Cardinals Hat for the Archbishop of *Tbolouze* his Son: but that he call'd God to witness) his own Interest should never tempt him into Arms: That he very well knew the mischiefs, and disorders attended a Civil War, which he had ever had in great horror; but that the Queen Mother having done him the honour to command his assistance in her removal from *Blois*, and having further honour'd him by making use of his person, and those of his friends for the recovery of her Dignity, the violation of those things had been granted to her, must necessarily reflect as much upon him, if not more, than upon her Majesty herself: That notwithstanding he demanded nothing in his own behalf, let them only contrive how to satisfie the Queen, and that being done, he promis'd *Mounfieur de Luines* to be his friend, and Servant as much, and as inviolably as any person in the world. With this frank declaration he dismiss'd *Toiras*, not however without entertaining a very good opinion of his person, and parts, which he discover'd under a very profound silence, and reservation; I never, to my remembrance, having observ'd any man to speak so little as this Gentleman.

But in vain.

The Queen Mothers second War.

After his departure, the Duke having intelligence, that the rest who were engag'd in the Queens party were already in Arms, he follow'd their example, and brought his Troops also into the Field: but all their Forces being now on foot there was no little debate

debate in the Queens Council, how they should dispose of her Majesties person. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who had a very good Army in *Guienne*, mov'd with great fervency, that she might retire her self into his Government, where he had gather'd together above eighteen hundred effective men: but the Duke of *Espernon* understanding his design was to be Master of the Queens person, the better at her expense, and the Lords of her Party to make his own conditions, would by no means allow of that proposition; neither had there been no jealousy in the case, could he have approv'd that counsel; he consider'd that the Queen Mothers absence, and departure from *Angers* in so critical a juncture, would be interpreted a flight, which would very much discredit her Affairs, and by which occasion, besides the loss of reputation (wherein commonly consists the event of War) she would infallibly lose all the Provinces betwixt the Rivers of *Loire*, and *Garonne*, which were now wholly at her devotion, and might be disputed a great while. For which reasons he concluded it much better, and more advantageous to the Queens Service, to unite those Forces he had, with those of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and to march them away to *Angers* to joyn with the Queen, who being re-inforc'd with five and twenty thousand men at least, that they were able to make up betwixt them, would be in a capacity to reduce the Duke of *Luines* to reason; which ought to be the true intent of their Arms, and not the particular Interests of particular men; who, as they had only taken them up in her name, were to use them only for her Service.

Doubtless had this latter advice been receiv'd, the King's Army would have found enough to do: But the Bishop of *Luçon*, who had no mind to have persons of the Duke's condition, and capacity, so near the Queen, for fear of falling from the place he had in her confidence, and esteem, could by no means consent either that she should depart from *Angers*, or that the Duke of *Espernon* should go thither to her. The knowledge he had of the Duke's free and unbyass'd humour, made him apprehend, he should be by him sometimes contradicted in his opinions, and by that means be no more absolute Master of the Queens Counsels: so that dextrously spinning out the time, without coming to any positive resolution, the Duke grew weary of these delays, and unwilling to let his Forces unprofitably moulder away in *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois* (Countreys that yet smarted with the last years War) he departed thence to quarter them more commodiously in *Limousin*, where better provision was to be made both for Horse and Man.

Anno  
1620.  
The Queens  
affairs have  
ill success.

Whilst in the Queen Mothers Council they consum'd the time in debates, without resolving what to do, the King, on the other side by the Prince of *Condé's* advice, put his deliberations into prompt execution. The Duke *de Luines* very well inform'd of the Queen Mothers discontents, after the interview at *Tours*, and satisfied, that, after the offense he had there given her, he was no more to expect her favour, resolv'd to secure himself under this Prince's Protection; wherein he thought he was so much the more safe from the Queens revenge, by how much the Prince had himself reason to complain of the ill usage he had receiv'd under her administration; during whose Regency, *Concbini* had clap'd him up in prison; from whence *Luines*, presently after the King's coming to *Paris*, got him releas'd: An obligation, which, as it was great in it self, was soon after repaid with as grateful a return. The Prince had found by his own experience, what an influence the Royal name has upon all parts of the Kingdom, very well remembering how easie it had been for his Majesty to have suppress'd him, when he retir'd from Court to *Soissons*, whither had the King follow'd him in person, with no more than the Regiment of his Guards only, he had infallibly reduc'd him to a necessity, either of submitting to his mercy, or of leaving the Kingdom: out of which observation he advis'd the King, suddenly to mount to Horse, and to go in person to *Caen*, which was the nearest of the revolted Cities; wherein what the Prince had so judiciously foreseen, as happily succeeded, *Caen* surrendring almost without any resistance, *Prudent*, who commanded there for the Grand Prior *Vandosme*, delivering it up almost so soon as summon'd into his Majesties hands.

This little success having frightened all the other places of *Normandy*, that made any countenance of revolt, into their Duty, his Majesty immediately departed thence, to advance towards *Angers*; when being met by some Troops upon the way, and by them his Regiments of the *French* and *Swisse* Guards being re-inforc'd, he caus'd *le Pont de Cé*, to be assaulted in his own presence; where almost in a moment, and after a very light dispute, all the Queens Forces ran away, leaving the pass to the Enemy: by which disaster those who were about the Queens person saw the error they had committed, in not calling the Duke of *Espernon* to her succour; it being not to be doubted, but that had she had a Captain of his experience and valour, to command upon that occasion, her interests would have been much better defended.

The Queen, after this blow being in the fright may be imagin'd, was fit to reject no overtures of Peace. She had indeed before

before this engagement made some demands, and propos'd some conditions; but after this baffle her Army had receiv'd, she was now to submit to what law the Conqueror would impose upon her: Wherein all those who had engag'd in her Party were abandon'd to the King's mercy; but as for her self, she was permitted to come to Court. And that was as much as the Bishop of *Luçon* desir'd, which gave some occasion to say, that he held intelligence, and had contracted with the enemy before he came, that he had oppos'd the uniting of her Forces, and diverted such as were capable of command from coming to serve her, as being beforehand assur'd to obtain the sole condition he aim'd at; which being granted, he car'd not to leave the rest of her Majesties Servants to shift for themselves: but this I shall not take upon me to affirm, though it was the common discourse at that time.

The Duke had notice by a Gentleman, the Queen Mother purposely dispatch'd away to him, of her Reconciliation with the King; who finding him at *St. Clau* a Frontier of *Limousin*, to which place he was advanc'd with his Forces, he presently thereupon, without staying a more express Order from Court, or so much as thinking of any Capitulation for himself, dismiss'd all his Troops; insomuch that the Currier who afterwards brought him an express from the King, to lay down his Arms, found that, out of an entire confidence in his Majesties Royal Bounty, he had already prevented his command, and put himself into a posture of absolute dependence upon his Grace, and Favour.

Neither did the Duke think this act of his own particular obedience enough, unless he further commanded the Marquis *de la Valette* his Son (who had never stirr'd from *Metz*) to do the same. Upon the breaking out of this second War, as in the first, he had been there invest'd with a very considerable Army; neither had they fail'd, as before, to stir up the Inhabitants (whose inclinations commonly change with the fortune of those that command them) to mutiny against him. Of which practice the Marquis having intelligence on all hands, that the people had a design upon his person, and that despising his weakness, (who to spare their purses, and to win their affections, had forbore to quarter any Souldiers upon them) they talk'd loud of opening their Gates, and letting the King's Army into the City; he was constrain'd by the truth, and importance of this advice, to deal with some Captains of the old Regiments of that very Army that came against him: In the old body of which Army there were very few Officers who were not the Duke his Fathers Creatures, and who stood not oblig'd to him for their Fortune, and Commands;

Anno  
1620.

The Queen  
accepts a  
Peace with-  
out condi-  
on.

The Duke  
of *Espernon*  
lays down  
his Arms.

And the  
Marquis *de*  
*la Valette*, by  
the com-  
mand of the  
Duke his  
Father.

*Anno* 1620. Commands; whereof some fifteen or twenty deserted the Royal Arms, to go serve him in this extremity of danger; some sending him in Squadrons by their Serjeants, and others bringing over their whole Companies: so that by an act of honourable gratitude (the example whereof is not nevertheless to be altogether approv'd) they brought him over in one night above fifteen hundred men of the best Souldiers in the Army. With this relief (seeing the Town upon the point of a total Revolt) he attempted, by disarming the Inhabitants, to secure his own Fortune, which he accordingly perform'd, and that without any notable violence; for having dispos'd his men into the most advantageous Posts of the City, he made Proclamation that at the beat of Drum, upon a penalty impos'd, every one should bring their Arms into the Bishops Palace; which order being given, he himself accompanied with some five and twenty or thirty Gentlemen, mounted on horseback to be ready in such places, where he had information, some bustle was like to be; a precaution that was not altogether necessary, the people being so daunted at his resolution, as with a stupid silence, and sheepish tameness, with a submission greater now, than their insolence had been before, quietly giving up their Arms; by which means they remain'd incapable of executing any mischief, at least if (as it was evident enough) they yet retain'd a will to do it.

After having pre-  
serv'd Metz  
by disarm-  
ing the In-  
habitants.

The Duke  
of Mayenne  
refuses to  
accept the  
Peace, and  
endeavours  
to engage  
the Duke,  
of Espernon  
in his dis-  
contents.

Who refu-  
ses to stir.

Yet would not the Duke of *Espernon* make any other advantage of this success, than thereby the better to manifest to the King his submission, and the confidence he repos'd in his Royal Goodness; resigning himself up wholly into his hands: but the Duke of *Mayenne* would not do so, who on the contrary fearing lest the Duke *de Luines*, whom he had highly provok'd, having him at his mercy, should take some notable revenge of the injuries, he had done him, could not so soon resolve to lay down his Arms. He could much rather have been content to have possess'd the Duke with the same apprehensions, and to have engag'd him with him in some violent extreme, thereby to procure their own conditions: to which purpose he also sent to sound his inclination, and to represent to him their common danger, if they did not provide for the security of their lives, and fortunes, before they parted with their Swords out of their hands: but the Duke sent him word again, "That his resolution was already taken, and that as he had taken up arms for no particular interest of his own, so he had laid them down so soon as he knew the Queen was satisfied: That he hop'd his Majesties Clemency would easily extend it self to all his Subjects, who should not obstinately persist



“ persist in their disobedience : That therefore he could give  
 “ *Monsieur de Mayenne* no other advice, than that he had taken  
 himself; which, though it should not succeed well with him, he  
 “ had rather be ill us’d whilst he could justifie himself innocent,  
 “ than after having committed a fault that would render him cri-  
 “ minal beyond all excuse. By which answer the Duke of *May-  
 enne* seeing he had set up his rest in this determination, and find-  
 ing himself too weak alone to wrestle with the King’s Name and  
 Power, he was in the end fain to submit, and to return to his  
 Duty : wherein nevertheless his Majesty, who knew after what  
 manner both the one, and the other proceeded, as highly com-  
 mended the Duke of *Espernon*, as he blam’d the Duke of  
*Mayenne*.

Anno  
1620.

One would have said that this great disorder in the Queen Mo-  
 thers Affairs, wherein so many persons, and those of so emi-  
 nent condition were engag’d, only hapned to set a greater value,  
 and lustre upon the Duke of *Espernon*’s conduct. In the first War,  
 alone, and unassisted by any, he so manag’d the few Forces he  
 had, as without giving ground to his adversaries, he ever kept  
 himself in a posture to resist them, and so as in the end to ob-  
 tain reasonable Conditions, not only for the Queen, but also  
 for himself, and his friends, without ever submitting to his ene-  
 mies discretion; whereas in this there was no reservation for any,  
 insomuch that of all the great men who were engag’d in this last  
 business, there was not one who lay not open, and expos’d to the  
 utmost severity of the King’s justice, had he been pleas’d to have  
 proceeded against them. ’Tis true notwithstanding that his Ma-  
 jesty in his Clemency pardon’d every one; but it was meerly an  
 effect of his own goodness, without any obligation upon him,  
 either by writing, or the least promise at all.

The King assur’d of the Duke of *Espernon*’s obedience, and  
 finding by his late signal advantages, how much his own presence  
 had contributed to the success of his own Affairs, taking his  
 measures from thence, what he might promise to himself by the  
 same method in other occurrences, he resolv’d for the future to  
 appear in his own Person upon all occasions of importance, the  
 better thereby to establish his Royal Authority in all parts of his  
 Kingdom. The Affairs of *Bearne* therefore being of such a na-  
 ture, as that his presence seem’d to be very necessary there, he de-  
 termin’d to move that way, and even to go over into it, if occa-  
 sion should be. In order whereunto being advanc’d from *Poitou*,  
 as far as *Xaintonge*, he was pleas’d to permit that the Duke of *Es-  
 pernon* should come to him to make his Apology for what had  
 pass’d

The King  
goes into  
*Guienne* and  
*Bearne*.

*Anno* 1620. pass'd upon the borders of his own Government. His Majesty therefore was no sooner come to *Chizay*, but that the Duke *de Bellegarde* (who was very well at Court, and exceedingly solicitous of the Duke his Kinsmans Interest) came to see the Duke at *Annay*, to assure him he might be very kindly receiv'd by the King. The Duke had never so much as desir'd any such security, so confident he had been in the King's bounty, and his own deportment; nevertheless confirm'd in the hope of so gracious a reception, from so good a hand, they departed together from the Duke's Lodgings, to go directly to the King's: Where the Duke was no sooner seen to enter, but all the Court flock'd to the novelty; so that I have heard the Duke say, that seeing the crowd there was to observe his reception, and to hear what he would say for his excuse, he strain'd his voice much louder than he us'd to do, to satisfy the curiosity of the standers by; telling the King in few words: "I had he never thought it a disservice to his Majesty to serve the Queen his Mother; but that since he had been so unhappy, as to have incurr'd his Majesties displeasure, he most humbly begg'd his Pardon; protesting that the Grace he should be pleas'd to grant him upon this occasion, should be the last of this nature he would ever ask of him, so long as he had life, there being no pretense, nor consideration whatsoever, that should ever have the power to separate him from any interest, wherein he should see his Majesties name, and person engag'd. A promise that he from that time forward inviolably observ'd, as we shall hereafter see. The Duke was kneel'd down when he first began to speak, but the King raising him at the first word, and embracing him at the end of this short speech; his Majesty reply'd: That he was confident he would be as good as his word, receiving him with great demonstrations of favour, and esteem: When after having entertain'd him some time, his Majesty dismiss him that he might go visit the Duke *de Luines*; betwixt whom at their meeting there pass'd great civilities on both sides, with many assurances of reciprocal affection. And that very day the Duke executed his command of Colonel in the King's Lodgings, receiving orders from the King's own mouth to carry them to the Regiment of Guards. The next day his Majesty commanded him to go prepare his entry into *St. Jean d'Angely*, a City in his Government, but held by those of the Religion, and into which he had never till now been receiv'd; so that he saw himself at the same time, not only restor'd to his old Commands, but also by a particular favour from his Majesty, authoriz'd in places, where, as yet he had never been.

The Duke of Espernon presents himself to the King, and asks his pardon.

And is very well receiv'd.

The

The Duke was surpriz'd at so extraordinary, and so unexpected favours, but much more when he understood it was in part, through *Rucellay's* good Offices, that he receiv'd them; who though they had not parted very kindly (as you may have observ'd) could not nevertheless forbear upon all occasions to magnifie the Duke's generosity and vertue, and to manifest the desire he had to be reconcil'd to his good opinion. *Rucellay* had great interest at Court, the Duke *de Luines* repos'd great confidence in him, and was the rather enclin'd to credit all the good things he said of the Duke, by how much his testimony (upon the terms they then stood) was no ways to be suspected. The Duke anticipated by so many good Offices, was as careful to let *Rucellay* know how exceeding kindly he took them at his hands; so that from a violent feud, their hot spirits being re-united in a very particular friendship, the Duke receiv'd very great assistance from *Rucellay*, in an Affair wherein he was very highly concern'd. And that was the re-establishment of those Captains, who had forfeited their Commands by putting themselves into *Metz* with the *Marquis de la Valette*. The Court could not suffer an act of that dangerous example to escape unpunish'd; and on the contrary the Duke press'd an oblivion of that Affair with greater fervency than he had ever done any concern of his own; wherein I have often heard him acknowledge his obligation to *Rucellay*, by whose solicitation he at last obtain'd his desire: *Courbon*, *Reals*, *Verdelin*, *Boussonniere*, and some others of very great merit were restor'd to their Commands, though it was but to deprive the Duke the sooner of so many worthy friends; who were scarce re-establish'd in their Commands, when willing to make amends for the fault they had committed by some notable testimony of their fidelity, and valour upon the first occasion should present it self, they unfortunately perish'd in that brave design, leaving the Duke infinitely afflicted, that he could not oblige them, but to their ruine.

From *Xaintonge* the King pass'd over into *Guienne*, wherein though his Majesty had no resolution of proceeding so far as *Bearne*; yet was it necessary he should advance to *Bordeaux*, to dissolve the powerful Faction was form'd in that Province in favour of the Duke of *Mayenne*, which had sufficiently discover'd itself in the great Levies, and Provisions of War, that had there been made. In this Voyage the Duke had hopes of seeing his Majesty at his house of *Cadillac*, and indeed the Duke of *Luines* had promis'd him he should; a favour he ought so much the more to covet, as it would manifest to all the world his perfect reconciliation with the King his Master: So that he whom every

Anno  
1620.  
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The Duke receives a promise of his Majesties coming to his house at *Cadillac*.

Anno 1620. one the year before concluded utterly lost in the Queen Mothers Affairs, seeing him now restor'd to a greater degree of reputation, and favour, than perhaps he had ever been, could not but admire his Conduct, and attribute as much to his Prudence, as his Fortune; which, it should seem, had only strew'd those difficulties in his way, that they might by him be the more gloriously overcome.

Where he is magnificently entertain'd.

His Majesty continuing his way through *Guienne*, took occasion to call at *Blaye*; from whence he remov'd *Luffan*, *Vicount de Aubeterre*, to recompense him with the staff of a *Mareschal of France*; placing *Brantes* (since Duke of *Luxembourg* in the right of his Wife) in his stead. Whilst these things were in doing, the Duke of *Espenon* (who attended his Majesty in this Voyage) took the opportunity to go prepare his house for his reception; wherein he order'd all things so admirably well, and with such magnificence, that his Majesty could hardly have been better entertain'd in any part of the Kingdom. The noble Furniture, wherewith this house did abound, was now all brought out: The Kings Apartment hung round with Hangings emboss'd all over with Gold, as also ten Chambers more were furnish'd with the same, to which the Beds of Cloth of Gold and Embroidery were richly suited; neither was the delicacy, rarity, or plenty of provisions inferiour to this outward Pomp. All the Favourites Ministers, and others of the greatest quality at Court, were commodiously lodg'd in this stately House, and the Provisionary Officers there found what was not elsewhere to be seen in the Kingdom; which was a vast series of Offices under ground, so large, and so well fitted with lights, that they were astonish'd at so prodigious an extent of Accommodations; which are indeed, if not the chiefest ornament, at least the greatest convenience of a Building.

The King departs from *Cadillac* to go into *Bearne*.

After his Majesty had staid two days at *Cadillac*, where his whole Court had been magnificently treated, he parted thence to continue his Journey towards *Bearne*. He was made to believe, that the Council of this little Countrey would think fit to submit to his Royal pleasure, without obliging him to perform that Voyage; to quicken which resolution his Majesty had pass'd the River of *Garonne*, which, though when on the other side he was advanc'd no more than a League only beyond *Cadillac*, he thought nevertheless he had done a great deal in passing so great a River with an Army, and all the equipage of his Court. The Ministers, who had a great aversion to this ugly journey, would have been very glad, that Affairs might have been concluded there without going any further: but in the end how averse soever they were

were to it, they must undergo the trouble. The King went thither, where his presence produc'd the same effect it had done in other places; he overran all this little Province, seizing as he pass'd of *Navarrens*, the strongest place in it, as he did also of *Ortez*, and *Olleron*, principal Cities of that Countrey; he subverted all their ancient customs, restor'd the Bishop, and other Ecclesiasticks to their Estates, and Dignities; took away the administration of the Affairs of the Country from those of the Reform'd Religion, and re-establish'd his own Authority: but he left the Government of the Province in the hands of the Marquis *de la Force* since *Mareschal* of *France*; who, impatient to see his Authority cut so short by these alterations, could hardly forbear till the King was got back to *Paris*, from reducing things again to the same posture they were in before. He was very confident that his Majesty, who had already try'd the ill ways of *Bearne*, would never be advis'd by his Ministers to undertake a second Journey into that Country, for the resettlement of his Affairs. He knew that the *Hugonot* Faction were ready to find his Majesty enough to do nearer home, and did not believe, that without his immediate presence they could compel him to any thing he had not a mind to in his own Government, where his Authority was establish'd not only by a long habitude he had there contracted; but much more by a passionate concurrence of the whole Body, and of all the Orders of the Province, who agreed with him in the same Religion. He therefore labour'd all Winter to drive out the Garrisons of *Ortez*, and *Olleron*; so that excepting *Navarrens*, that was kept by the Marquis *de Poianne*, whom the King had left Governour there, he overthrew whatever his Majesty had done, shuffling all things again into their former confusion.

Anno
1620.
And reduces that Province to their obedience.

Which nevertheless continues but a short space.

The Duke of *Espernon* pass'd away the same Winter in *Guienne*, and the greatest part thereof in the County of *Esparre*, which he had purchas'd from the Heirs of the late *Mareschal de Matignon*, a Territory in truth of great beauty, and vast extent; though the Revenue was but small, by reason the Estate was not well understood: to remedy which the Duke caus'd it to be survey'd in his own presence, a good husbandry, that was not unprofitable to him, though this Domestick advantage was not the only satisfaction he receiv'd in that Country.

In the beginning of the ensuing year he there receiv'd news of the promotion of the Archbishop of *Tholouze* his Son, to the Dignity of a Cardinal: For as the refusal of this favour had caus'd the former breach betwixt him, and the Duke *de Luines*, so did the Favourite conceive that the surest tye by which he could

Anno
1621.
The Archbishop of *Tholouze*, made Cardinal.

Anno 1621. bind the Duke to his friendship, would be to procure him that Addition; wherein he was nothing deceiv'd, it being impossible he could any way oblige him more. The Duke look'd upon this, as the supreme height, and accomplishment of all the prosperities he had left to desire; he had already by his Merit, and Services, united a considerable number of the greatest Honours, and bravest Commands of the Kingdom in his own person, which he had moreover procur'd in survivance for his Posterity: so that nothing remain'd to render him fully satisfied with his Fortune, save only to obtain one of the chiefest Dignities of the Church for him he had design'd to that profession.

The Duke's expedition into *Bearne*.

Yet was not this the sole testimony of favour, the Duke receiv'd by this reconciliation with the Court Mignon; who being at a loss for some person of great Quality, and Reputation to reduce *Bearne* (which the Marquis *de la Force* had excited to new Commotions) to their Duty, and Obedience, and casting his eye upon the Duke of *Espernon*, as a disinterested person, and capable of the greatest undertaking, he propos'd him to the King for this employment; who well approving of his choice, the charge of this expedition (wherein his Majesty seem'd more than ordinarily concern'd) was forthwith committed to his care.

The Duke receives his Commission.

Neither, if his Majesty conferr'd herein a signal honour upon the Duke, can it be deny'd, but that he made as fortunate a choice for himself, and for the advantage of his Affairs. The Duke receiv'd his Order at *Cadillac* by *la Salndie*, which was only in paper, without any assignation either of men, or money, wherewithal to begin the work, but a great clutter of Commissions, and dispatches only; so that the whole weight of the King's design lean'd absolutely upon his Interest and Wisdom; which it was happy were so considerable, things had not else succeeded as they did: but the Duke had so great a desire to confirm the King in the good opinion he had already entertain'd of his Loyal Intentions, that there was nothing he would not attempt, to let his Majesty see, he was neither unworthy of this present Favour, nor unmindful of his former Grace, and Goodness.

The Duke begins his Journey.

Having therefore wisely consider'd, that diligence must strike the greatest stroke in this Affair, and that should he give the Marquis *de la Force* leisure to gather together the Forces of the *Hugonot* Faction, who were already preparing to joyn in their common defense, he should engage himself in a long, and difficult War; he departed from *Cadillac* six days after he had receiv'd the King's Command. The first day (accompanied only with the Servants of his own Family) he went to lie at *Langon*, another of his own Demeasnes,

Demeasnes, from whence he proceeded without stay as far as *Mont de Marsan*, where he had appointed the Rendezvous for those he had invited to serve his Majesty upon this occasion. He had before he departed from his own house writ to divers persons in *Guienne*, and in his own Governments of *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois* to joyn with him; of which so few fail'd to come in, that at the Rendezvous, a handsomer, nor a more numerous body of Gentlemen Volunteers to follow a Subject, and serving out of his own Government, has hardly been seen: Insomuch that I have heard the Quarter-Masters say they had in their Muster-Roll at least fourteen hundred Gentlemen: by which it may be guess'd, what a number of Attendants so many Masters must necessarily bring in with them. But that which is most remarkable herein, is, that most of these were of *Guienne*, where the Duke had nothing to do, and liv'd only in the quality of a private person; and that though the Duke of *Mayenne* (who could not without an eye of Envy see so many Forces drawn out of his Government to serve under any other than himself) did (it may be imagin'd) all he could to dissuade people from going in; the conflux was nevertheless so great, that it seem'd the Province had sent all the brave Gentlemen it could make to attend the Duke in this expedition.

Annos
1621.

A great number of Gentlemen come in to follow the Duke of *Espernon* in this expedition.

And these were indeed almost all the Forces he had; neither had he so many Foot, as Gentlemen in his Army: 'Tis true that Camp-Master *Vignoles*, who commanded some Troops in *Guienne*, had orders to bring them over to him; and that himself (as has been said) had Commissions in his hands, for the raising new Leavies; but his diligence supply'd the place of a good Army, by which he also effected more, than he could have done with greater preparations: all the other Forces he made use of, being only ten Companies of the Regiment of *Picardy*, that he found Quarter'd about *Ortez*: so that it is no less to be wonder'd at he should undertake so hard a task, with so small means to effect it, than that he did so gloriously bring about his design.

The Marquis *de la Force* no sooner had intelligence that the Duke was coming against him, but that (surpriz'd to have an Enemy of his experience to deal withal, and much more at the diligence wherewith he saw him hasten to execute his Commission, by which he also saw his designs would be overthrown) he sent the Baron of *Arros*, "To entreat him not to be too precipitous in the execution of the King's Commands, and to remonstrate to him, that he was ready to do whatever his Majesty should please to appoint: That he had already sent a dispatch to the King to that effect, and that he hop'd the Court would

The Marquis *de la Force* sends to divert the Duke from coming into *Bearne*.

be

Anno 1621. *W* “ be so satisfied with his submissions, as to spare him the trouble
 “ of a tedious Journey, his friends a great deal of inconvenience,
 “ and the people the disturbance, and oppression a War must of
 “ necessity bring upon them; adding withal the ancient friend-
 “ ship, and alliance betwixt them: To which the Duke (who
 “ was already advanc’d far on his way) return’d answer: “ That
 “ having undertaken that Voyage upon no other accompt than
 “ his Majesties command, he should be very ready to return upon
 “ the first orders he should receive: That except what concern’d
 “ the interest of his Majesties Service, he was *Monsieur de la Force’s*
 “ Friend, and Servant: That he had not sought that employ-
 “ ment against him, and that he should be exceeding glad to hear
 “ his Majesty was satisfied with his submissions: But that till then
 “ he should not delay a minute the execution of the Orders he had
 “ receiv’d; no consideration either of his own, his friends, or
 “ any other person under the Sun, being of force to divert him in
 the least from his Duty.

This first Embassy having therefore taken no effect, it was soon
 seconded by another, of which one *Charles* the principal Mini-
 ster of *Bearne* was the Bearer. “ This person, in the quality of a
 “ Deputy from the Countrey, was sent to represent to him the
 “ sterility of the Countrey, the poverty of the Inhabitants, and
 “ difficulty of the ways, and the resolution of the people to make
 “ a smart resistance, should they (who were at present in as good
 “ a disposition as could be desir’d) be urg’d to the last extremes:
 “ but the Duke having flatly told him, that the end of his expe-
 “ dition was to cause the King to be obey’d, and to chastise all
 “ those that should rebel against him: He was sent back very
 much astonish’d at so brisk a reply.

The sudden
 terror of
 the *Bearnois*.

The *Marquis de la Force* that perhaps expected no better a suc-
 cess from his deputations (having been well enough acquainted
 with the Duke of *Espernon*, to know he was not a man easie to
 be impos’d upon) would therefore make what preparation he
 could to oppose him: but he found so general a fear, and asto-
 nishment among the people, that he evidently saw it was to ha-
 zard his own ruine, should he expect the Duke’s coming into his
 Government. The *Bearnois* had no sooner heard the Duke’s
 name, but that they gave themselves for lost; their haughty, and
 declar’d insolence, with which they had a few days before over-
 thrown the King’s Order, and trodden his Authority under foot,
 and their high Vaunts, that they would defend their Religion, and
 their Countreys liberty to the last man, were converted into a Pa-
 nick terror; so that on a sudden whole Cities were left desolate,
 men

men of the best quality among them, with their Wives, and Families, seeking their safety in their flight, out of a just apprehension of all the punishments an offended Prince might reasonably inflict upon a mutinous, and disobedient people. Anno
1621.

In this general consternation of the *Bearnois* the Duke drew near to *Ortez*, the first City in Rebellion he met upon his way; the Castle whereof was of it self very strong, and had of late been moreover fortified, and furnish'd with all necessaries of War, which also shut up the pass of the whole Countrey, and was of so advantageous a situation, as was very easie to be defended: but those within, what countenance soever they had before put on of a resolute defense, no sooner heard the Duke had sent for Cannon from *Navarrens* to force them, but they presently surrendred without staying till they could be brought up. As also of
the Souldiery.

This success was of no little importance to the Duke, who had he met with much opposition in this first enterprize, having but ten Foot Companies wherewith to form a Siege, no Officers to serve his Artillery, little Ammunition, no Victual, Money, or any other means to subsist four days in a place; had been in great danger of being stop'd from making any further progress into the Countrey. All which difficulties though he had beforehand very well consider'd, and foreseen, he would notwithstanding try the experiment, knowing very well, that in matters of War, all was not always to be expected from an enemy, he either could, or should do. And from this success he took his measures of what he might promise to himself in reducing the other Garrisons; nothing doubting from that time forwards, but he should bring all his other enterprizes to an honourable and successful issue.

As the business of *Ortez* had given the Duke very good hopes of his expedition, so it totally overthrew those of the Marquis *de la Force*, who no sooner had intelligence of the surrender of this place, but that he made haste to be gone, that he might not be hemm'd in with the Duke's Forces; whilst the Duke on the other side, to make his advantage of the astonishment the Marquis his flight must of necessity leave the whole Countrey in, advanc'd with all diligence from *Ortez* to *Olleron*, where some fortifications had lately been made, which were also at his appearing deserted, without the least shew of opposition. An unfortunate fellow, a Souldier, and a Provençal, had been the main director in this work, where he suffred himself to be surpriz'd; so that the Duke, who was oblig'd to make some example, was not sorry this wretch should expiate for all the rest, as accordingly he did, being condemn'd by a Council of War, and hang'd at his

Anno his own Barricado, where the poor fellow at his death lamented
 1621. the ill fortune he had to be born a *Provençal*; declaring he was sacrific'd to the Duke's antiquated hatred to those of his Countrey, and that his Bitth was his greatest Crime, though it was nevertheless altogether untrue.

The Duke
 quiets
 Bearn in a
 very short
 time.

After this there being neither judgment to be pass'd, nor execution to be done, the Duke went to *Nay*, to *Salies*, to *Sauveterre*, and lastly to *Pau*; where the fear of his severity, that had before frightened every one from his habitation, being converted into an absolute confidence in his Clemency, and Goodness, every one return'd to his own home. The Cities, which at his coming had been almost totally deserted, were on a sudden re-inhabited; insomuch that from that time forward all the Duke had to do, was only to receive the tenders, and protestations of their obedience, and to set down some Rules for their Civil Regiment; which was order'd with so much Justice, and Wisdom, or so fortunately at least, the equality of all things was so entirely preserv'd, and he took such care to reconcile the Interests of Religion (wherein the incompatibility had been so great before, and had with so much heat fomented their divisions) that both parties were satisfied with the equal Shares he divided betwixt them in the publick administration; since which time there has been no revolt, nor commotion in that Province, it having ever since continued in peace and obedience, under the Justice of the Duke's Discipline, which is there inviolately observ'd to this day.

And at very
 little ex-
 pense.

And all this was perform'd in less than three weeks time, his Journey thither, his stay there, and his return thence, being in all not two months expedition; neither did it cost the King twelve thousand Livers, I having seen the Accompt of the Army, which did not in all arise to that little summe. 'Tis true withal that the Duke reckon'd nothing upon his own account, contenting himself with causing some Officers to be paid, that at his instance had serv'd upon this occasion. So that, by the influence of his own name only, he so settled this Province in his Majesties obedience, that it is at this time, however the most remote, perhaps the most quiet, and obedient Member of his Kingdom.

A generous
 act of the
 Duke of
 Espernon.

If the Duke was careful to keep his own hands clean, in what concern'd the King's Interest, he was no less solicitous to keep others from embezzeling the Marquis *de la Force's* Goods; who had fled from *Pau* in so great haste, that he had left his Wardrobe, Cabinets, and Papers at random; of all which the Duke took care to have an inventory taken, leaving them safe, seal'd up in the custody of a person in whom he knew the Marquis repos'd an entire

tire trust: Which being done, he return'd loaden with glory, and applause; but nothing enrich'd, either with the King's Money, or the Estates of the people, not so much as of any of those his Majesty had declar'd to be his enemies, and consequently were lawful prey.

Anno
1621.

His Majesty thought the Duke to be most busie in the Affairs of *Bearne*, when he receiv'd news, that he had already done his work, and was about to return. Neither could the Duke, knowing his Majesty was already grappled with those of the Religion, and had laid Siege to *St. Jeand' Angely*, take any rest, till he had travell'd from the remotest part of the Kingdom, to expose his life for his Service, in those occasions wherein he saw his Majesties Person, and Honour so far engag'd: The Leaguer had been near a month set down, when the Duke arriv'd, and the King's Forces were so much cool'd in their first ardour, that in all appearance the enterprize was not over-suddenly to be effected; when the Duke's arrival very much chang'd the face of Affairs: Nor do I add this to attribute any thing to him, that is not justly his due; he has so much honour besides, I do not need to forge so small an addition to his Fame: neither on the other side, the thing being perfectly true, ought he to be depriv'd of any particle of his right.

The Duke of *Espernon* returns out of *Bearne*, to the Siege of *St. Je. n de Angely*.

The Duke having at his arrival receiv'd from the King the applause due to his conduct in this expedition of *Bearne*, and a Declaration from his own mouth of his Majesties high satisfaction, whereof he had before receiv'd very favourable testimonies in the several dispatches had been sent him: He humbly entreated his Majesty, that he might for the future have the honour to serve in his own Army, and attending upon his own Person; and that he would further be pleas'd, wherein his Majesty should vouchsafe to employ his Service, that he might have the priviledge to receive his Commands immediately from his own mouth: a favour that he easily obtain'd. Now the reason why the Duke made this request, was, because a little before the Kings departure from *Paris*, the Duke *de Luines* (as Favourite, not being satisfied with his Fortune, unless he rais'd it above all the other great men of the Kingdom) had made suit to be honour'd with the Dignity of Constable of *France*: to arrive at which degree (which he might well foresee would create him much envy) having had occasion to make use of the Duke *de l'Esdiguieres*, he would manifest his Gratitude for the good Offices he had receiv'd at his hands upon that occasion, by dividing with him the Employments of this brave Command; wherein reserving to himself the honour

The King's great favour and justice to the Duke of *Espernon*, at his return from his expedition of *Bearne*.

Anno and emoluments of the place: The Duke de l' *Esdiguieres*, under
 1621. the Title of *Mareschal General de Camp*, executed all the Functions,
 and trouble of it. The Duke of *Espernon* therefore, finding at his
 coming to this Siege so many Commanders in Chief, represented
 to his Majesty: "That since he had first had the honour to be in
 "Armies, he had never been commanded by any but the Kings his
 "Masters, nor had ever receiv'd Orders, but from them: That
 "therefore in the age he now was, he should be very froward,
 "and refractory, to lose that advantage, and to be subjected to
 "the *Mareschal de l' Esdiguieres*, whose worth, though he had in
 "high honour and esteem, he believ'd nevertheless, that the *Ma-*
 "*reschal* himself would not pretend to be above him: That he
 "was both an older General, an older Officer of the Crown, and
 "of much longer standing, than the other, in all the Dignities to
 "which they had both been advanc'd; and that therefore he as-
 "sur'd himself his Majesty would not deprive him of a preemi-
 "nence due to his age, whereunto the Kings his Predecessors had
 "rais'd him, and wherein they had so long maintain'd him, which
 "was the only thing he had to desire of his Majesty, that he
 "might live satisfied in his Service. Neither did the King stick
 frankly to gratifie him in his request, which was also allowed to
 be so reasonable by all, that even those whose interest it had been
 to dispute it, cheerfully acquiesc'd in his design.

After this the Duke going to view the Leaguer, he especially
 staid at that Post, where the Marquis de la *Valette* his Son (who
 had one of the approaches committed to his Conduct) comman-
 ded in Chief, and where not being able to contain himself with-
 in the discretion of a Superficial Survey, the present danger cal-
 ling up his wonted Valour, and the frost of old Age, not being of
 force to freeze his natural heat, he had no sooner spy'd in the
 Trenches one of the eldest Captains of the Regiment of Guards,
 but that calling him to him, he made him mount with him upon
 the Parapet, at open view of the Enemy, to consider the strength,
 and situation of the place, with the order of the Siege. Those
 who were with him, were not a little troubled to see him with-
 out any necessity expose himself to so manifest a peril; neither did
 they fail (though they from the Town sufficiently shew'd him
 that, by the numerous Musquet-shot they made at him) to repre-
 sent to him several times the danger he was in: but he, taking no
 notice of them that press'd him in vain to retire, continued still
 his discourse with the Captain, shewing him here and there what
 he observ'd to be well, or ill dispos'd in the order of the Leaguer,
 with as much indifferency, as he had been in the securest place in
 the

the world : a piece of bravery, 'tis said , the old Souldier could have been well content to have been excus'd from ; it being , as he conceiv'd , very much out of season : when the Duke having told him in the end , that it was fit they should let the young people see , their white Beards were not to be frighted away with noise , he came down at last , to the astonishment of all in the Trenches , who saw the action , that he could carry it with that unconcernedness , and strange security , in so desperate a place.

Anno
1621.

The Duke, having thus taken a view of the Town, gave himself instructions for their further proceeding in their Works; which the Marquis his Son executed with so extraordinary diligence, that they had soon made their approaches to the very graff of the City, and had nothing left to do, but to open their Trench. We were in those times very raw in Sieges, and the way of opening a Trench was so new, that very few knew which way to go about that kind of Service; wherein the Duke highly manifested his courage and experience, and to such a degree, that all the rest, who had hitherto had the ordering of the Siege, seem'd only Spectators of his conduct, all the other works either totally ceasing, or being but negligently carried on, and his only going forward; as indeed it was on that part that the Town was taken.

The Duke
of Espernon
applies
himself to
the Siege.

Having therefore set a time for the opening the Trench, which was *St. John's Eve*, the Duke went that morning very early to the Trenches; and having the night before prepar'd all things ready for his design, and amongst other things given order to the Officers of the Artillery, to play their Cannon by break of day to beat down the defenses of the City, he was by the noise of this Battery call'd up from his Quarters. The Enemy on the other side, having intelligence of what was intended against them, had prepar'd to make a resolute resistance; so that though the Cannon, which, from two Batteries rais'd upon the very edge of the Graffe, had in two hours time by near upon five hundred shot made great ruines in the Walls, yet had they not prevail'd so far, but there were still two Flanckers remaining, which cut the Duke off a great many very worthy men, as well of his own Domestick Servants, as others his very particular Friends. The Marquis *de la Valette* (who shar'd with his Father in the glory of this action) was at the opening this Trench wounded by a Musquet-shot which broke his ankle bone all in pieces: *Carbonnié* Captain of the Guard to the late Duke *de Biron*, a man of great Valour, and a particular Servant of the Duke's by a Musquet-shot in the head was there slain: *Brignemont* the Gentleman of the Duke's Horse, and Brother to the *Count de Maille*, receiv'd another in his thigh,

The Marquis
de la Valette, receives a
Musquet-shot before
St. Jean d'Angely.

Anno 1621. of which he died a few hours after; as also many others were either slain out-right, or dangerously wounded: which hapned by an inconvenience for which there was no remedy, which was, that the Graffe of the City being exceeding deep, the Trench could not be carried on so low, but that they were necessitated to leap from a great height into it; by which means most of those, who had thrown themselves into that danger, receiv'd this disadvantage, before the Ditch could be fill'd up with Bavins: but how great soever the danger was, the Duke never stirr'd from the mouth of the Trench, but stood open, and expos'd, and in his Doublet only, till he had seen the Quarter made, which by *l'Encheres*, and *le Roc* two Aides de Camp, was at last brought to perfection; the last of which was slain in the attempt, the other came more happily off, though it was only soon after in a very handsome action, to meet the same misfortune. The day after, the Duke having renewed his Batteries, and by them made the two Flanckers useles, which rendred that Post very unsafe; the besieg'd fell into so great a fear, that seeing our men already lodg'd at the foot of their Walls, and that the Miners were about to sappe, they sued to be admitted to Capitulation, attributing by common consent the whole honour of the Siege to the Duke of *Espernon*, as indeed by his conduct it was evidently two months advanc'd.

St. Jean de Angely surrendered.

The Duke of *Espernon* preserves the Town of *St. Jean de Angely* from being sack'd by the Souldier.

For the rest, as the Duke had most contributed to the reducing this place, or because it was a member of his Government, or that his Authority was more absolute with the Souldier than any of the rest, or out of deference to his Command as Colonel, or out of the respect his age, and merit had acquir'd him above all others: upon some, or all these considerations it was so order'd, that he himself was the first man that enter'd into the Town. And happy it was for that poor City he did so; for some *French* and *Swisse* Foot, having got over the ruines of the Breach (whilst those within were intent about letting such as were appointed to enter into the Gates) were already upon the spoil, and principally busie about plundering the Ministers house, which the Duke having notice of, he ran himself immediately to the place, where he caus'd all that had been taken away to be restor'd, drave away the rest from the other houses, and set all things in order; a care in him whereof I was a witness, and without which the King had had the dishonour to have seen his faith violated before his own eyes: but the Duke by this action made it plain, that if he knew how to conquer, he knew as well how to provide for the safety of those he had overcome.

All

All the Commotions of those of the Religion having taken birth from the *Rochellers* obstinacy to continue the Assembly they had called together in their City, in defiance of the King's express Command, and that they still continued to uphold to the prejudice of his Royal Authority; his Majesties Council conceiv'd it more than a little concern'd his reputation, to make this mutinous people feel the smart, their contumacy, and disobedience had so highly deserv'd. The ill example of this City had so corrupted the other parts of the Kingdom, and had begot so many disturbances to the publick peace, as had necessitated his Majesty in his own person to run up and down to so many several places to suppress them, that in the beginning he could never be at leisure to sit down before *Rochelle*, the living source of all those mischiefs; as he did some years after, and that with a success posterity will hereafter look upon, as a prodigy of Fortune, and Conduct. But for an undertaking of that difficulty, and importance, it was necessary his Majesty should make choice of some Subject of great Valour, and approv'd Fidelity, and such a one as could no way be suspected to have intelligence, either with the *Rochellers* themselves, or any others of their party: qualities that appear'd so eminent in the person of the Duke of *Espernon*, as that they seem'd to be in him united to no other end, than to point him out for this Employment. To which may be added, that as being Governour of the Country of *Aunis*, where *Rochelle* stood, as also of the bordering Provinces of *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois*; he could for a need upon the single accompt of his own Interest, and Authority, draw so great Forces from those places to his assistance, that his Majesty should not in the least be necessitated to slacken the vigour and progress of his other Victories, for any accident that could happen on that side.

Upon these considerations his Majesty resolv'd to confer upon him the Command of the Army before *Rochelle*, the dispatches whereof were Sign'd at *Cognac* the 4th. of *July*, and at the end of the same month, the Duke presented himself before *Rochelle*; so diligent he was in the execution of his Charge. He had only four thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, wherewithal to block up this great City, whereof the Regiment of *Estillac* (which soon after fell to the *Count de Bury*) of the old, but one of the least of the old Regiments, was one; the others were all new rais'd men, and commanded by *le Chevalier de la Valette*, *Chasteliers*, *Barlot*, *Castelbayart*, and *Saint Geme*. The Horse were indeed exceeding sprightly, and good, and those compos'd of the Company of the Queens *Gens d' Armes*, commanded by the Baron *de Chantal*.

Anno
1621.
The Duke
of *Espernon*'s
employ-
ment before
Rochelle.

The Duke
receives the
command of
the Army at
Cognac.

of

Anno 1621. of that of the Camp-Master to the Light-Horse, commanded by *Viantais*, of the Company of the Duke's *Gens-d'Armes*, and some other very good Troops. He had for *Mareschaux de Camp*, *d'Auriac* Cousin to the Duke *de l'Esdiquieres*, a Gentleman of great valour and experience, *Biron* Brother to the late *Mareschal* of France, *Sauvebœuf*, and *le Massé*, Lieutenant to the Company of *Gens-d'Armes*.

He obtains of the King *Monsieur d'Autry* now Chancellor of France, for *Intendant de Justice* in this expedition.

The Duke finding he should stand in great need of an *Intendant de Justice* to ease him in part of the trouble, and care of his command, he cast his eye upon *Monsieur de Autry*, Nephew to *President Segurier* his very intimate friend, for that purpose, whom he recommended to the King, passionately beseeching his Majesty to invest him with that Employment: a person that we have since seen rais'd to the supreme Dignity of Chancellor of France; an Office that he does at this day discharge with so unblemish'd a repute, as is nothing inferiour to the greatest men of those who have preceded him in that charge; though at this time he had been but lately admitted into the Council in the quality of Master of Requests. He had not long continued with the Duke, before he gave as favourable a Character of his worth, and merit, as could possibly belong to a man of his condition, judging him thence forward worthy, and capable of all the great preferments a man of his Robe, and Profession, could reasonably expect, or pretend unto.

The Duke of Espernon takes up his Quarters before Rochelle.

So soon as the Troops appointed for this Service could be drawn together, the Duke appointed the Rendezvous to be about *Surgeres*, a house belonging to the Baron *de Montendre*, which he took up for his own Quarter, and, without giving the Enemy further respite, brought them two days after before the City, to try if the *Rochellers*, who had had time enough to prepare themselves, would be so brave, as to receive him in the Field; though they contented themselves with bestowing upon him some Volleys of their great shot only (which did no body any hurt at all) without once offering to stir out of their Walls. At his return from this little piece of bravery, the Duke came to take up his Quarters in two great Burroughs, a quarter of a League distant from one another, whereof that he made choice of for his own Post was called *la Farrie*, and the other *Croix-Chapeau*, where he dispos'd the rest of his Army (as eldest Camp-Master) under the command of *d'Auriac*. The distance of the Quarters from the City was a League, or thereabouts, far enough to discover the Enemy a great way, should he attempt to disturb him, and not so far neither as to leave him too much liberty of the Field.

Having

Having thus settled his Quarters, he began to plant Garrisons upon all the Avenues of the City, as well to keep the Enemy in, as also to cut off from them all Commerce with the adjacent Countrey: In such places as he found either Castles, or Churches he lodg'd them there, making shift elsewhere with Mills, and private houses. Which Garrisons in some places consisted of an hundred, in others of fifty men: but scarce any above an hundred. To these he gave particular instructions to take especial notice of all things within the observation of their own Quarter; to stop all such as would either offer to go into, or come out of the City; and to hinder the Enemy from gathering in their Harvests of Corn and Wine. The Foot being thus order'd, he caus'd the third part of the Cavalry to mount every day to Horse to scour the Field, even to the very Gates of Rochelle: So that should any thing by chance pass by the Foot, it was almost impossible to escape the Horse: by which means those few Forces being carefully provided for, and so advantageously quarter'd, did in a few months so incommode the *Rochellers*, that they found themselves absolutely depriv'd of all manner of Relief by Land; insomuch that had any Shipping at the same time been employ'd to block up the Channel, they could not, without all doubt, long have wrestled with those necessities they must have apparently fallen into: but this was a Victory too glorious to be reserv'd for any other than the King himself.

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Of all these little Garrisons (which (though they had drawn no lines of Communication) made shift nevertheless to make up the Circumvallation of the City) there was never any one forc'd by the Enemy: 'tis very true that they had attempted upon some of them, both by day, and by night: but the Duke having ever been seasonably alarm'd, alwayes came in time enough to relieve his own men, and to make the Enemy with loss to retire: Losses that were at last so frequent, and considerable, as that it is most certain they lost in several engagements, betwixt twelve, and fifteen hundred men: Whereof some of those Skirmishes had been so brisk, as that therein sometimes two, sometimes three hundred men were left dead upon the place; besides a great number of Citizens, and Officers of note taken Prisoners, whose Ransomes were very considerable.

The Duke every week duly twice, sometimes thrice mounted on horseback in his own person to visit his Quarters; which could not be done, without coming very near the Town: and this commendation is due to the *Rochellers*, that they never saw the Duke's Horse approach their City, without sallying out to
Skir-

Anno 1621. Skirmish: but it is also as true, that they never return'd with the least advantage.

Several actions before Rochelle, betwixt the Duke of Espernon, and the besieged.

They were sometimes so bold, as to attempt upon the Duke's own Quarters; but they were no more fortunate in assaulting, than when they were themselves assaulted. I shall not undertake a Narrative of all the several actions that pass'd in the beginning of this Siege, though very remarkable in themselves; forasmuch as they did not determine the business: There was one great engagement at *la Moulinette*, another at *la Font*, another at *Tadon*, and so many others that the Duke, and the Marquis *de la Valette* his Son (who alwayes made one upon all occasions) ran very often very great hazard of their lives. The first whereof had the brims of his Hat bor'd through with a Musquet-shot in one Encounter, and the truncheon he carried in his hand broke all to pieces with another Musquet-shot in another; the Marquis had one of his Stirrop-leathers carried away, and his Horse kill'd under him with such another shot: but the Enemy having in these Skirmishes lost a great number of their best men, and many of their Citizens (a loss at which they were more concern'd, than for the Gentlemen of the best quality of their party) they at last resolv'd to make no more Sallies, contenting themselves for the future, with defending the circuit of their own Walls, and preserving their City from the practices and intelligence the Duke maintain'd with some of the Inhabitants; which was gone so far, that those he had dealt withal, were upon the point to deliver him up one of the Gates of the City; when upon several conjectures, the Magistrates having found out the truth at last, they expos'd the parties (whom they call'd Traytors) to the violence of the people, by whom they were all torn to pieces.

After the *Rocbellers* had taken a resolution no more to hazard their Forces in the Field, some active spirits in the City impatient of lying idle, and immur'd, laid several designs to go further off to make trial of their Valour: amongst whom *la Noüe* was one of the first, and most eager, though not the most fortunate in the execution of his design. This Gentleman upon the intelligence he had receiv'd, that the *Count de la Rochefoucault* was parted from his Government of *Poictou*, on purpose to come visit the Duke at *la Jarrie*, had laid himself in ambush in the Forest of *Benon* to surprize him; but the Duke advertiz'd of his March by the Country people (who (to preserve their Houses from firing, and themselves from punishment) never fail'd diligently to inform of whatever they could discover of the Enemies designs) sending out his Company of *Gens-d'Armes*, took *la Noüe* in his own Ambuscado

buscado; where, after he had made all the resistance could be expected from a very gallant man, he was at last constrain'd to give way to his ill fortune, and to yield. He was therefore brought prisoner to the Duke, who for some-time entertain'd him in his Camp with all imaginable civility; giving him leave moreover upon his parole to go see his Mother in *Poitou*: of which the King being inform'd, his Majesty gave the Duke to understand he was infinitely dissatisfied with that favourable proceeding towards a man, by whom he had been so often, and so highly offended; commanding withal that he should forthwith send him to the Prison belonging to the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, that he might there be brought to his Trial. *La Noüe* in the mean time had surrendred his person to the Duke to disingage his word; whom the Duke (who could now no longer allow him the liberty of his Camp) sent away by two of his Guard to the Castle of *Angouleme*. *La Noüe* in this condition, and advertis'd of the exprels and reiterated Orders the King had sent to the Duke, to use him no longer as a prisoner of War, but as a Criminal, and a Rebel, began to apprehend he should at last be deliver'd up into the hands of Justice indeed: and consequently thence forward began to think of making his escape; as in the end, either through the negligence, or connivance of his Keepers he did; by that means delivering the Duke from the perplexity he was in, either of offending the King by insisting too long against his Majesties pleasure for this Gentlemans preservation, or of giving his consent and assistance to the ruine of a man of his condition, which he could very hardly have ever perswaded himself to do.

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Whilst the Duke lay before this place, he had several propositions made to him, about the shutting up of the Haven; for such of his Majesties Vessels as were commanded to lie in the mouth of this Channel, finding they were not able to hinder the entrance into it to any that had a mind to go in; some other way was to be try'd to deprive the besieg'd of the benefit of this Pass. *Pompeo Targone* therefore, an *Italian* Engineer of great repute, and that had long serv'd in the King of *Spain's* Armies in *Flanders*, was sent to view the disposition of the place, and to consider of the means by which the Port was to be rendred useles: In order whereunto having long consider'd the nature of the Channel, he propounded at last a Machine, which was an *Estacade*, or kind of floating Fort; though the Duke could never relish that proposition, always disputing it must be some solid body that could block up the mouth of this Harbour, and demonstrating withal which way it was to be done: The very same in truth they were

The first propositions that were made to the Duke for the blocking up the Harbour of *Rochele*.

Anno at last fain to resolve upon, after having made a vain and fruitless
 1621. trial of all the rest. I have yet by me a Copy of what he afterwards writ to the Duke of *Angoulesme* upon this very subject, when that Duke commanded before the place: So that I may confidently say, the Duke of *Espernon*, what by his own proper Forces (as in his first expedition before *Rochelle*) what by his conduct of the King's (as upon this occasion) and what by his advice (as we shall hereafter see) did no little contribute to the glorious reduction of this place.

The surprisal of the Isle of *Maran* by the Duke of *Espernon*.

The Duke did yet another thing before he quitted his Command, which was not a little conducing to this great success. The Isle of *Maran* was of so great importance to the execution of this Enterprize, that it has ever been thought, whilst the *Rochellers* should have it at their dispose, a thing almost impossible to take that City, by reason of the communication this Island gave them with *Poitou*, from whence they might at great ease, and without any impediment at all, supply themselves at any time, with all sorts of Relief. The *Baron de Chandolan*, a man of great quality, and merit, who at this time shew'd himself very affectionate to the King's Service, was Governour of this Isle, but he was notwithstanding of the *Rochellers* Religion: so that the fidelity of a man, who having Religion for his pretense might, whenever he pleas'd, and without any blemish to his reputation, separate himself from his Majesties interest, was not in reason altogether to be rely'd upon; and the Duke also fear'd lest he might be perswaded into a thing he might do with great security, and almost without reproach. He therefore took up a resolution to possess himself of this Isle, to prevent any inconvenience for the time to come; and having receiv'd his Majesties command to do it by the best means he could contrive, he rose from his Quarters one of the coldest nights in Winter; a time when all the Ditches of the Island were frozen up, and which the Duke therefore chose, as it rendred his access more easie for the execution of his design. He therefore commanded some Foot Companies to steal over silently, and by single Files, who that very night possess'd themselves of all the Avenues; and in the morning, having caus'd the Ice to be broken, that he might himself pass over with his Horse, he made himself Master of the Island without the least opposition: an action that nevertheless he undertook with great reluctancy, so great an affection and esteem he had for the Governour: but his Duty ever carried it with him above all considerations. The *Chevalier de Valette* was therefore establish'd in this Isle, and very opportunely; for had not the Duke taken this course, and that the *Rochellers* who

who had a design to seize it, had once got footing there, great force, and vast expense must have been employ'd to remove them: but the Duke by this foresight sav'd the King that charge, and labour.

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Certainly never was War carried on at greater convenience for the Souldier, than in this Countrey, which by its situation, and vicinity to the Provinces of *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois*, lay so exceeding conveniently for the bringing in of all sorts of Provision, and other necessaries, that they were scarce to be had in greater abundance, or at cheaper rates in the best Cities of the Kingdom, than they were in the Camp continually to be sold; as also the people came in with their commodities with as great confidence, and security, as to the publick and ordinary Markets: and they might do so, the least violence to any Higler, Sutler, or other Provisionary Person, being a crime so capital, as never escap'd unpunish'd. By which we may judge how much the continuation of our civil dissentions has impair'd the flourishing condition the Kingdom was then in, and how much the constitution of War by being grown older, is alter'd from what it us'd to be in those better times.

Whilst the Duke thus bravely acquitted himself of his Command before *Rochelle*, his Majesty had also with extraordinary vigour prosecuted his designs in *Guienne*; where he had compell'd most of the places possess'd by those of the Religion in that Province to submit to his Authority and Power. Of which he had reduc'd *Bergerac*, *Saint Foy*, *Puimirol*, *Tournon*, *Monflanquin*, with several others; besieg'd, and taken *Clerac*, and at last laid Siege to *Montauban*, though herein he had not been so successful, as in his other enterprizes: so that the year ending with this variety of Events, his Majesty was constrain'd to return to *Paris*, to let the stormy quarter blow over, that he might in a more favourable season recommence the interrupted progress of his Arms.

The King's
exploits in
Guienne.

In his Majesties return to *Paris*, a little paltry place situated upon the banks of the River *Garonne*, call'd *Monburt*, had the impudence to stand out against the Royal Army; an insolence which though it receiv'd its due reward, prov'd notwithstanding fatal to the Duke *de Luines*, who by a burning Fever there ended his days: by whose decease both the place he possess'd in the King's favour, as also the Office of Constable of *France* became void: The Duke of *Mayenne* had likewise a few days before left a vacancy in the principal Government of the Kingdom, which was that of *Guienne*, by a Musquet-shot he receiv'd in his head before *Montauban*; by the fall of which two great Ministers the King

The death
of the Duke
de Luines.

Anno (as we shall hereafter see) had means to recompense the Services
 1621. of the Duke of *Espernon*, and the *Mareschal de l'Esduigueres*, two
 of the eldest, and best deserving Servants of his Crown.

The Winter was no sooner a little abated of its fury, but that those of the Religion; more elevated with the raising of the Siege of *Montaubon*, than they had been dejected with the loss of so many other places, as the King had taken from them, took the field to give his Majesty a new, and greater provocation than before. Of these *Soubize* was the first that fell in his Majesties way, who having fortified himself in the Isle of *Reé*, and some other Islands of *Poitou*, thought the difficulty of their access would protect him from the Royal Power: but he soon found that all places are firm Land to Kings; when his Majesty overcoming all difficulties, that oppos'd his way, pass'd over the Marshes, and his own Fortifications within them, to fall upon him; where he gave him so notable a defeat, that he could not of a long time after recover that blow, nor put himself again into any tolerable posture of War.

Anno So soon as the Duke of *Espernon* had intelligence of the King's
 1622. motion towards those Provinces, where he had the honour to
 command, he design'd a Journey to his Majesty, to give him an
 accompt of those discoveries he had made whilst he lay before
Rochelle, that were of greatest importance to his design: a desire
 he had no sooner acquainted his Majesty withal, but that he gave
 him leave to come to him to *Poitiers*; where he accordingly arriv'd
 in the beginning of the year 1622. He could not possibly desire
 a more favourable reception, than his Majesty was here pleas'd
 to give him, who openly declar'd himself infinitely satisfied with
 his Service: neither indeed could it by any one have been perform'd
 with greater fidelity, or to better effect: so that the King being
 resolutely bent to punish the *Rochellers* disobedience, had a great
 desire, that the Duke should still pursue the Siege, as he had begun:
 But the *Count de Soissons* a young Prince of great courage and
 expectation, having been prompted by his friends to ask some
 employment, he was not handsomly to be denied any thing almost
 he could demand, every thing he would pretend to seeming justly
 due to his Birth, and merit. Amongst all the Commands of the
 Kingdom, that the Duke had before *Rochelle* was, without all
 dispute, the most honourable; and the Duke had notice given him
 a few days after his return to his Camp, of the impudent suit
 the *Count de Soissons* made to have the Command of the Army
 under his charge conferr'd upon him; an intelligence that perhaps
 the informer presum'd would have been very
 unwelcome

The Duke
 of *Espernon*
 goes to the
 King at
Poitiers.

unwelcome to him : but if the Duke knew how to stand upon his punctilio, and to hold his own amongst his equals, he also better understood than any man of the Kingdom, what deference was due to the Princes of the Blood. He was therefore no sooner advertis'd of the *Count's* desire, but that he was himself the first man to second it ; representing to his Majesty in his dispatches how much it stood him upon to favour the inclinations of this young Prince, that he might the sooner be made capable of performing those Services his Majesty was one day to expect from his Valour and Conduct. He also renew'd the same instances by word of mouth, when his Majesty came a few days after out of *Poitou* into *Xaintonge* ; though when all was done he himself would never be prevail'd upon to serve any more in this Army under this new General. *Monsieur d' Herbaut* Secretary of State, his old and particular friend, was commanded by the King to speak to him about it, who represented to him : “ That his Majesties intention herein, was not in the least to diminish his Authority in the Army, nor to cut him off in the least from the exercise of his Command : That if they took from him the vanity of a Title only, they added much more to his effectual power : That the Army being augmented by one half (as it was to be) there was no honourable exploit he might not be able to perform by such an addition of Forces, since with so few, as he had hitherto commanded, he had, to so glorious a pitch, advanced his Majesties designs : That his Majesty intended all things should be order'd by his wisdom, and that this Prince's youth might be govern'd by his experience ; to the end that under so excellent a Discipline, he might betimes be train'd up to the profession of Armes. The *Count* also either of his own accord, or by the King's order sent him the same complement at the same time ; but the Duke persisting never to have dependence upon other than Kings (from whom he said, and from no other, all things by men of his condition, were to be expected) he humbly besought his Majesty to excuse him from this employment, entreating *Monsieur d' Herbaut* to tell the King from him : “ That he did not think himself Souldier enough to instruct this young Prince so well, as he ought to be ; but that he likewise thought himself too old to begin to learn of any whomsoever.

After the Duke had sent the King this answer by *Monsieur d' Herbaut*, and that he knew it had been well receiv'd, he went himself the same day to his Majesty, where he told him : “ That he could never enough commend the good resolution his Majesty had taken in the *Count's* favour : That he did with all his heart

Anno
1622.

Anno 1622. *~~~~~* "heart resign into his Majesties hands those Forces he had done
 " him the honour to entrust him withal, without diminution of
 " number, and some encrease of Reputation: That of all the
 " other Services he had heretofore perform'd for his Majesty, and
 " the Kings his Predecessors, in the long course of his life, he had
 " ever expected his reward from their bounty, without importu-
 " ning them with his demands: but that he should not do so
 " here, being resolv'd to take upon him the boldness to make one
 " request; which as it would neither incommodate his Majesties
 " Affairs, nor impair his treasure, he hop'd would not be de-
 " ny'd, and that was only, that his Majesty would give him leave
 " to serve about his own person in the simple condition of a Vo-
 " lunteer: That his Governments of *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois*,
 " being secure, whilst an Army should lie before *Rochelle*, his
 " presence would be altogether unnecessary there; and that there-
 " fore he humbly begg'd he might partake of those dangers, to
 " which his Majesty was about to expose his own person; and
 " that though he was now grown old, he found he had never-
 " theless strength, and vigour enough remaining to dye in some
 " glorious day, with a Pike in his hand, at his Majesties stirrop.
 Which being said, his Majesty embracing him in his arms, re-
 turn'd this answer: " That he did very freely grant him that re-
 " compense, and that if he had many Servants on whom to be-
 " stow the like, and who knew so well how to make use of it, he
 " should think himself a much greater Prince than he was: That
 " notwithstanding he did not receive him in the quality of a Vo-
 " lunteer, as he desir'd, but that he might assure himself he would
 " ever afford him such a place in his Armies, as that therewith he
 " himself should be very well content. And accordingly his Ma-
 jesty having a design upon *Royan*, he dismiss'd the Duke with part
 of his Forces to begin the Siege.

The Duke
 of *Espernon*
 sent to lay
 Siege to
Royan.

In this sort the Duke quitted his employment at the Siege of *Rochelle*, after having lain before it eight months compleat: during which time the Army had receiv'd five Musters, and yet complain'd of being ill us'd; though I believe now adays they would be very well content to be so paid. The Duke being approach'd near *Royan*, mounted on Horseback to view the place. This *Royan* was a little City built upon a very high Rock by the Sea-side, inaccessible on that side towards the Water; the height whereof breaking off the impetuosity of the Winds, at the foot of the precipice afforded a very secure Harbour to so many Vessels as it could contain. This Harbour was defended by an ancient Castle rais'd upon the eminence of the Rock, and in the midst
 of

of it a little way was levell'd, that lead to the Harbour by one of the Gates of the City. On that side towards the Land the situation was more even; but there also so well fortified, that in the opinion of all who view'd it either before, or after the Siege, it was one of the most tenable places, for its circuit in *France*. To which it had moreover this advantage, that it was almost without danger to be defended; forasmuch as after their out-works should be taken (which could not be till after a long Siege) the convenience of the Sea, and the vicinity of *Rochelle*, rendred their retreat at any time so easie, and so secure, that it was to be defended to the last extreme. The *Baron de Saint Surin*, a *Hugonot*, and a Gentleman of great quality, and valour, though very young, had in the beginning of these commotions surpriz'd this place from *la Chesnaye*, one of the King's Domesticks of the same Religion; but infinitely zealous for his Majesty's Service: neither was he ignorant of the advantages of the place; he knew what reputation he might gain amongst those of his own party, and what recompense from the King himself, after a long and obstinate resistance: but *la Mote Saint Surin* his Brother, the *Count de Marennes* his Brother-in-law, and *Navailles* his Cousin, having been taken prisoners at the Isle of *Rheé*, and the King threatening to deal with them after another manner than with ordinary prisoners of War, gave *Saint Surin* to understand, that upon his determination depended the safety of his Allies. The Duke of *Espemon*, who had instructions from the King to manage this Affair with *Saint Surin*, had to the King's menaces added so many advantageous propositions for the Governour in his own particular, as had altogether brought the business to that pass, that *Saint Surin*, who had a great respect for the Duke, of whom he was also very much esteem'd, and entirely belov'd, touch'd with a tenderness towards his friends, and moreover very ill satisfied with the ill usage men of his condition receiv'd from those of their own party (who were eternally expos'd to the capricious humour of the most abject rabble of *Rochelle*) had made him an absolute promise to surrender the place. The day was set, the hour concluded, and all things prepar'd for the execution, the King's Forces were advanc'd towards the Town to receive it, and the Duke's Guards appointed to guard the Gates of the City; when *Saint Surin*, more confident of his Garrison, than he ought to have been, made no difficulty to go out of the place to settle some Articles with the Duke he had not thought on before. 'Tis true he had left his Lieutenant, whom he had made firm to his own resolution, in the Castle; a Fort that rendred him absolutely Master of the City,

having

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Anno 1622. having a back Gate by which the King's Forces might at any time be introduc'd, notwithstanding any endeavour of the City to hinder his design: but *Favas*, *Saint Ravy*, *Moulines*, and some other Gentlemen of Command, upon the rumour was spread at *Rochelle* of this Treaty, ran thither in all diligence; where finding the Governour gone out, and his Lieutenant call'd *l'Arnaudiere*, being so senseless as to come open the draw Bridge of the Castle to talk with them in too great security, *Saint Ravy*, assisted by one *Poyanne*, gave him a Pistol-shot in the head, by which he was laid dead upon the place; which being done, they forthwith cry'd to *Armes*, when the City immediately revolting from *Saint Surin*, his own Garrison follow'd the same example; whereupon on a sudden such a noise was heard within, as founded nothing of the expected surrender.

The Duke in his approach to *Royan* had taken up his Quarters in a house call'd *Saint Pierre de Royan*, which was within Cannon shot of the City and before which was a little Green, which overlooking the City, had drawn thither a great number of persons to behold, as from a Scaffold, the surrender of this place. The Duke himself was there, where *Monsieur d'Autry* had been long discoursing with him, and they were still walking together; when this cloud of people having invited those within to level all the Iron, and Brass Pieces they had at that eminence, there was heard on a sudden, one shot overtaking another, a Volley of eighteen pieces of Ordnance, which all plaid into this little place. And certainly after an example like this all Cannon-shot are to be despis'd, when had they shot with a design to do no harm, they could hardly have been so exact in their aim, as to miss so great a crowd of people, yet was not any one touch'd; so that excepting the fear, that made some of the over-timorous lay themselves flat upon the ground, it prov'd matter of laughter to all the rest. The Duke was still talking, whilst the Cannon play'd from the City, with the same indifferency, as if there had been no noise at all; neither did he once break off his discourse, though the Bullets flew very thick about his ears: but the tumult being over, conceiving these to be no Volleys of Triumph, and that it was necessary, before the Enemy could have time to look about them, to take all possible advantage of this confusion; he caus'd his men to betake themselves to their Arms, himself immediately going down into the Suburbs; which though very well Barricado'd, was nevertheless by reason of their disorder to weakly guarded, that he carried it at the first assault, with little or no resistance: a thing that in many days, and without the loss of a great many good

good men, had he slip't this opportunity, he could not have done. *Saint Surin* surpriz'd at so unexpected an alteration, and not being able almost to believe his own eyes, went down to demand the cause of this confusion; where all the answer he could get, was to bid him begone, his Souldiers yet retaining so much respect for his person, as not to shoot at him, though they would not receive him; and then it was that he saw the error his youth, and want of experience, had made him to commit. He therefore return'd back to the Duke to justify himself, who more compassionate of his disgrace, than troubled at his own disappointment, receiv'd, and comforted him with great civility, and friendship; entertaining him in his own Quarters, and giving him opportunity by the Services he perform'd during this Siege, to wipe off the imputation of his ill conduct, and to give the world high proofs of his bravery, and valour. His good qualities after the War was over, and no more to do at home, carried him to seek his destiny in *Holland*, and by that means depriving *France* of one of the most accomplish'd Gentlemen to all purposes, and in all qualifications commendable in a man of his condition, of his time. As to this business, the Duke having undertaken his interests, against the ill offices of many who were emulous of his desert, not only prevail'd with the King to accept his excuses, but as a recompense for the Passion he had observ'd in him to his Majesty's Service, moreover procur'd the enlargement of his friends; ordering it so, that his Piety was not rendred fruitless by his misfortune, and that what would have been punish'd in the person of another, was rewarded in him.

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The Suburbs of *Royau* being thus taken, they were now to proceed regularly in their approaches for the taking of the Town, wherein though the Duke had made choice of that part, where it was with greatest difficulty to be assaulted; yet did he ply his business so well, that a Mine was brought up under the Bastion he had undertaken. The King's Army in the mean time advanc'd to favour the Siege, when his Majesty coming after to view the Trenches, resolv'd at last upon an assault. The order therefore being given, and all things prepar'd for the design, the Marquis *de la Valette* put himself in the head of his men, seconded by the Guards of the Duke his Father, where he engag'd himself so far in the danger, that he was buried up to the middle in a Counter-Mine sprung by the besieg'd, and where he had run a great hazard of his life, had not *Montigny* the Gentleman of his Horse, a tall, and very strong man, help'd to disengage him. The Guards that follow'd avoided the danger of the Mine, but they found ne-

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Royan taken,
to the Duke
of Espernon's
great ho-
nour.

Strange
Wounds.

The march
of the Kings
Army into
Guienne, and
their pro-
gress there.

vertheless so smart an opposition at a work the besieg'd had cast up within the Bastion, that of five and forty, whereof that Company consisted, two only escap'd without wounds. Fourteen were there slain outright, all the rest being hurt more or less; but the three Officers, *Marillac*, *la Roche*, and *Larcen*, Brother to the Baron of *Ejclignac*, who lead them on to the assault, were all so desperately wounded, that there was small hope of their recovery. The *Baron de Matba*, who had accompanied the Duke in this occasion, was slain upon the Bastion by a great shot, as also several Gentlemen of the Duke's household; but the rest, resolute to overcome all difficulties, lodg'd themselves at last in the Bastion. The *Mareschal de Vitry* who was present at this assault, and who in this, as in all other occasions signaliz'd himself with extraordinary valour, gave them the glory of this performance, principally the *Chevalier de la Valette*, who did wonders in his own person, from the beginning to the end of the action. Thus by the Duke's admirable conduct, and the valour of his followers this Siege was brought to an end in fewer weeks, than months would have been allow'd him, had he carried it on with less prudence, or resolution. In this, as it oft falls out upon other occasions of this nature, so strange Wounds were observ'd, as, their cures defeating all the rules of Art, pass'd for miraculous. One of the Souldiers of the Duke's Guards call'd *Faure* receiv'd a Cannon-shot in his Belly, which pass'd quite through, leaving an orifice bigger than a Hat Crown; so that the Chirurgeons could not imagine, though it were possible the Bowels should remain unoffended that nature could have supply'd so wide a breach, which notwithstanding she did; and to that perfection, that the party found himself, as well as before. Another of the same condition call'd *Rameé*, and of the same place (they being both Natives of *St. Jean de Angely*) receiv'd a Musquet-shot, which entring at his mouth, came out of the nape of his neck, who was also perfectly cur'd: which two extravagant wounds being reported to the King, his Majesty took them both into his own particular dependence, saying those were men that could not die, though they afterwards both ended their dayes in his Service.

This place being reduc'd to the King's obedience, there remain'd nothing more in *Xaintonge* worthy his Majesties Arms, so that he was at liberty to advance with all his Forces into *Guienne*. The Prince of *Condé* had been sent thither before with the Vanguard of the Army; where at his Majesties arrival he found *Monravet* taken by the Duke d' *Elbæuf*, and *Themeins*, after a long and obstinate resistance, surrendred to the same Duke. *Saint Foy* also,

also, *Clerac*, *le Mont de Marsan*, with several other considerable places, were reduc'd to his obedience, by the Marquis *de la Force*, *de Lusignan*, and *de Castelnau de Chalosse*, who had taken them in; so that his Majesty finding little to do in *Guienne*, pass'd speedily thence into *Languedoc*. *Negrepolisse*, a little paltry Town upon his way, was so impudent as to stand a Siege; but it was soon taken by assault; and *St. Antonin* having after a Siege surrendred to mercy, their temerity having put the King upon making some examples, the neighbouring places thought it convenient to fly to his Majesties Clemency, to evade the trial of his victorious Arms.

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Whilst the King was taken up with these little exploits, the Duke of *Espernon* had taken opportunity to look into his own Domestick Affairs, the better to fit himself to follow, and serve his Majesty in his main expedition; which he had so dispatch'd, as to come before the King to *Tbolouze*; who arriving there a few days after, the Army mov'd towards the higher *Languedoc* by the way of *Carcassonne*, *Beziers*, *Narbonne*, and other good Cities; and the seven and twentieth of *August* the whole Court arriv'd at *la Verune*, a little Town in *Languedoc*: where the Duke receiv'd the honour of a Patent for Governour, and his Majesties Lieutenant General in *Guienne*, and for the particular Governments of *Chasteau*, *Trompette*, as also of the City, and Cittadel of *Bergerac*, with the City and Castle of *Nerac*, in lieu of his Governments of *Angoumois*, *Xaintonge*, *Aulins*, and *Limoufin*.

From the time of their being together at *Tbolouze*, the Prince of *Condé* having converted the animosities he had conceiv'd against the Duke, during the Regency of the Queen Mother into a particular esteem; he was the first man that thought of this Command in the Duke's favour: and though he had himself been Governour of that Province, yet thinking it no prejudice to his Birth and Dignity, to be succeeded by a man of his Merit, he first propos'd him to the King. His Majesty understood as well as any the importance of this Command, and having a little before experimented in the person of the Duke of *Mayenne*, what a Governour of *Guienne* could do, when debauch'd from his Duty, had been at great debate with himself, upon whom to confer the honour of this great Employment. At the first mention notwithstanding of the Duke of *Espernon*, he very favourably gave his consent, and the constant testimonies he had always receiv'd of the Duke's fidelity seeming to be security for him for the time to come, he gave the Prince order to speak to him about it, and to let him know

Anno he had thoughts of conferring upon him the honour of that
 1622. command.

But all we who were of the Duke's Family, can witness there was not the same facility in the Duke to receive this favour, there had been in his Majesty to confer it: Not that he wanted ambition, or that his spirit did not prompt him with great confidence in himself to aspire to the highest employments: but this ambition also was not blind, and if on the one side he consider'd how great an honour it would be to succeed the late King *Henry* the great of happy memory, who had maintain'd himself in this Government, till he came to the Crown with other first Princes of the Blood, and to have his Authority rais'd to that height in his own native Countrey: he wisely weigh'd on the other side, that amongst so many advantages he should meet with much trouble, and many difficulties to balance the lustre of that Dignity, with many occurrences that he foresaw would be very cross and untoward. His present condition 'twas true was not so shining, but it was also more calm; and his Authority was so establish'd in his own Governments, that there was none who was not acquainted with his Justice, and who from the Infancy of his Administration, had not paid so inviolate a respect to his person, that the reverence those Countreys had for him, seem'd to be a natural quality in the people committed to his charge. The Gentry and Populacy were equally obedient to him, and he liv'd amongst them as free from trouble, as envy: whereas in *Guienne*, where his Government would be shut up betwixt two Parliaments, he conceiv'd that in the administration of his charge it would be almost impossible to avoid many disputes, with the members of the one or the other Body. Whilst he had only had to do with them in the quality of a friend, he had found them exceedingly obliging, and all the Gentry of the Province had ever paid him a very great respect: but he very much doubted whether in such a degree of Authority he could preserve the friendship, and affection of so many persons of quality as would be subjected to him. These reasons made him long deliberate upon this Affair, and he was often tempted to refuse it: but he was so importun'd by his friends, and particularly by the Duke of *Guise*, who came to wait upon the King in *Languedoc*, that he at last resolv'd to embrace his Majesties gracious offer: though I heard him say then, and he has often confirm'd it since, that he would never have been perswaded to do it, had he not been before divested of the Cittadel of *Xaintes*; assuring us, that could he have kept that in the condition he had once put it, he would
 not

not have exchange'd those Governments he was already seiz'd of, for any the best in *France*.

Having therefore long deliberated before he could resolve, he at last went to receive from the King's own hand his Patent for Governour of *Guienne*, dated from the Camp of *la Verune* the 27. of *August* 1622. the news whereof was no sooner spread abroad, but that all *Guienne* was as much over-joyed at their good Fortune; to be govern'd by a Lord of their own Countrey, and one that had already laid so many obligations upon it (there being few Families of the Gentry, that had not been enrich'd by his bounty) as the Provinces that saw themselves depriv'd of him, were afflicted, and disconsolate at his loss. A privation the miseries they afterwards endur'd made them very sensible of a long time after; though they have at last found a remedy in the person of the Marquis de *Montauzier*, the present Governour there; who by his generous, and prudent administration, after having procur'd them all the ease and comfort, the condition of the time will permit has either so confirm'd them in, or so reduc'd them to their obedience to the King, as has secur'd them from many inconveniences, into which, by the ill example of their Neighbours, they would otherwise have been seduc'd.

The Duke de *l'Esdiquieres* was at the same time promoted to the Office of Constable of *France*: and since Fortune seems to have made choice of these two Lords (the most eminent of their time) to manifest what she can do, when dispos'd to favour men of extraordinary merit, it will not perhaps be altogether impertinent to consider the several ways by which she rais'd them to that infinite pitch of Honour. They were indeed very different both in the one and the others promotion: In the advancement of the Duke de *l'Esdiquieres*, she was observ'd to proceed with order, leading him through all the degrees of his profession, and from the quality of a private Souldier, raising him step by step, in revolution of time to the Dignity of Constable of *France*. He had never been preferr'd from a less command to a greater, without having first been concluded worthy of it; wherein Envy (which has seldom been known to be reconcil'd to Vertue) never appear'd his adversary; insomuch that he ever possess'd all the advantages of the one, without once proving the malignity of the other, and by a favour particular to him alone, was so constantly fortunate, that his happiness was never travers'd with the least disturbance. He never undertook any thing, how dangerous soever, where Fortune did not still smooth his way, and level all difficulties before him, to favour his success, even beyond his own expectation: and

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The Duke of *Espernon* receives his Patent for the Government of *Guienne*.

A comparison betwixt the Dukes of *Espernon* and *l'Esdiquieres*, with some reflections upon the different ways of their advancement.

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and no less solicitous of his person, than partial to his Affairs, was ever so ready to defend him from the least mischance, that whatever he acquir'd of Greatness, Wealth, or Honour, scarce cost him so much as one drop of blood. It is in truth very much to rise by so honourable, and so easie a gradation, to such a place of greatness: but yet methinks it must appear more strange, as it is more rarely found, to see a young man at twenty years old rais'd to the highest pitch, to which Fortune, and Favour, when combin'd, could possibly advance him: That a man envy'd of every one, jostled by all parties, abandon'd by his own Benefactor, and persecuted by a mighty King his Successor, should keep himself still upright, against all those violent assaults. We have seen him wounded in several Engagements, blown up by Mines, and swallow'd in Precipices; notwithstanding all which he overcame all difficulties by a vigorous resistance, triumphing at last over Envy it self: so that if the one obtain'd from the world a favourable opinion by his Conduct, the other forc'd it by his Vigour; constraining all *France* to confess, that those Offices, and Honours which at first had prevented his desert, fell at last very much short of his Vertue. Infomuch that if we find the one worthy of Esteem, the other is no less worthy of Admiration; if the one was promoted by ordinary means, the other rose to all his Advancements by extraordinary ways; if the one leisurely, and by degrees arriv'd at greatness, there was a kind of impetuosity in the promotion of the other; and yet his foot never slipt back: and if the one supported his Fortune erected upon sure Foundations, the other (which is very strange) even without any foundation at all, has rais'd his to that prodigious height, as to carry it almost out of sight.

The Duke
resolves to
attend the
King's per-
son in his
expeditions.

The Duke of *Espernon*, though he had merited well enough from the Crown, to expect an acknowledgement like this where-with the King thought fit to gratifie his desert, did yet receive it rather as a new obligation for new, and greater Services, than as a recompense for what he had already done; and conceiving that those he should perform in his Majesties own view, would best manifest his Gratitude; he deferr'd till a fitter season, the taking possession of his new Government, that he might not lose such opportunities, as the War was likely to offer him whilst he should continue about the person of the King. He therefore attended his Majesty to *Narbonne*, where some overtures being set on foot by the Constable de l'*Esdiguieres*, and the Duke de *Reban* in order to an Accommodation: he thought he might conveniently make use of the interval of this Treaty, for the accomplish-
ment

ment of a vow he he had formerly made to our Lady of *Annō*
Monferrat. 1622.

The Duke's design was to go this Journey *Incognito*, to avoid the trouble of many complements he was sure would be put upon him, if he should travel in his ordinary State, in all places through which he was to pass; and to that end had reduc'd his Train to a very small number, setting forwards almost so soon as he had taken leave of the King, that he might prevent any rumor of his motion: but he soon found it was far easier for him to reduce his attendance, than to obscure his reputation, which had already so far got the start of his preparation, and had so fill'd the neighbouring Kingdoms with the reverence of his name, that he was no sooner enter'd into the King of Spain's Dominions, but he was receiv'd in all places with infinite respect, and extraordinary honours. He was in this Voyage accompanied by the Marquis de *Varenes* (made Governour of *Aiguemortes* at his return) the *Vicount de Pontrailles*, the *Count de Maille*, the *Sieur de la Iliere* Governour of *Loches*, six Gentlemen of his household, as many of his Guards, and a necessary number of Officers; yet could he not, with all his care to contract his Equipage, order it so, that he had not above fifty persons in his Train: so troublesome a thing is Greatness. He lay the first night at *la Palme*, a private house belonging to one of the Gentlemen who went along with him, and the next day pass'd close by the Castles of *Laucate*, and *de Salses*, two little Fortresses which at that time divided the Kingdoms of *France*, and *Spain*; by the distance of which from our Frontiers as they now stand, it may be seen how far our Conquests have extended the limits of our own Kingdom. Two days after he came to *Perpignan*.

The Duke of *Espernon* takes a Journey into *Catalonia*.

Here it was that the Duke first perceiv'd how fruitless all his caution to conceal his person had been, he finding at his arrival there the Garrison already drawn out to receive him; and the Governour so soon as he was alighted coming to his Lodging to kiss hands, and to offer him admittance into the Cittadel; though the Duke making no other advantage of his Complement, than in such a case he ought to do, after having return'd his thanks in the most civil terms so obliging an invitation requir'd, would still remain in the Town. He parted thence the next morning before day, it being necessary to avoid the excessive heats of the Countrey, and the season, to end his Journey by six of the clock in the morning, and to repose himself the rest of the day. And here he was likewise constrain'd, either for fear of wanting forage for Horse, or with less difficulty to pass the Mountains and
Rocks,

The Duke's reception in all the Cities through which he pass'd.

Anno 1622. Rocks, to leave his Horses, and to mount upon Mules. The Gates were set open for him at the appointed hour, and two Troops of the Garrison Horse were found ready to convoy him two Leagues from the City: he was moreover saluted by all the Artillery at his departure. A complement so loud, as the adjacent Countrey being thereby given to understand, that so unusual an honour was not paid to a person of ordinary condition, he found at *Stelrie*, at *Girone*, at *la Roque*, and the other places through which he pass'd, that the *Spanish* pride hindred not their gravity from paying all due honour, and respect to Vertue.

He came at last to *Barcelona*, where the Duke *de Alcala* Vice-Roy of *Catalognia*, so soon as he heard of his arrival, came in person to visit him, excusing himself in that he had not had timely notice of his coming, that he might have come out to meet him, and to receive him without the City, as he said, he had order from the King his Master to do. Being return'd home, it was not long before he sent the Duke his Coach of Ceremony, drawn by six great and very beautiful Gennets, for him to go abroad, and take the Aire. A sight at which the Duke (who had ever been, and who continued to his death a great lover of the Horses of *Spain*) was almost impatient, that so noble Creatures should be subdu'd to so mean a use: nevertheless (so great is the contagion of example, especially where the glory of emulation seems to be concern'd) that he was afterwards himself the first who show'd such another set of Horses in *France*; he being a few years after, very often observ'd in the Cours at *Paris* in a very rich Coach, drawn by six dapple-Gray *Spanish* Horses; to which I could add that it was in the company of Ladies too, and that at the age of three-score and ten, he was content to be seen playing the young man, upon the greatest Theatre of Europe. He staid two whole days at *Barcelona*, during which time he view'd at leisure the greatness, and beauty of the City. The Viceroy invited him to his Palace, where he had assembled the best company of men to wait upon him, and the finest women in the Town to entertain him, which was a very extraordinary favour. This civility was moreover attended with a Ball, a Comedy, and a noble Banquet: and from hence the Viceroy carried him to the Cours, which extends it self in very great length upon the Sea-shore, and where we could not but wonder at the delicacy of that people, the Ghing of all the Gallies in the Harbour being drawn out every night to water this Cours, which is above two thousand paces long. We at first thought it an extraordinary thing, done only in favour of the Duke: but we were soon dispossest'd of that error, when we under-

understood that the Inhabitants, to defend themselves from the dust, and to qualifie the excessive arduours of the Sun, had impos'd this new task as an addition to the other intolerable labours of their miserable slaves.

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From *Barcelona* the Duke went at last to *Monferat*, where he continued three days entire at his Devotion, not without admiring the excellent Oeconomy observ'd in this Abby, where there are ordinarily above two thousand five hundred persons provided for every day; for which all the provisions so much as wood, and water must be fetch'd a great way off upon Mules, the Rock being so dry, and unfruitful, as neither to afford the one, nor the other of these, much less the other necessaries of life. The Duke presented the Abby with many very rich, and noble Ornaments, adding to his Presents an Almes of five hundred Crowns of Gold, for three thousand Masses, and so return'd into *France*. The Religious Governours of this Abby never take any mony for their Hospitality, which they in Charity bestow upon all Pilgrims indifferently of what condition soever for three days together: but they also never refuse how much soever any one is dispos'd to give for Masses.

During the Duke's abode in this place, those of his followers who were nimblest of Foot, had the curiosity to climb the top of the Mountain to see the Hermitages, which, being thirteen in number, are situated upon the most inaccessible precipices of the Rock, and inhabited by so many devout persons, who subsist upon almost no other nourishment than Herbs, and Fruit. Though we met with great difficulty, and danger in this attempt, and had very much ado to satisfy our desires; we saw nevertheless, that one of the most unwieldy, and unready footed Animals, that is to say, a Mule went twice a week the same way, alone, and without being guided, to carry these good people their allowance, and could with great security set his four feet in very narrow paths, where we had much ado to dispose of our two; so great a privilege has Custom: but what we thought the most strange of all, was, to see Birds of all sorts, and of those kinds which with us are the most wild, and untractable, so familiar with these Holy men, as to peck meat out of their mouths, and suffer themselves to be handled, living in as great security with them, as amongst us those of more docile natures, which we have reclaim'd, and made tame with the greatest diligence, and art.

At his return from this Voyage, the Duke found the Treaty absolutely broken off, and the King ready to sit down before *Unel*; an Enterprize wherein his Majesty was pleas'd to make

The Duke
of *Espernon*
returns out
of *Catalognia*

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The Siege
of *Mont-
pellier.*

use of the Duke's person, and particular Servants, as he did afterwards at the Siege of *Somnieres*, at both which Leaguers the Duke lost many Gentlemen of great Valour and Desert. Of which number *Paigeolet* a Captain in the Regiment of Guards, and who had but lately quitted a Lieutenancy in the Regiment of *Piedmont*, for this preferment, was one, as also *Courbon, l' Enchere, Brouls*, and some other Officers of name who depended upon him.

These two places having given but a very little stop to the progress of the Royal Arms, and his Majesty still pursuing the Chase of Victory, he resolv'd to lay Siege to *Montpellier*; a design of so high a nature, as requir'd the condition of the place should be exactly, and maturely consider'd, before they ought to come to a determinate resolution. It had in one year been fortified to a miracle, even in the opinion of those who were best read in Fortification; which if it had not been, the defects of the place would notwithstanding have been sufficiently recompens'd in the Valour of the Governour, that had been very considerable in an open Village. It was the *Sieur de Calonges* of whom I speak, a Gentleman equally to be esteem'd for his wit, and bravery; qualities that made him look'd upon so long, as he liv'd, for an extraordinary person in his own Province, whither he at last retir'd himself, as full of honour, as empty of ambition, to end his days, after having perform'd many signal Services for his Prince, by dying to expiate the glorious fault he committed against his Majesty in his gallant behaviour at this Siege. The Duke of *Espernon* having long been acquainted with this Gentlemans vertues, who had formerly out of his own affection ty'd himself to his Service, and even in his disgraces paid him a respect at Court above all other great men of the Kingdom, gave such a Character of him to the King, as prov'd too true in the revolution of this Siege.

The Constable *de l' Esdiguieres*, by the prerogative of his place, having the principal command of the Army, would (with good Title) go to view the place, and the Duke, who disputed nothing with him, but who also receiv'd no more orders from him now he was Constable, than when he was only *Mareschal General de Camp*, was also commanded by the King to do the same. The Constable went out first, accompanied with a strong party of Horse, as the Duke also was with some Gentlemen: but he forgot not to take his Guards along, who prov'd very serviceable to him, and also to the Constable in this occasion.

The Duke of *Espernon* had not advanc'd far in order to his discovery, before he was fir'd upon by some Musqueteers of the City
planted

planted in the hedges, in which Volley the *Count de Maillé* who was talking with him, receiv'd a Musquet-shot in the face, which put him in great danger of his life: some others were also hurt, and the mischief would have been greater, had not the Duke commanded *la Roche* the Lieutenant of his Guard with his Companies, to alight, and beat the Enemy from their Post; which he having without much difficulty perform'd, and the Duke conceiving that *Monsieur de l' Esdiguieres* would meet with the same entertainment, he dispatch'd away *la Roche* to do the same Service for him, if occasion should require. Neither could he have arriv'd in a better time, for the Constable having taken no Foot with him (as the Duke had very well observ'd) the Horse that attended him, at the rattle of the Musquet-shot, began to face about, the craggy, and difficult passes not permitting them to come up to charge the Enemy, who in great security fir'd very thick upon them; insomuch that the Constable, abandon'd by his men, would perhaps have been himself oblig'd shamefully to retire, had not the Duke's Guards come opportunely in to clear his way. But meeting, after this little brush with no further opposition, he soon after joyn'd himself with the Duke near *Pont Juvenel*, where they both alighted, and where after the Duke had a little rallied him about his disorder, they continued a great while in consultation to consider a Plot of the place presented before them, and went afterwards together to the King's Quarter to make their report.

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Immediately upon their return, the King call'd a Council of War, to resolve upon the manner of carrying on the Siege, where the Duke did not only propose, but did moreover with many powerful Arguments maintain, that they were especially to possess themselves of the Hill *Saint Denis*; an eminence near the City, from whence the inside of all their Fortifications were so easily discover'd, that it was impossible (that post being well secur'd, and furnish'd with good Artillery) for the Enemy, either to go from the Town, to the defence of their out-works, or to remain secure within. But this prudent advice, that being follow'd had infallibly made the King, within fifteen days, master of the place, and sav'd the lives of as many persons of Quality, and Valour; as ever his Majesty lost in any one Enterprize of this kind, was contradicted by *Chabans*, the same that has been mention'd before in the Queen Mothers Affair. This man had, during the time of the Duke *de Luines* his favour, obtain'd some employment at Court, where, being a man of sense, and very well read in the business of the time, he had rais'd himself very considerable

A prudent counsel of the Duke of Espernon, which, not being follow'd, cost the lives of a great many very brave men.

Anno friends to support him : So that those who were enemies to the
 1622. Duke (which were ever a very sufficient number) prompted *Chabans* to dispute his opinion in the Council, not considering the King's Service, and Interest, when they came in competition with the injury, and affront they intended against the Duke; which *Chabans* so effectually perform'd, as to cause a determination quite contrary to what the Duke had advis'd, to be resolv'd upon. A thing I observ'd the Duke at his return from the Council very much nettled at, and heard him give *Chabans* some very bitter language about it : but the oversight was already committed, and the more unhappily, by how much it was never to be repair'd : of so great importance it is to husband the opportunities of War, where a moment's neglect draws after it an irreparable loss.

Immediately upon the breaking up of the Council, they fell to work on all hands to advance the Siege. The Trenches were opened, when those within soon perceiving of how great importance the foremention'd eminence was to their common conservation, they there cast up a little Work, and left some Souldiers to Guard it. Which Guard was no sooner planted there, but that our Commanders eyes being opened, they saw the error they had committed in not possessing themselves of that Post whilst it might have been done without any opposition. They therefore now resolv'd to force it, and succeeded in the attempt; for assaulting it by night, and the besieg'd not daring to sally out of the Town in the dark to relieve their men, they suffer'd it to be taken, the Guards giving our Souldiers leave to make themselves masters of their Works, almost without any resistance : But (as it often falls out) the facility of this little Victory having made our people as negligent to its conservation, as if it never ought more to be disputed with them, they took no care at all to perfect the Works, that to their hands had already been begun : Neither was this the sole over-sight was committed in this Affair; for the Duke of *Espernon* (as true in his predictions, as unhappy in prevailing with these good counsels his long experience suggested to him) had advis'd that a sufficient Guard of Horse should be planted near to the Fort, to beat back any that should dare to sally out of the Town, to drive our men from their post. He knew very well that the enemy had few, or no Horse, and that therefore they durst not without infinite danger hazard their Foot to come to us, the space between being large enough to give our Cavalry room to come to charge, and to cut them in pieces before they could come to the Fort that we kept; and *Calonge* has since confess'd to me, that had his counsel been follow'd, he should never have

have dar'd to sally out, it being not to be done without manifest ruine, and that consequently within ten dayes he must have been necessitated to a surrender : but this second advice was rejected as well as the first, through the opposition of some who car'd not to overthrow the King's Affairs, provided they could thereby discredit the Duke's conduct, or traverse his designs.

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Another prudent advice of the Duke of Espernon's; rejected.

All these over-sights of ours being taken notice of by *Calonges*, he would no longer defer to re-possess himself of what had been taken from him ; especially considering, that he could not otherwise preserve the place ; to render therefore his action more illustrious by the light, and to put a greater infamy upon our confusion, he sallied out at high noon, at the head of five hundred Foot, seven and twenty Cuirassiers, fourteen Carabins, and two Trumpets : with which small party he fell so vigorously upon the Fort, that it was abandoned to him with little or no resistance. The noise of this sally at so unexpected an hour, and the place where the action was perform'd (by its height expos'd to the view of the whole Army) soon call'd all the King's Forces to the relief of their Friends ; insomuch that many Lords of very great quality, and a great number of Gentlemen, who hapned to be at that time in the King's Lodgings, mounted upon little pad Nags, most of them without Boots, or other Arms than their Swords, to signalize their Valour in the sight of their Prince, who was himself Spectator of the Action. Of these the Duke of *Fronsac*, a young Prince of great expectation was one, the Duke of *Montmorency* another, the Marquis de *Beuuron*, *Hicquetot* (Lieutenant of the Gendarmes to the Prince) *Cambalet*, *Fabregues*, with many other Gentlemen of note ; of all which not one escap'd, excepting the Duke of *Montmorency* ; and he with two thrusts of a Pike in his Breast : so that this unfortunate succour serving only to augment our loss, and to condemn those who had contradicted the Duke's opinion, he receiv'd, to his great grief, a publick reparation, which he could have been heartily glad to have fail'd of, rather than it should have been purchas'd at the price of so much noble Blood, and so notable a disadvantage to the Royal Armes. *Le Plessis Baussonniere*, *Mareschal de Battaille* of the King's Armes, bravely fighting escap'd in this first occasion, though he was therein desperately engag'd : but he was not so fortunate in another that follow'd soon after, at the storming a Half-moon ; where after having given his orders for the assault, and put himself (as his custom was) in the head of the Assailants, encouraging as well by his example as his voice those he led on to fight, he lost an eye by a Musquet-shot, which soon after occasion'd the loss of his life.

After

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The Peace
concluded
before
Montpellier.

After so much blood spilt, the difficulties of the Siege daily encreasing, the Duke *de Rohan* was glad to make use of a juncture, wherein his party had some little advantage, to procure a more favourable Peace; which was accordingly sign'd before *Montpellier* the 22 of *October*, 1622. and *Calonges* surrendred up the place into his Majesties hands; who if he had by his Courage won himself a great reputation in the Siege, he obtain'd no less by his ingenuity in the handsome manner of his submission to the King.

The day after the Peace was concluded, the King made his entry into the City, when after his Majesty had taken order for the defense of the Town, he took the way to *Paris* by *Provence*, *Avignon*, *Dauphiné*, and *Lionnois*; so that the Duke of *Espernon*, who never parted from him in all this Journey, attended his Majesty into his old Government of *Provence*. There had formerly been (as you may have observ'd) various dispositions towards the Duke in that Countrey, as well friends as enemies; but time (which is the sovereign cure of all untoward passions) had reconcil'd them all by this time to one sense. All Animosities were now converted into a general esteem of his Vertue; insomuch that I have not observ'd him to have a greater reputation in any Province of the Kingdom, nor to be any where receiv'd with greater respect and applause. All mischiefs whether publick or particular, occasion'd by the former War, were buried in oblivion, and the people, after having seen the King, enquir'd aloud for the Duke of *Espernon*; which his Majesty taking notice of, fail'd not so often as he met a crowd upon the way, to shew them the Duke they were so inquisitive after, and when asking them some pleasant questions, about their past disorders, even their former miseries were at this time turn'd into delight.

The King
returns to-
wards *Paris*.

The King at his departure out of *Provence*, pass'd by *Avignon*, where his Majesty was visited by the Duke of *Savoy*. This Prince seeing almost none of the old Court, save the Duke of *Espernon* (for whom he had ever had a very great esteem, though he had been notably disappointed by him in all his designs upon *France*, as has been said before) was particularly, and infinitely civil to him. He came very frequently to his Lodgings, ever carrying himself with great familiarity, and very obliging fashion, living in the King of *France* his Court with as much liberty and freedom, as he had been all the while in his own. His aspect, which was gracious, open, and full of Majesty, giving evidences (though under a very moderate stature) of the great and generous soul he was really master of.

From *Avignon* his Majesty pass'd through *Dauphiné*, where arriving

riving about the end of the year, he there found the Queens, who by his order were thither come to attend him. And here it was that the Duke of *Espernon* receiv'd a new honour in the person of the Marquis *de la Valette* his Son, and which he prefer'd, with good reason, before all the rest he had hitherto receiv'd from his Majesties bounty. The King had a little before (as you have heard) honour'd him with the Government of *Guienne*, had by his Grace and bounty establish'd, and confirm'd him in all the Offices, and Dignities, he had been invest'd withal, as the rewards of his Service: but now for the Crown of all his Favours, the King would yet honour him with his Alliance, and make him Father-in-law to *Gabrielle* a legitimated Daughter of *France*, one of his own natural Sisters, being Daughter to *Henry* the Great, by the Marquise *de Verneuil*, and half Sister to Monsieur *de Metz*. This young Princess exceeding fair, and as finely bred as any person of her condition in the Kingdom, had been the ambition of most of the great men of the Court: but the Duke of *Espernon* was prefer'd before all. The Queens had brought her along with them to *Lyons*, and her inclination, as well as her duty, having ty'd her particularly to the Queen, the excellency of her Wit, and Nature, the most acceptable, the sweetest, and most accomplish'd of her time, having acquir'd her a very good share in this Princess affection, she stood doubtless at that time possess'd of the highest place in her Majesties favour.

So many advantageous conditions, and so many admirable qualities having rendred this Lady one of the most considerable matches in *France*, his Majesty would yet make her overweight, by giving her himself two hundred thousand Crowns in Dowry; assigning her the County of *Senlis* (a Member of his Crown Lands) to enter upon for payment of part of the summe; to which the Marquise *de Verneuil* her Mother added a hundred thousand more. The Ceremony of this Marriage was perform'd in the Marquis *de Saint-Cbaumont*'s House, the Kings Lieutenant in the Government of *Lionnois*; but the Magnificences at the Duke's own Lodgings, where the Feast was honour'd with the presence of the King, both the Queens, and all the great persons of the Court. From such an illustrious Marriage what could be expected less than what we now see? a Son, and a Daughter Inheritors of their Mothers Vertue, and good Qualities, as imitators of the Fathers, and Grandfathers Bravery, and Wisdom; whose youth is in so great esteem with all the Court, that if the Courage, and Merit of the Son (which have already been signaliz'd in many honourable occasions) have got him a reputation through-

Anno
1622.

The King comes to *Lyons*, where the Marriage is celebrated betwixt the Duke *de la Valette*, and *Mad. moi-selle de Ver-neuil*.

Anno throughout all *France* ; the Daughter (who was nothing inferior in all the qualities becoming her Sex) has obtain'd an equal share of opinion with all that knew her : but the world was unworthy to possess her long , and the Solitude she made choice of amongst the Carmelites has manifested to us , that nothing but God alone could be the object of so elevated a mind , and so devout a spirit.

The end of the Second Part.

T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
OF THE
Duke of ESPERNON,
THE
GREAT FAVOURITE
OF
FRANCE.

ENGLISHED BY
CHARLES COTTON, Esq;

The Third Part.

*Vivos interdum Fortuna, sepe invidia, fatigat: ubi anima Natura cessit,
demptis obreſtationibus ipſa ſe Virtus, magis, magisque extollit. Saluſt.
de Rep. ord. Orat. 2.*

LONDON,
Printed for Henry Brome, MDCLXX.



THE
 HISTORY
 Of the LIFE of the
 Duke of Espernon.

THE THIRD PART.

The Ninth Book.



WE are now entering upon the third, and last part of the life of the Duke of *Espernon*; and if in the preceding two you have met with great Actions, you will meet no fewer here, though perhaps not altogether so shining as the first. He had much to do, and no little to suffer; his Government of a vast extent, and fruitful in Novelty, would never suffer him to be long at rest; and the hatred of the great Minister Cardinal *Richelieu* gave him now occasion as amply to manifest his constancy, as he had before in more favourable occurrences manifested his other Vertues; as you shall see in the pursuit of his History.

Anno
 1623.

Soon after the accomplishment of the Marriage of his Son the Marquis de la *Valette*, their Majesties took their way towards *Paris*; when the Duke of *Espernon* having left the new married

H h h

couple

Anno 1623. *The Duke of Espernon, goes towards Guienne.* couple, together with his Son the Cardinal *de la Valette*, to attend the Court, took his leave of the King, to retire into his own Government. In which Journey it was necessary for him to pass through *Angoumois*, to take order for the transportation of his Furniture, Arms, and Equipage, in the Castle of *Angoulesme*; which he had there in so great quantity, as requir'd no little time, nor no few hands to remove them: though he found it a greater trouble to part with the Friends and Servants he had in that Countrey; it being hardly possible to see in any particular Family, upon the saddest occasion, so many real tears, as were shed by the people in general at this separation.

From *Angoulesme* he went to *Coignac*, and from thence to *Xaintes*, which was yet one of the principal Cities of his Government, and where he had too dear a concern not to give her a visit before his departure. And this was *Margarite de Foix*, Abbess of *Xaintes*, a Virgin illustrious for her Sanctity, and Vertue, and in so great a repute amongst the Sisters of her Order, that her example serves to this day for a Model to all those who aim at perfection in that way of devout living.

The beginning of the ill intelligence betwixt the Duke, and the first President *de Gourgues*.

The Duke, before he departed from this place, would first return an answer to a Letter he had receiv'd a few days before from *Marc Antonie de Gourgues*, first President of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*. The Father of this man had had several very profitable employments under the *Mareschal de Matignon*, in the time of his being the King's Lieutenant General in *Guienne*, which had enrich'd him so, as that he had provided very plentifully for his posterity; of which this *Marc Antonie* being his eldest Son, he had by the help of the wealth his Father left him, advanc'd himself to some publick employments, and being a man of notable wit, and understanding, his parts, together with his fortune, recommended him so as to be receiv'd into the Family of *Seguieres*, a Daughter of which he married, Sister to the Chancellor of *France* now being, who in those days went by the name of *Autry*; and in the end through the interest of his Wives Relations was preferr'd to the Dignity of first President in his Countrey. This *Gourgues* in the time of his being at Court had made great professions of particular honour and service to the Duke of *Espernon*, who also either out of respect to his Allies, or to himself, had given him reciprocal testimonies of no ordinary affection: So that this kindness having pass'd beforehand betwixt them, the Duke expected that at his coming into his Government, he should meet with a sincere friend at the head of the most illustrious Body of the Province, whose mediation in occurrences, that might happen, would be

be able to qualifie many little discontents, that the jealousie of Authority usually begets in great Commands: but at the sight of this first Letter he was of a contrary opinion, from which those divisions sprung betwixt him and the Parliament, that hardly ended, but with the Duke's death; though they were begun even before he was receiv'd into his Administration.

Anno

1623.

Which begets that betwixt the Duke and the Parliament.

The Letter of which I am speaking, after having treated of some Affairs of little importance, that respected the general concern of the Province, gave the Duke at last plainly to understand: "That a difficulty having been started in the Parliament about the manner of his reception, they had determin'd to moderate the excessive honours had formerly been paid to the Sons of France, or the first Princes of the Blood, who had been Governours of the Province, in going to receive them in their Scarlet Robes; a punctilio that though it was true, it had been wav'd in deference to the Duke of *Mayenne*, it had nevertheless been done meerly out of respect to the high favour wherein he was, when advanc'd to the Government of *Guienne*: but that at this time they were resolv'd to be more reserv'd. I never in my life saw the Duke more surpriz'd, than at this news, who, jealous of his Honour and Dignity to the highest degree, would rather never have enter'd *Bordeaux*, than to suffer the least diminution of what had been granted to the Duke of *Mayenne*. He therefore return'd an answer to this Letter, dated the 27. of *January* 1623. wherein after having briefly answer'd what concern'd the general Affairs, he insisted with great vehemency upon the denial of those honours had been paid to his Predecessor; telling him amongst other things: "That if they had never appear'd in their Scarlet Robes, but in honour of the Sons of *France*, or the Princes of the Blood, he so well understood the respect due to them, as they were in a capacity of succeeding to the Crown, as not to desire a new example in his favour; but that he had not the same consideration for others. The whole Letter being writ with his own hand, he commanded me to take a Copy of it, from whence I have taken the very words I present you here.

The Duke, not yet satisfied with delivering his sense of this Affair in writing, would moreover dispatch away *Constantin* the Comptroller of his House to *Bordeaux* to communicate his resolution to several Members of that Parliament, who were his particular friends; wherein he succeeded according to his own desire, and his reception was concluded in the same form his Predecessors had been receiv'd, some of the Company totally disowning all the first President had writ concerning this business:

Anno
1623.

by which the Duke having just reason to believe him the Author of this scruple, he conceiv'd he had a mind to oblige the Society at the price of his Friends Honour : so that being offended to the last degree, that he should so much as bring a thing into dispute, thas was his apparent due ; he from thenceforward entertain'd very sinister impressions of his friendship : neither was it long before he made him sensible of it.

The Duke
arrives in
Guicme.

Whilst these things were in agitation, the Duke was still advancing towards *Cadillac*, where he intended at leisure, from the Parliaments proceedings to take his measures, what he was to do about his entry into *Bordeaux*. He was here visited by all the Nobility of the Province, by several of the Parliament men in particular, and by an infinite conflux of Gentry, who came to attend him at his entry, which was concluded to be upon the last of *February* 1623. Whilst he here waited in expectation of the appointed day, he dispos'd of the Governments of those places committed to his charge; whereof that of *Chasteau-Trompette* was given to *Plessis*, *Nerac* to the *Count de Maillé*: but *Bergerac*, which was a command of the greatest profit, and the most important place, was put into the hands of the *Chevalier de la Valette*, the Duke's natural Son, who by his bravery had infinitely gain'd upon his love and opinion. The King had besides these places, moreover assign'd him two Regiments in constant pay, viz. That of the said *Chevalier de la Valette*, and that of *Castelbayart*, together with his Company of *Gens-d'Armes*; so that his Authority supported by these Forces, was much more considerable, than any of his Predecessors had ever been.

The Duke's
reception at
Bordeaux.

* *Jurats de
Bordeaux*
are the same
with the
Sheriff in
other Cities

The Duke, having thus settled the Governments of these places, would now no longer defer his entry, but came to *Frans*, a house belonging to a private Gentleman, about half a League only distant from the City, and upon the Banks of the River *Garonne*; where the * *Jurats* of *Bordeaux* came to receive him in a Boat they had prepar'd for that purpose. He was by them convey'd by water to a place call'd *Port du Caillau*, where he was met without the Gate, by all the Companies of the Town, excepting the Parliament, who in their Scarlet Robes receiv'd him at the entry of the City. I shall not here undertake to describe every circumstance of this Ceremony, nor the Magnificence, respect, or applause observable in the solemnity of this reception; it being sufficient to say, that therein nothing was omitted, or diminished of what had formerly been paid to his illustrious Predecessors, and that the old affection, both the City, and Province had for his Person, and Name, produc'd a greater, and more general joy

joy at his arrival, than had amongst that great people been observ'd of many years before.

There was only the *Mareschal de Themines*, the King's Lieutenant in the Province, who neither paid him honour, nor civility, either by Letter, or Visit, a man, who although he had ever till this time had the Duke's persion, and friendship in very high esteem; yet having been constituted the King's Lieutenant in that Province, sometime before the Duke was promoted to the Government, he could not without infinite impatience see himself absolutely depriv'd of all the functions of his Command. He knew very well the Duke would be so active on his part, that very little would be left for him to do; whereas he pretended this Lieutenantcy had been conferr'd upon him with a promise, that if a Governour should happen to be set over him, it should be no other than a Prince of the Blood, who should never continue upon the place, and that consequently, by his absence, would leave him the absolute command of the Province: and in truth the *Mareschals, de Matignon, and d'Ornano*, had formerly enjoy'd it after that manner: so that the seeing himself by this usage defeated of that expectation, was, as he himself declar'd, the subject of his discontent.

The Duke was very much surpriz'd at this proceeding; he had, as there was just cause, ever had the *Mareschal* in very high esteem, and could have been glad he would by gentle means have been reconcil'd to his duty, that he might not have been oblig'd to make use of those remedies the authority of his Command put into his hands: which that he might not do, he consented that some who were friends to them both should treat with him about a better understanding betwixt them; he being unwilling, what provocation soever he had, to have recourse to violence: wherein perhaps he was more temperate, than ever in his life before: but in the end, seeing his patience serv'd only to make the *Mareschal* more obstinate in his unkindness, laying aside all those considerations that had hitherto withheld him, he would no longer defer to make him sensible of the difference betwixt a Governour and a Lieutenant of *Guienne*. He therefore began imperiously to cancel and overthrow all his Orders. A *Consul* of *Agen*, who had been created so at his recommendation, was displac'd by the Duke's command, for no other reason, but because he had been preferr'd at his request; such of the Gentry, or the People, as were known to be affectionate to the *Mareschal* were certain to obtain little favour with the Governour: if any order was presented him sign'd by the *Mareschal*, he would presently issue out another to supersede

Anno

1623.

A difference betwixt the Duke, and the *Mareschal de Themines*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Guienne*.

Anno sede the first; whatever carried the name of *Themines*, was invalid, and whatever he own'd as his act must signifie nothing at all.

1623.



* Or chief Jurisdiction.

And moreover to let him see he had the same Authority over him in his own particular Countrey, he had in other places; the Duke prepar'd himself to go to *Cahors*, whither the *Mareschal* was retir'd, and accordingly went. The *Mareschal's* House stood near this City, he was moreover invest'd with the * *Seneschalsy* of the Countrey, his chiefest Relations, Friends, and Acquaintance inhabited there: notwithstanding all which, at the Duke's arrival the *Mareschal* quitted him the place, and retir'd to his own house; where seeing himself as it were shut up, without Reputation, without Authority, and almost without Friends, he began, though something with the latest, to see the error he had committed. He then plainly saw himself so overmatch'd, that he could not contend, but to his ruine; nor longer stand out to other purpose, than thereby to make the advantages of his Superior more manifestly appear; and then it was that he rendred himself more facile to his friends persuasions, who had before been fruitlessly importunate with him, to reconcile himself to his Duty, to acknowledge the Duke's Authority, and to seek his friendship. He therefore sent to the Duke to make an Apology for what had pass'd, and to let him know, that if he had hitherto fail'd of paying the respect due to his Quality, and Command, it had not proceeded from any dislike he had of his person, which he had in as high reverence, and esteem, as any man living; and that he should have look'd upon it as a very great honour to obey him, had not the sweetness of some years Authority wherein he had commanded in Chief, and the assurances had been given him he should do so still, blinded his Judgment from seeing his duty: That he did therefore beseech him, he might be permitted to come tender his excuses for what had pass'd, and to assure him of his obedience for the time to come. The Duke was very well pleas'd to find this Lord, a man full of years, and honour, in so good a disposition; neither had he begun to juggle him, till after having expected the return of his good humour with the extremest patience; so that he sent him word he should be infinitely glad to see him, and that he might be confident for the future of as civil usage, as he had hitherto found rough, and perverse dealing in the exercise of his Command.

An Accommodation betwixt the Duke and the *Mareschal* *Themines*.

A day for their interview being agreed upon by their friends, the Duke would by no means suffer it to be in the Capital City of his Government, being unwilling to expose the Age, and Person of the *Mareschal* to so publick a satisfaction; but appointed it to be


be at *Saint-Foy*, whither he himself accordingly came, accompanied with many persons of Quality of the Province; thither the *Mareschal* also came to wait upon him, when coming into the Duke's Lodgings, he receiv'd him without stirring out of his Chamber, for which he made his being surpriz'd at Play his excuse. It had been concluded that the *Mareschal* at their meeting should say (as he did) "My Lord, I am your very humble Servant, and am come to give you an assurance that I am so, and that I shall be proud of any opportunity wherein I may by a better testimony manifest it to you, and therein satisfy the King's Command, and my own Duty. To which the Duke return'd for answer in as few words, which had also been set down in writing: "Sir, you oblige me with your Friendship; you and I are both of us in a capacity of advancing his Majesties Service in this Province; I shall gladly concur with you in any thing that may be conducing to it, and embrace any occasion wherein I may let you see, that I have ever had an esteem for your Valour, and Merit, and that I am your Servant. This first visit continued but very little longer, when the *Mareschal* taking his leave, the Duke brought him only to the top of the stairs, without going any further, by which he would let him see, that he both understood his place, and knew how to keep it.

The *Mareschal*, having after this first complement, continued two days at *Saint-Foy* in perfect intelligence with the Duke, at last frankly told him: "That he had us'd him according to his desert; that he had made him know his duty; and that he took it for a greater honour to be subservient to him, than to any other person of France. And in truth he afterwards continued, both whilst he staid in the Government, and when he was made Governour of *Brittany* (which hapned a few years after) to render him so much honour, and respect, and to give him so many testimonies of friendship, that I do not think the Duke had a truer friend in the Kingdom. Yet did not all this pass in the order it is here set down, there having been some years of interval, betwixt their coldness, and their reconciliation: But I chose rather to record these passages all together, than to disperse them into several pages of my History; conceiving such a division would more have intangled the thred of my discourse, than would have been recompens'd by the order, in a more exact observation of the succession of time.

This Quarrel with the *Mareschal de Themines* was not yet compos'd, when the Duke (who had never enough to do) resolv'd to come to an open rupture with the first President *de Gourgues*, without dissembling any longer his resentment of the ill Offices he had receiv'd at his hands. I have already given an account of the

The Duke comes to an open rupture with the first President.

Anno
1623.

Anno 1623.  the Injury, which was the Presidents proposing a diminution of Honours at the Duke's reception; a thing that, bearing with it a shew of contempt, pass'd in the Duke's opinion for an irreparable offense. Neither could he forbear at his first visit, to give him some hints of his displeasure, nor from manifesting a little reservedness towards him: and (as heated spirits never want occasion of new offense) his passion making the lightest pretenses; to pass for reason, and just causes, there soon after fell out new accidents, which animated the Duke against the first President to the last degree. This man, subtle and dextrous as the best, very well foreseeing, that without the concurrence of his Brethren, he should never be able to withstand the power of the Duke he had so highly provok'd, began betimes to think of interesting his Fraternity in the Quarrel, to the end that under the protection of the whole Body, he might the better defend his own particular interest. Neither did he herein fail to use some artifice, which he manag'd so, that in putting sinister interpretations upon the Duke's best intentions, he possess'd the whole Company with a jealousy, that the Duke labour'd to encroach upon the Authority of their Estate: A part wherein all Societies of men are so sensible, and tender, as that from the least shadows, the highest divisions are very frequently observ'd to arise. And here, though the Duke labour'd to clear their suspicion, by laying the truth before them; yet the first impressions were so deep, and the President knew so well how to manage their mis-apprehension, that it was impossible to dis-unite him from his Colleagues.

Who engages the company in his quarrel.

The Duke exasperated, as he had just cause, at the misunderstanding *Gourgues* fomented betwixt the Parliament and him, would not give him altogether the advantage of an Aggressor; but speedily sought out all occasions to vex him, and to assault him both in his Reputation and Fortune. He was therefore by his order disputed with about some priviledges, he pretended to, and usurp'd (as was said) to the prejudice of the City of *Libourne*, near unto which he had a dwelling house: but he gave him a more sensible blow, by prohibiting the Post-Master of *Bordeaux* in his absence any more to carry the Couriers, that came through the City, to the first Presidents house, though for some time it had been their custom so to do; pretending that it was without any right at all, and that consequently he might by his Authority overthrow that custom, as a new thing, and that depended absolutely upon his Command. It is most certain, that had matters rested here, the President would have receiv'd a notable affront; his most intimate friends having generally blam'd him,

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for applyi ng himself much more to Politick, than to Judicial Affairs, and for that by doing more, than he was concern'd to do in the one, he left himself no leisure to perform what he was oblig'd to do in the other. Anno
1623.

The first President being a crafty man, as has been said, dextrously taking hold of this occasion, as suddenly remonstrated to the Company: "That if in this Affair, as in the other of *Libourne*, there had been nothing, but what pointed at his own private interest, he should not have been concern'd in the least; but that it aim'd directly at the honour, and dignity of the whole Body, of which he was much more tender, than of any concern of his own. That the dispatch of the Posts did no more respect him in particular, than the other Officers of Parliament, he having therein only the priviledge of priority, without having any power limited to his person: That in his absence, he who was next in order in the Company, had the same right to examine the Couriers, to enquire of their news, and to dismiss them: That therefore since the Injury was common to them all, and that the Duke made it manifest enough, he endeavour'd to destroy the Authority of Parliament, it was necessary they should unanimously concur with him in the support of their own Dignity and Power: That if they did not vigorously oppose this first attempt upon them, they would see themselves insensibly depriv'd of all their Priviledges; and that the Sovereign Authority, they were invested withal, would in the end be less considerable, than that of their subalternate Judges: That though in this Affair he was meerly animated by the common interest, he nevertheless freely offer'd himself alone, to stand the shock of the Duke's utmost Indignation; wherein though he should perish, and be crush'd under the weight of his Power, he should nevertheless be proud of so glorious a Fate, as to be sacrific'd for the honour of that Assembly.

It is not to be imagin'd how strange an impression this Harangue made upon the minds of this Fraternity, the whole body almost being thereby betray'd into the Animosity of their head, some few only of the eldest, and most affectionate to the Duke, endeavour'd to qualifie the heat of this dispute, but in vain; it being impossible for them to stop the violence of the Torrent: so that the Duke, who thought he had only one enemy to deal withal, found above an hundred rais'd up in mutiny against him. Nay their impatience was such, that they would not defer a moment the passing of an Act, at that very sitting, in opposition to the command he had given concerning the Couriers: it is indeed

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true, that there was after some propositions of Accommodation tendred: but after this Thunder-clap from the Parliament, the Duke was deaf to all overtures of agreement, his invincible spirit, that had ever been inflexible in all the undertakings of his life, suggesting to him, that it would be an eternal blemish to his honour, should he in the least moderate his first resentment, for all the great number of enemies that were declar'd against him.

The beginnings of this Feud were so light, and trivial in themselves, that I should not have been so particular in the relation of them, had they not brought on those greater disputes, that since hapned betwixt the Duke, and this Parliament: and this is so unwilling a Record, that I could heartily wish all that is further to be said of this Affair, might be totally raz'd out of the Duke's life, that the memory thereof might for ever be extinct. Neither the Parliament, nor he got any advantage by it: the publick was the greatest loser, as it will ever fall out in such dissentions.

The Duke
settles his
Domestick
Affairs.

The Duke of *Espernon's* mind was not so wholly taken up with these divisions, but that he had a care of the settlement of his own Domestick Affairs, which the Queen Mothers escape from *Blois*, the War that succeeded, the several expeditions he afterwards undertook for the King's Service, and his chargeable Journeys whilst he attended the Court, had brought into very great disorder. He was at this time above seven hundred thousand Livers in debt, that he had taken up at *Paris* upon a Rent-Charge; which one of his Domesticks, that had been brought up in his Family, undertook to acquit him of, shew'd him which way it was to be done, and perform'd what he had undertaken: and this was the foremention'd *Constantin*, Comptroller of his House; who as he could by no better way express his Gratitude to his Benefactor, than by doing him so important a piece of Service, he, without any visible diminution of the Duke's ordinary way of living, manag'd the business so, that his Master in a few years had the satisfaction of seeing himself disingag'd from that prodigious Debt. Which, as I have laid, was effected without any other inconvenience than the retrenchment of some superfluous expenses only (which his distance from the Court (where he was resolv'd no more to reside) rendred altogether unnecessary. So great a blessing is an intelligent, and faithful Servant.

But to establish the order which for the future was to be observ'd in reference to this work, the Duke was upon the matter oblig'd to make a Journey to *Paris*, to examine the Accompts of his Agents there; he therefore sent to the King to entreat his Majesty, whilst the peace of the Kingdom, and the good condition

he

he had settled his Government in, rendred his presence less necessary there, to give him leave so to do. His request was easily granted, and he accordingly departed from *Bordeaux* in the latter end of *November 1623.* and came to *Paris* about the end of *December* following. Some have suppos'd he did not so much desire this Journey, for any thing that concern'd his Domestick Affairs, as to see if any benefit was to be made of the Queen Mothers good inclinations towards him, and to try the grateful return she made him to expect for the signal Services he had done her in the time of her disgrace. She was of late years become all in all at Court, and many of her Servants, that had not so well merited from her, as the Duke had done, had receiv'd very great rewards: but he could not perceive the same dispositions towards him, nor discover the gratitude she had promis'd him, when she was in the worst condition to exprels it: on the contrary, as if with her Fortune she had chang'd her Nature, and as if by being become happy, and powerful, she had been no more the same Princess the Duke had so well serv'd, when she was under persecution, and had no power at all: she no more remembered him, she was oblig'd to have recompens'd, by all sorts of benefit and favour.

Anno
1623.
The Duke
of *Espernon*
goes to
Court.

The Duke came to *Paris* so well attended, that of many years before, there had not been seen any person of his condition enter the City with so numerous a Train. Many persons of very eminent quality went out as far as *Chastre* to meet him, and his coming was very remarkable by the solitude was observ'd in the *Louvre*, where there scarce remain'd any, save the King's own Domestick Servants: A thing his Majesty very well observ'd, and was nothing displeas'd at it: but on the contrary, having that day taken notice of some Gentlemen in the Presence, who had dependence upon the Duke, he merrily said to them, *How comes it to pass you are not gone out to meet the Duke of Espernon? he'l talk with you for this when he comes.* So ready his Majesty was to cause that honour to be paid him that was justly his due.

Arrives at
Paris.

He was receiv'd at his coming by the King, and the Queens, with very great kindness; and falling to his business presently after his arrival, *Mauroy* a Councillor of State, and one of his Agents, a man of great vertue, and very good at business, gave him up his Accompts exactly just and right; but *Valliech* his old Secretary having employ'd some people under him, who had either been not very careful, or not very honest, fell short above fifty thousand Livers, which this good Master franckly forgave him, his noble nature, it should seem, not being able to content

Anno
1624.

A generous
act of the
Duke of *Ef-*
pernon.

Anno 1624. that even so great a fault as his negligence should ruine the Affairs of his own Family.

All his Accompts, and the other Affairs that most requir'd his presence at *Paris*, were in less than four months dispatch'd; so that towards the latter end of *April* he began to think of his return into *Guienne*. The Court was then at *Compiègne*, whither the Duke went to receive the King's Commands, supposing this should be the last leave he was to take; and not expecting that his Age, which was now very far advanc'd (he being at this time near upon threescore, and ten years old) would permit him to make another Journey eight years after, as he did in a marvellous health, and vigour.

Whilst the Duke staid at *Compiègne*, the King who would have been very glad to have the mis-understanding betwixt him and the Parliament compos'd, caus'd *d'Herbaut*, Secretary of State, to treat with him about it: wherein the Duke express'd himself very willing to an Accommodation, and so far as to consent to the Act about the Couriers, which was, in his own presence, by the Council determin'd in the Parliaments favour: He was moreover satisfied with the Order the King sent to suspend the Election of the Maire of *Libourne* (which was another main thing in dispute) till his return into the Province: But the first President was not so well dispos'd to peace; he conceiv'd this Accommodation would infinitely lessen the Authority he had got amongst his Brethren during these controversies; and therefore without any regard either to the King's Command, or the Duke's Order precipitated the Election of the Maire, whom the Duke found establish'd at his arrival; from whence arose a new, and higher quarrel than before: So that if in truth the Duke was herein to be condemn'd for having in the beginning prosecuted things with too much heat, the President cannot, in my opinion, be excus'd, for thus urging them to the last extremes, without ever yielding to such a reconciliation, as might, being timely apply'd, have prevented the ensuing mischiefs.

The Duke having thus settled those of his Domestick Affairs, that requir'd his presence at *Paris*, and done his part to provide as well for the future quiet of his Government, departed first from *Compiègne*, and soon after from *Paris* to return into *Guienne*. He would in this Journey take *Espèrnon* in his way, that he might touch at *Chartres*, in order to some Devotions. Whither *Cartier*, whom he had left at Court, to solicit his Affairs in the place of *Valliech*, dispatch'd an express Courier to him to let him know that Cardinal *Richelieu* was since his departure created prime Minister of

The Duke goes from *Paris*.

Cardinal *Richelieu* created chief Minister of State.

of State. I was present when the Duke receiv'd this news, at which he was the more surpriz'd, forasmuch as he had discover'd nothing of that design in the time of his being at Court; though he had been very frequent with the Queen Mother, who had also constrain'd her self to dissemble a little forc'd shew of particularity, and confidence in him; by which he evidently saw he was not upon so good terms with her, as they had a mind to make him believe he was: he notwithstanding said no more at present but this: That the Cardinal was indeed a man of great dexterity; but that he would very much change the face of Affairs, should he long continue at the Helme. Upon the instant he, according to his custom, sent him a Complement upon his new promotion, which doubtless was not very acceptable to the Cardinal, there being scarce any space left at the top of the Letter, and nothing more than, *Your very humble Servant*, subscrib'd at the bottom; a style that he continued a great while, and perhaps too long for the interest of his Affairs, though it was indeed no other than what he ever us'd to all other Cardinals.

After having dispatch'd this Complement, he continued his Journey towards *Guienne*; where he arriv'd in the beginning of *July*, and where the first thing he did after his arrival was to commit the pretended Maire of *Libourne* to prison, he having been advanc'd to that Magistracy in contempt of the King's Order. The first President had herein his hearts desire; neither did he fail to make use of this occasion, to interest the whole Body in the affront, which he said was the greatest violence imaginable upon their Authority; a high Complaint whereof was immediately sent away to the Council. The King though very much dissatisfied with the first President, would not nevertheless absolutely countenance the Duke in the Justice he had executed in his own behalf; but writ to him to set the Prisoner at liberty, though that Letter could not prevail, the Duke pretending to believe that this Command had been procur'd either at the importunity of some of the interested party, or negligently granted, as many times a Letter under the Privy Seal was not hard to obtain. But the Cardinal become now (as has been said) all powerful in Affairs, having undertaken to establish his Majesties absolute Authority (which was in effect the establishment of his own) upon the contempt of this order, caus'd a positive sentence to be pass'd in the Council, bearing date the 12th. of *August*, wherein it was order'd: That the Prisoner should immediately be enlarg'd. By which magisterial proceeding, it was then believ'd, as it was very likely, that the Cardinal would exercise this severity towards the Duke, that his

Anno
1624.

New differences betwixt the Duke of Espernon, and the Parliament of Bordeaux.

The Cardinal Richelieu's opposite to the Duke.

will

Anno will might no more be disputed; not doubting but that after an
1624. example like this all the other great men of the Kingdom would
 acquiesce in his Commands. This Arrest was directed to the
 Chief Justice *d' Autry*, to cause it to be put into speedy execution,
 without so much as forbearing to hear any Reasons the Duke
 could represent to justify the demur he had given to his Majesties
 first Order.

His Sons who were at Court, and *le Pleffis* (whom he had sent
 thither not long before upon several accompts) us'd their utmost
 endeavour, that the sending away of this Arrest, so highly preju-
 dicial to the Duke's Honour, might be some time deferr'd; they
 were vehemently importunate with the Queen Mother, and the
 Cardinal to that purpose; but all to no effect, the Queen in so
 light, though nevertheless so sensible an Affair, totally abandon-
 ing the Duke's Interest, who had so passionately embrac'd hers in
 so important occasions, and the Cardinal being obstinate in his
 resolution, all the favour they could obtain in this business, was
 from *d' Autry* himself, who was perswaded not to produce the
 Order: but it was upon condition the Duke should enlarge the
 Prisoner, as he immediately did, and that too the Court would
 have him understand to be a special Grace. After this manner then
 they began to reward the Duke's, and his Sons Services, they gave
 them things of no moment, for the highest obligations, and most
 current pay: they were continually us'd at this rate, and it is not
 to be believ'd what prejudice these inconsiderable things were to
 the Duke's more important Affairs, nor what encouragement it
 gave little people frequently to offend him. It had therefore been
 to have been wish'd, either that he could have supported these
 affronts in his Administration, with a better temper, or totally
 have retir'd himself out of their way: but his great spirit that had
 never encountred any difficulty it had not overcome, was impati-
 ent to be resisted by men, who as they were single incapable of
 contesting with him, being embodied, would neither relent, nor
 obey.

The Cardinal, stung no doubt, with the Conscience of having
 in so trivial a thing, disoblig'd a man, who had formerly been
 serviceable to him in so many important occasions, would make
 himself Mediator betwixt the Duke and the Parliament, and
 consequently dispatch'd away *Guron* to *Bordeaux* for that end;
 with Instructions that joyntly with *d' Autry*, he should labour an
 Accommodation betwixt them. By *Guron* the Cardinal writ to
 the Duke, that his Journey was absolutely upon his accompt, and
 in his favour, offering withal his Service in this, and in all other
 occasi-

occasions: but these Complements were accompanied with no marks of honour and respect, the Cardinal (doubtless nettled, at the little Ceremony the Duke had observ'd with him in his congratulatory Letter at his promotion to the Ministry) leaving by his example, but a very little space above the first line, and concluding his Letter with only *Your affectionate Servant*. Before *Guron's* arrival the difference had been already compos'd by the mediation of *d'Autry*: but the Duke touch'd to the quick at the ill usage he had receiv'd from Court, was not to be appeas'd with so light a satisfaction; and I have ever thought that the injury he apprehended upon this occasion; was perhaps the first, if not the only motive, that totally alienated his heart from the Cardinal's Interests, which (as you may have observ'd) he once had in as high consideration as his own.

Anno
1624.


The Peace that had been concluded before *Montpellier*, in the year 1622. had hitherto continued the Affairs of the Kingdom in some repose, and though those of the Reform'd Religion express'd great dispositions to a new Commotion, there was as yet no manifest breach; so that men rather liv'd in expectation of fresh Alarms, than in any disorder of open War: When *Soubize*, by an attempt he made upon the King's Shipping at *Blavet*, began first to break the Ice. All the rest of the Party broke into Arms at the same time, and the Duke of *Roban*, who had long been known to be the head of that Faction, infecting all parts of the Kingdom which were affectionate to his cause, with his discontents, stirr'd them into Insurrection, without ever moving from *Sevennes*, and without meeting the least contradiction. A promptitude in his Partizans so much the more to be wondred at, as he commanded a sort of people, whose obedience was only voluntary, and from which every one conceiv'd himself to be dispens'd by all, both Divine, and Humane Laws.

A new War.

Montauban was one of the Cities not only of *Guienne*, but also of the whole Kingdom, that engag'd the deepest in this Revolt, the Inhabitants whereof by having had a Siege rais'd from before their Walls, and by having baffled a Royal Army, even when animated by the presence of the King himself, being elevated to such a degree of Vanity, as to think themselves invincible, and their City a place not to be taken. A presumption that it was nevertheless very necessary should be corrected, and the people by some exemplary Punishment made sensible of their Crimes. It should seem that the Duke of *Espernon* was by his Destiny call'd into *Guienne* only for this end; he had formerly subdu'd the pride of *Rochelle*: neither did the King doubt but that he would be as

The Revolt
of *Montauban*.

successful

Anno 1625.  successful at *Montauban*, and that his Vertue (which had ever been fatal to the Capital Cities of those of the Religion) assisted by his powerful Arms, would also cause his Authority to be acknowledged and obey'd here, as it had done in other places.

He sent order therefore to the Duke to take Arms, and to waite the Countrey all about *Montauban*; in order whereunto (though the King in his own judgment thought it an Enterprize of great difficulty) he notwithstanding allow'd him no more than 3000. men, in three new rais'd Regiments, to wit, that of *St. Croix, d'Ornano, Foncaude, and Maillé*, wherewithal to effect it. He receiv'd a Command withal to make some Leavies; his own Company of *Gens-d'Armes*, and four more of Light Horse were also drawn into the Field for this Expedition. With these Forces he departed from his House *Cadillac*, to advance to *Moissac*, a little Town about four Leagues distant from *Montauban*, the appointed Rendezvous for the Volunteer-Troops, and Gentry; of the latter whereof, the number was so great, that there was an appearance of above six hundred Gentlemen.

The Duke's
Forces.

It was said that there had hardly been seen so great a conflux of Gentry, under any Governour, as frequently attended this, he having never any occasion to mount to Horse, for his Majesties Service, that there was not more complaints of unkindness taken, that they had not been summon'd to their Duty, than excuses made because they did not come.

It will perhaps seem strange, that the Duke's humor inclin'd rather to austerity than sweetness should acquire him so many lovers, and friends; for certainly he was serv'd out of affection, it being impossible that fear could ever have drawn after him so many free, and voluntary persons. Such as have before me reflected upon this observation, have conceiv'd that this universal love was deriv'd from his Justice, of all others the most popular vertue (as in truth the Duke was a man of most unblemish'd equity) or that it might proceed from the infinite number of Employments, Offices, and Benefits he had, dispers'd throughout the whole Province of *Guienne*; wherein there were very few Families of any note, that stood not highly oblig'd, either immediately to him, or to his Interest for some signal favour. To which they have moreover added the generous disposition he had to do all good offices for his Friends, who although he was not apt to be familiar, was nevertheless very civil, constant in his friendships, and always the same; insomuch that one good word from his mouth, or one gracious undissembled look, prevail'd more upon those who receiv'd those petty favours, than the larger promises, and

and more winning behaviour of some others, who in two days would no more know the very man, to whom they had so lately before vow'd the Friendship of their whole lives.

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The Duke came to *Moissac* in *June*, and removed thence towards *Montauban* in the beginning of *July*, with a Commission equally extending as well into *Languedoc*, as *Guienne*, by reason that City, which is situated upon the Confines of both those Provinces, has a great part of its Territory lying in *Languedoc*. He took up his Quarters at *Montleigh*, and *Castelsarrazin*, from whence, as occasion serv'd, advancing with his Forces still nearer the City, he executed the King's Command wherever he went with so much vigour, and severity, that the footsteps of this expedition were to be seen a long time after.


The Coun-
trety about
Montauban
laid waste.

Yet was not this perform'd without great resistance, those of *Montauban* had had early intelligence of the preparations against them; neither had they neglected any thing that might conduce to the defense of their fruits, or to the support of the Reputation they had acquir'd in the preceding War. Besides the great number of warlike Inhabitants, they had within their City, they were moreover reinforc'd with a strong Garrison without, commanded by *Montbrun*, a Gentleman of great Quality in *Dauphiné*, and a man of very great Valour, sent thither for that purpose by the Duke of *Roan*; to which they had also call'd in several of their Neighbours to their assistance; so that the Duke never approach'd their Walls (which notwithstanding he did almost every day) but that there follow'd very smart Engagements, with great loss of men on the Enemies side: In some whereof there were left sometimes 200. sometimes more dead upon the place; wherein certainly the numerous Gentry, that attended the Duke in this expedition, were of infinite great use; for the place being environ'd almost on all sides with Plains of very large extent, and the Enemy having many more, and much better Foot, than the Duke, had not those brave Troops of Horse continually repell'd them, it had been to be fear'd, that Victory would not always have been so partial to the Royal side.

Those of the
Religion
make a vi-
gorous re-
sistance.

The Duke perhaps never expos'd his person more, than in these frequent Engagements; the precincts of the City were so great, that they requir'd above a months time totally to destroy their fruits, of all which time few days pass'd, as has been said, without an Encounter, and in all those Encounters the Duke was ever in person, at the head of his Troops, encouraging his men, not so much by his voice, as by his example.

How great soever the faults of those of *Montauban* might be,

Anno
1625.  it was not nevertheless without great reluctancy, that the Duke executed his Majesties Order upon the fruits of the Countrey with so great severity, and certainly he must have had a very obdurate heart, that would not have been touch'd with compassion at the sight of so many lamentable objects, as were every where to be seen. I remember that from *Pickqueros* (a place famous for having been the King's Quarter during the Siege of *Montauban*, and from whence the whole Plain betwixt the Rivers *Tarn*, and *Vairan* lay open to the view) so soon as the obscurity of the night gave colour to the Fire that had been kindled by day; one might see a thousand Fires at once: the Corn, Fruit-Trees, Vines, and Houses were the Aliments that nourish'd this Flame: a sadder sight I never saw; neither can I imagine that the horrors of War can be represented in a more dreadful form. Yet was not this severity altogether unprofitable, even to those upon whom it was inflicted; I having heard several of them since confess, that nothing so much dispos'd them to the acceptation of Peace, as this austere usage; and they were indeed the first that embrac'd it, and who serv'd for a leading example to the other rebellious Cities of their Party to do the same.

Soubize endeavours to divert the Duke.

While the Duke was thus taken up at *Montauban*, *Soubize* thinking either to divert him from his Enterprize, or to make use of his absence, and the great number of Gentry, who were gone along with him, for the effecting some notable exploit in the lower *Gascony*, was landed with three thousand five hundred Foot, and some few Horse in the Countrey of *Medoc*. This little Countrey, which is almost all the Duke's, environs a great part of the Metropolis of *Bordeaux*, extending it self to the very Gates of the City; many of the richest Inhabitants whereof having possessions there, and *Soubize* having a design to draw from the City a large Contribution, he threatned the Citizens to destroy their Houses and Fruits in the Countrey (of which he thought himself without contradiction the absolute Master) if they did not speedily ransom them with a very considerable Summe. As he himself press'd the City on the one side, he had of another caus'd *Verger Malagnet* a Gentleman of his party, to come ashore at a little point of Land, in the River of *Bordeaux*, that divides the Rivers of *Garonne*, and *Dordogne*, call'd *Bec-Dambe*, hoping by that means to cut off the Commerce of those two Rivers from the City, and by streightning it both by Land, and by Water, the sooner to perswade the Inhabitants to give him his demand.

This design (which was not ill projected, if it had been as well executed) alarm'd both the Parliament, and the people to such a degree

degree, that a greater confusion was hardly any where to be seen: they knew not which way to turn them for their defence; and though they had but too many Forces within themselves to defend their City from the threatned mischief, yet had they no mind to examine their own strength, that they might not be oblig'd to put them to the Test. In this extremity the first President (though upon no very good terms with the Duke, notwithstanding the late Accommodation) made no difficulty to have recourse to him, to implore his Assistance, for this time laying aside all Animosities, and Aversions: but it was only to assume them again, when the Duke had deliver'd him from this fear, as will hereafter appear.

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1625.

At the first intelligence the Duke receiv'd of *Soubize* his landing in *Medoc*, though he could not himself leave the work he had begun, without infinite prejudice to the King's Service; yet would he not omit his care to the preservation of the principal City in his Government. He therefore in all haste dispatch'd away *le Plessis* to *Bordeaux*, to advise with the Parliament what course was to be taken, for the relief of the City, and Countrey, against *Soubize* his attempts; giving him order withal to draw out part of the Garrison of *Bergerac*, and to raise new Forces within his own Territories, to serve himself withal upon this occasion; writing moreover to his Friends and Servants in the Countrey to joyn with him, and to *Toiras* who lay in the Isle of *Ké*; entreating him to advance with all the men he could conveniently draw out of the Regiment of *Champagne*, of which he had the Command. Instructions that were so well observ'd by *le Plessis*, and he so well seconded by the Parliament and *Juratts* (who were very ready to concur in an Affair that so much concern'd their common safety) that all things were in a short time put into a very good Posture: By which means the Duke, without suffering himself to be diverted from the employment he had before *Montauban*, not only frustrated the Enemies design, but also extracted thence the opportunity of obtaining the honour of a second Victory. *Soubize* being shamefully repuls'd, his Forces routed, the few that escap'd the Victors hands, and with much ado, recover'd their Ships, leaving their Dead, Arms, Artillery, and Baggage, as infallible testimonies of a total Defeat.

The War was carried on in all places, so much to the disadvantage of the *Hugonot* Party, that the principal Heads, and best Cities of their party apprehending a continuation of those evils they had already suffer'd, thought fit to sue to the King for Peace. Which was accordingly granted them; but upon conditions far

Anno 1625. *The Peace concluded.* different from those they were us'd to insist upon in former times; *Rochelle* if self not being in this Treaty able to obtain, that they might be freed from the slavery of *Fort-Louis*: but on the contrary, for an augmentation of their grief constrain'd by the Articles to admit of a Chief Justice set over them by the King, oblig'd to slight all their new Fortifications, to receive his Majesty with all due honor, and respect, so oft as he should please to honor them with his Presence, and to keep no more Ships of War in their Haven. The *Rochellers* would never have submitted to these hard Conditions, had not the other Cities of their party, and above all the rest *Montauban* positively declar'd they would no more expose themselves to those Miseries they had suffer'd in the burning up of their Countrey: so that if we will consider the Duke's conduct throughout the whole business, we shall find it more than a little conducing to the general Peace the King granted upon conditions so disadvantageous to his *Hugonot* Subjects.

Anno 1626. But this Peace, to the acceleration of which the Duke had so highly contributed, begot a new War betwixt the Parliament and him; and upon this following accompt. The King's Declaration in favour of the *Hugonots*, was by his Majesty sent to the Duke to cause it to be publish'd, with express order nevertheless not to do it till after those of *Montauban* had accepted the Grace in all due forms of Submission; which were the very words of the Dispatch, dated the 18. of *February*, 1626. But the first President having receiv'd a Copy of the same Declaration, without ever acquainting the Duke, who was come no further than *Cadillac*, caus'd the Peace to be openly proclaim'd, and that with so much precipitation, that he would not forbear so long as till he could hear from *Montauban*, to know whether they had there accepted the Peace or no. This impatience the Duke could not but interpret purposely put on to affront him; 'tis true, that, had no unkindness pass'd betwixt him and the President before, the business was of it self so light, that it might well enough have pass'd without any great notice taken: but the preceding Differences giving him to understand, that it must needs be done out of design, he not only complain'd of it to those Friends he had in the Parliament, but moreover writ about it to Court, and gave the President plainly to understand, that he would no more suffer such Contempts.

A new breach betwixt the Duke and the Parliament of *Bordeaux*.

This proceeding of the first President's was by no means approv'd at Court; it was there look'd upon as an occasion of noise and bustle, maliciously and unseasonably sought, and for which he receiv'd a little rebuke: but this spirit not much delighted with rest, having met with another that was never tir'd out
either

either in War, or Business; it was almost necessary that successive differences should continually arise betwixt them. This at the last proceeded so far, that the publick Peace was therein no little concern'd: the Parliament pass'd many Acts, and the Duke as many Ordinances to contradict those Acts. From Acts, and Ordinances they proceeded to Invectives, and from words to some untoward effects. Some of the Presidents Servants were ill us'd, and himself threatned; whereupon the Palace was shut up, and a cessation of Justice decreed. The Duke's Friends and servants fear'd to fall into the Parliaments hands, and those who were affectionate to the Parliament, were not well us'd by the Governour; many Decrees by reason of the dissention betwixt the two parties remain'd unexecuted, for not being justified by Power, which gives life to Justice. Such as were the most moderate, and best dispos'd of the Company, could not without great grief behold these confusions; but those were not the prevailing part: so that things being every day more and more exasperated, it was infinitely to be fear'd they would in the end shoot up to the last extreme, though they were already grown to a sufficient height.

The King inform'd of this strange confusion, dispatch'd away *Leon Brulart* (one of the Council of State, and a man who, having manifested his prudence in many great employments, had acquir'd himself a great reputation both within, and without the Kingdom) to oppose his Royal Authority to the Torrent of these disorders. This man arriv'd at *Bordeaux*, in the month of *June*, and labour'd with great sincerity, and diligence betwixt the parties till *September* following; but all in vain: his dexterity that had unravell'd many great intricacies, and overcome the greatest difficulties in his former employments, could not be so successful here, the Animosities were too great, and the parties too stiff to admit of any Reconciliation; yet did he well enough discover that the greatest aversions to it were not in the Duke, as he satisfied the Court at his return; to which both parties at last were forc'd to appeal, and to submit unto a severe, and definitive Determination, after they had rejected all rational, and moderate ways.

This Quarrel was on both sides carried on with extraordinary heat, the first President himself was deputed by the Parliament to maintain their cause before the Council; to whom President *du Bernett*, a man of great esteem, and approved wisdom (and then thought very worthy, one day to possess the first place in that Company, as he afterwards did) was also joyn'd. The Duke also on his part dispatch'd away first *le Pleſſis*, and after him

Magnae

Anno
1626.

Which
grows to a
very great
height.

Leon Brulart
sent to *Bor-*
deaux, to la-
bour an Ac-
commoda-
tion.

Wherein he
does not
succeed.

Anno 1626. *Magnac* his Kinsman, a Gentleman of great Courage, of an excellent Wit, and very great Learning. All these Deputies were

The business is refer'd to the Council, who make an Award prejudicial to both parties.

several times heard in open Council, where after having long, and with great reverence pour'd out themselves in eloquent Oration, a Regulation ensu'd, at which both parties were equally displeas'd. And then it was that all the world plainly saw, and chiefly those who were immediately concern'd, that they were not sorry at Court at the continuation of these dissentions; and that the design being already laid to diminish all the Authorities of the Kingdom, to unite them in one single person, they were glad to see them insensibly put their own hands to their own destruction.

A disorder at Court.

These little disorders were not yet fully compos'd, when another of much greater importance began to disclose it self at Court, which occasion'd the death of *Chalais*, and the imprisonment of the Duke, and the Grand Prior of *Vandosme*. They would also have involv'd the Duke *de la Valette*, who at this time retir'd to *Metz*, in this Affair; and to that end tempted him by *la Louviere*, the Confident of *Chalais*, to receive the Duke of *Orleans* into that City: but they had to do with a man so well fortified in his Duty to his Prince, that all *la Louviere* could obtain of the Duke was only a civil repulse in these terms: "That the place was none of his: That he was only a substitute to the Duke his Father: That he was therefore to apply himself to him, and that for his part he should do whatever his Father would please to command him. He could not have serv'd the King more faithfully, than by retaining this respect to the Duke his Father, whose principles he knew to be perfectly Loyal, and himself inseparably ty'd to his Majesties Service; yet was not the Court satisfi'd with this proceeding: but the Duke, who had also been tamper'd withal from the same part, through the Negotiation of the Abbot *d' Aubazine*, by the candour of his deportment, so clearly justified their common intentions, that both the one and the other had all the satisfaction they could themselves desire. Yet was this satisfaction in words only, and the Duke was notwithstanding very ill us'd in several occasions; of which ill usage he could not forbear highly to complain: neither in his complaints were the Queen Mother, as powerful as she was, nor the Cardinal himself excepted: The hard measure he receiv'd under their Administration being so much the more sensible to him, by how much he had infinite reasons (as may be gather'd out of the former passages) to expect they should have been altogether partial to his Interests: but though his great and advantageous services had been so lately perform'd, the memory of them was notwith-

notwithstanding totally worn out, and the Cardinal was already exasperated, though by occasions of so little moment, as scarce ought to have been taken notice of: Neither doubtless would they have been, had he been in another condition: but as great Authorities are usually very tender, in the great height of State, and Power he then stood, they carried, in his opinion the quality of most high injuries, which thenceforward dispos'd his heart to those strange Animosities, which we shall see in time break out.

After the death of *Chalais*, and the removal of such of the *Monsieur's* Creatures, as were suspected by their evil Counsels to debauch his good Nature, and to alienate the affection he had to the King, and the prosperity of the Kingdom; it was no hard matter to dispose him to a Marriage with *Mademoiselle Marie de Bourbon*, Dutcheſs of *Montpensier*. This match had been thought worthy of him by *Henry the Great* his Father, and the Duke of *Espernon*, who had the honour to be great Uncle to this Princess, prepossess'd with the hopes of so great a Fortune for his Niece, and so great an honour both to himself, and his whole Family, had made no difficulty to expose himself to the hatred of the late *Count de Soissons*, in refusing him (as you may have observ'd before) this Lady in Marriage for *Lewis* his Son. And truly what rubs soever had hapned in the way of this Match, the Duke notwithstanding never lost the hope, nor the ambition to see it one day brought to effect. It is not therefore to be doubted, but that the accomplishment of a thing by him so ardently coveted, must be highly pleasing to him. The first news he heard of the consummation of these Nuptials was by a Gentleman dispatch'd away purposely to him by *Madame*, the day after her Marriage; wherein the high Dignity, to which she was arriv'd, nothing hindered her from paying the Duke the respect that decency, and proximity exacted from her; she writ to him therefore with her own hand, and the express words of the Letter were these.

Uncle,

“ I doubt not but you will receive as much joy, and satisfaction, as
 “ any person, at the happy accomplishment of my Marriage; the news
 “ whereof I would no longer delay to send you, assuring my self you will
 “ look upon it as a very great Honour, and good Fortune, to one who
 “ is so near and dear unto you. I think my self the more happy therein,
 “ as I hope to be in a better capacity of letting you see the great esteem I
 “ have ever had of your friendship, which I desire to preserve by manifest-
 “ ing how much I am,

From Nantes the 7th.
 of August, 1626.

Uncle,

Your very good Niece,

• Marie.

There

Anno
 1626.

The Marriage betwixt
 the *Monsieur*
 and the
 Dutcheſs of
Montpensier.

M d. nces
 Letter to
 the Duke of
Espernon,
 her great
 Uncle.

Anno
1626. There was a strange and sudden alteration in *Madames* style, before her Marriage it had us'd to be *Monsieur my Uncle*, and her Letters always ended with *Your most humble, and most affectionate Servant*: but one sole night had so rais'd her above her former condition (though very illustrious before) that there was now very little difference betwixt her style, and that us'd by the Queen, and Queen Mother; neither was the Duke, it may be suppos'd, displeas'd to be so us'd, and the advancement of so near a Relation, being in part his own; that which seem'd a little to lessen him in this new way of writing, he conceiv'd to be amply recompens'd in the honour of this Alliance. The Dutchess of *Guise* also accompanied this Letter of *Madame* her Daughter with another from her self; wherein she made an excuse for not having written to the Duke before the Marriage, as it had been her Duty to do: "Telling him they had met with so many difficulties in the business, that she could never believe it would take effect, till she saw it absolutely done, which uncertainty had occasion'd that neglect. The King presently after did him the same honour, as also the two Queens, the *Monsieur* himself, with the rest of his new, and illustrious Allies: but before he receiv'd the honour of these last Complements, the Duke had sent the *Count de Maillé* to Court to prevent them, and with all humble respect to let them know, how infinitely satisfied he was, to see his Family, by his Majesties Royal Bounty, rais'd to such an eminent degree of honour, as it was by this Marriage.

Anno
1627. The Peace of the Kingdom, the success of the Marriage of *Madame*, and the news of the Dutchess *de la Vallette's* being great with child, hapning almost at the same time, had altogether so overcharg'd the Duke of *Espernon* with an excess of joy, that it must of necessity overflow: He would therefore communicate part of his own satisfaction to the publick; and as all his Passions would ever break out after an extraordinary manner, so this of so excessive a joy, gave him a new occasion of shewing the world the largeness of his heart. He therefore design'd a Tilting at *Bordeaux*, wherein instead of the vain, unprofitable, and fabulous representations that are usually exhibited upon such occasions, he would make the people with delight, and in security to see the various faces of War, and in the midst of peace would divert himself with the exercises of his own profession. To this entertainment he invited all the persons of Quality of both Sexes in the Province; and the Duke *de la Vallette* came purposely from *Metz*, to supply the Duke his Father's place in all these noble exercises, wherein he acquitted himself so well, that he was not the least

The Duke
appoints a
Tilting at
Bordeaux.

least Ornament of that great Solemnity. As the expence of this Festival was exceeding great, the Assembly continuing for above fifteen days together; so Fortune would seem to contribute something to this profusion: but she did only seem to do it, when after having presented the Duke with Millions, and brought them almost to his own door, she rather chose to bury them in the Sea, than to make good what she had so fairly promis'd. It is of the wrack of the Carricks that I am about to speak, which hapned at this time; and having had a Relation of so remarkable an accident from the Master's Mate, of that of those two great Vessels, which perish'd upon the Coast of *Medoc*, I ought not, I conceive to pass by so memorable a misfortune, and of which I am able to give so true an accompt.

Anno
1627.

The Ship-
wrack of
the *Portugal*
Carricks.

After the Conquest the King of *Spain* had made of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, the same Custom the *Portugals* had formerly paid to their natural Princes, for the Liberty of their *East India Trade*, devolv'd of course to the King of *Spain*: but with this condition nevertheless, that the *Portugals* should not be oblig'd to unlade their Merchandize in any other part of the Catholick King's Dominions, than that of *Lisbon* only, for a Mark of the antient Right those of their Nation had ever had to that Traffick with the *Indies*. This priviledge was the loss of those two Carricks; they had set sail from *Goa* the fourth of *March*, 1626 laden with Merchandize of very great price, as Diamonds, and other Stones; Amber-gris, *Befoar*, Spices, Drugs, Silks, and other rarities both of the *Indies*, and the Kingdom of *China*, to the value of above two Millions and a half of Gold at least in either bottom. They had been mann'd out with above four hundred and fifty, what Mariners, and Souldiers, besides several Gentlemen, and other persons of condition, that either by the curiosity of Travail, or thirst of Gain, had been tempted into those remote parts of the world. All these together made up above six hundred persons, and one might indeed more properly have call'd these prodigious Hulks (which were each of them of two thousand Tun) floating Cities, rather than Ships built for Navigation; they having in them all sorts of Artizans, establish'd Markets, Victuallers, and almost all sorts, and conditions of men, with the same policy, and civil Regiment, that is usually observ'd in the greatest, and most populous Cities. These two great Vessels that seem'd to be Sovereigns of the Sea, and that despising any thing of a storm, fear'd nothing but Quick sands, Fire, and Rocks, after a prosperous Voyage, were surpriz'd in the Road of *Lisbon* with foul weather, and driven back to *Coruna* a very good

Anno
1627.

Port, upon the Coast of *Galicia* in *Spain*. Where the storm continuing very long, the Captains of the Carricks were by those of the Town importun'd to unlade their Goods in that Harbour, and no more to expose so great Riches acquir'd with so much peril, and pains, to the dangers of the Sea: but they were deaf to that motion, and on the contrary highly insisting upon their privilege, the King of *Spain* at last gave way to their obstinacy; commanding only the Admiral of the *Portugal* Navy, *Don Manuel de Menezes*, with six of the best Gallions of his Squadron to put to Sea, and to Convoy them safe to *Lisbon*, though this precaution only serv'd to augment his loss. The Gallions came up to the Carricks, to which the Admiral gave express order, not to stir thence till a calmer season. But what good Counsel can prevent Mischance? the Carricks contrary to all order and advice, upon the first little Truce of the Tempest (which, as it often falls out at Sea, only retir'd to return with greater fury) weigh'd Anchor, and put out to Sea: but they had no sooner committed their Carricks to the mercy of the winds, but that they found themselves engag'd in the greatest stress of weather, that perhaps has at any time been seen; and after a Tempest of two and twenty days, without any intermission, they came at last to suffer Shipwrack, one at *Cap-Breton*, near to *Bayonne*, and the other two days after upon the Coast of *Medoc*; in which exigent of Fortune the Gallions were so faithful to them, as to bear them company in ruine: so that three attending either Carrick, the loss was equal in both places.

The Duke receiv'd the first news of this accident from the Common Bruit, and that not till three days after it had hapned; and indeed the rains that had fall'n, during this tempestuous weather, had so overflow'd the ways, that although this Coast be no more than ten or twelve Leagues distant from *Bordeaux* only, it had been impossible sooner to have pass'd: but it is likewise true, that the Inhabitants of the Countrey, a barbarous and inhumane people (as generally Sea-borderers are) and inur'd to the spoil of Wracks, were not over hasty to acquaint the Duke's Officers with this, that they might not be disturbed whilst busie ravening after Booty. At last, and whilst preparing for the approaching solemnity, he heard of this misfortune, and that a great number of *Spaniards*, who deliver'd themselves for men of Quality, preserv'd out of a greater number that perish'd, were upon their way coming to implore his assistance; and accordingly the next day this miserable company, consisting of two hundred, or thereabouts, were seen to enter the City, in the lamentable plight may be

be imagin'd of men, that had been expos'd to the fury of a Wrack. The Duke took care to lodge them in the City, furnish'd them with Victuals, took order for Cloaths for them, and reliev'd them with money; when being by some of them inform'd of the great Riches that was in the Carrick he mounted to Horse to hinder the Pillage, and Disorder, which had already continued five or six days together without intermission; it was nevertheless impossible for him to get to the shoare, the ways were so impassible; so that he was constrain'd to return back, to begin his Triumph.

The Solemnity was begun, with a Skirmish of sixscore Cuirassiers, divided into two Troops, and arm'd Cap-a-pie; the next day they ran the Ring in the same Equipage they fought: after which they ran disarm'd with Vizors, and afterwards ran at Tilt, for five or six days together, doing all the Exercises that are to be perform'd on Horseback.

The Horse Exercises being gone through, they must now come to a representation of Foot Service, that the angry trade of War might be set forth in all its Forms. In a spacious place therefore, at one of the Extremities of the City, the Duke caus'd two regular Forts to be built, and fortified according to all the Maxims of Art. These Forts were mann'd with arm'd Souldiers to defend them, they were batter'd with Cannon, assaulted, and in the end taken, so much to the delight of the beholders, as made it appear, there can be no so dreadful Original, from whence pleasant Copies are not to be taken.

The Combat of the Forts was follow'd by a noble Masque, and a Ball, and those by a Combat at Barriers, which concluded the Solemnity; the last Act of which was set out with infinite Expence, and very great Art. There were in it seven Entries, and all those usher'd in with great Machines, contriv'd by the principles of the several parties, who were all persons of eminent Quality. I shall not however undertake a description of all the remarkable passages therein, there having been then a collection taken of them that made up a Volume of it self, and I having no need to swell this with unnecessary relations.

It was no little addition to the Duke's particular joy, and to the general satisfaction of the whole Assembly, to find it honour'd with the presence of the Duke *de Candale*, the Duke's eldest Son. It had now been ten years complete, that their common misfortune had caus'd a separation betwixt them; wherein though the Father had high causes of Discontent, yet had the gallant behaviour of the Son been such, and had so far prevail'd upon his natural affection, that at this time without all doubt he had an equal

The Duke
de Candale
the Duke of
Espernon's
eldest Son
comes to
the Solemn-
nity.

Anno

1627.



share with his Brothers in the Duke's Favour. Neither indeed could the Heroick Son have better spent these years of his disgrace, who seeing he could not honourably live in his own Countrey, whilst out-law'd in his Fathers Favour, went to exercise his profession of Arms in *Holland*, at that time the most conspicuous Theatre of War in all Europe: He had not there long continued, before by his brave deportment he so far won the opinion of *Count Maurice Prince of Orange* (acknowledg'd by all the world to be one of the greatest Captains of his time) that he doubtless possess'd the highest place in his confidence, and esteem. A short Truce being concluded in that Countrey, he went from thence to *Venice*, where he commanded some of the *Venetian* Militia in the *Valtoline*; and in process of time, having gain'd the favourable opinion of that Serene Republick, he was at last honour'd with one of their principal Commands, and made General of all their Land-Forces; an Employment wherein he serv'd upon so many brave occasions, as would deserve a particular History; when at last more ardently desir'd, than well us'd by *France* his native Countrey, he came to end his days in his own Princes Service, and in the Command of one of his chiefest Armies. The Duke his Father, when sometimes speaking of him, would say, that he could hardly wish his Son had never done amiss, since he had done so glorious a Penance for his faults, and by so many Heroick Actions expiated the afflictions he had brought upon him.

The arrival of this long absent Son, was not yet the utmost bound of the Duke's satisfaction; he receiv'd another at the same time, that touch'd his heart with a more sensible joy, than any thing that has been mention'd before: and doubtless it would have been greater now, than it was then, had God been pleas'd to have prolong'd his life till these days, that he might have seen the fruits of the just expectation he had conceiv'd at the Birth of as hopeful an Heir, as he could possibly have wish'd. I have already told you, that the news of his Daughter-in-law the Dutchess *de la Valette's* being great with child, was one of the occasions that caus'd this Publick rejoicing, and that Assembly was scarce broke up, when he receiv'd by a Courier, dispatch'd away for that purpose certain news of her being brought to bed of a Son: a Blessing he had more zealously begg'd of Almighty God, than any other thing in this world; and that he had the most reason to desire, that he might see his succession continued in a hopeful Heir: But as this was the richest Present, this young Princess could possibly make him, so it was (God knows) the last; she ten days only survi-

The Birth
of the Duke
of *Candale*,
the Duke of
Espernon's
Grand-
child.

surviving the Birth, who being deliver'd upon the fourteenth of *April*, and dying the four and twentieth after, left her noble Husband a Widower, and all *France* her mourners.

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The Duke receiv'd this sad news as he was upon his return from *Medoc*, to which place the Wrack of the Carrick had oblig'd him to make a second Journey, and where, now that the season gave him leave to come nearer to the Sea, we saw a most incredible thing; which was the Relicks of this mighty Vessel, several pieces whereof were to be seen, for above a quarter of a League together, along the shoar, and in so great number, that whoever had seen those floating Spoils, would rather have judg'd them the ruines of some demolish'd City, than the remains of one single Ship. The Duke with much ado recover'd twelve great brass Pieces, that were buried in the Sands, which were also all that could be sav'd, of an hundred and eight, or ten, that were aboard, either the Carrick, or the Gallions that Convoy'd her. Upon his return from this short Journey, the Duke receiv'd intelligence of the Death of the Dutchess *de la Valette*, at which, though his Affliction seem'd to be so great, that nothing could be more, it was nevertheless exceeded by that of the Husband; who having staid behind at *Bordeaux*, during this Journey into *Medoc*, knew nothing of his misfortune, till the return of the Duke his Father: but then all the comfort they were capable of, was their mutual Affliction, wherein, as a more just occasion of sorrow could not possibly arrive, so could it not possibly be express'd with more, or with more unfained tears.

The death
of the Dut-
chess *de la*
Valette.

Upon this sad occasion both the Father, and the Son receiv'd many Complements of Consolation from the whole Court, the King, the Queens, the *Monsieur*, and *Madame*, with all the other Princes, and Princesses; and almost all of any eminent condition at Court, manifested their interest in this dire misfortune. But they had scarce wip'd off the tears for this first disaster, when it was succeeded by another of almost equal concern; for I remember that the Gentleman sent by the *Monsieur*, and *Madame* upon this consolatory Envoy, was scarce departed from *Bordeaux*, when they receiv'd the intelligence at once, of the happy delivery of *Madame*, and the deplorable accident of her death: an occasion by which they were oblig'd (to their great grief) to make a quick return of the *Monsieur's* Complement, and to recommence a new shower of tears, even before the first storm was overblown.

The death
of *Madame*
the Dut-
chess of *Or-*
leans.

In this variety of good, and evil events but (as it usually falls out in the course of humane life) such as had more in them of evil than good, the Duke saw himself necessitated to engage in a
Dispute

Anno
1627.

New occasions of misunderstanding betwixt the Duke, and Cardinal *Richelieu* about the wrack of the Carrick.

The Cardinals pretensions.

The Duke's Title.

Dispute with the Cardinal, and upon this occasion. The rumour that had been spread abroad of the infinite Riches the shipwreck'd Carrick carried in her, had allur'd the Cardinal, to put in that title to the spoil, which he pretended his Office of Superintendent of the Navies (with which he had also confounded that of Admiral) gave him to all the wracks that should happen upon the Coasts of *France*. Wherein doubting nevertheless that the ordinary Officers he had establish'd at *Bordeaux*, as in all other parts and Havens of the Kingdom, would not be sufficient to justify his Claim against the Duke of *Espernon*, who was upon the place, and whom he knew to be a man, that would not easily be baffled out of his Right; he caus'd a Commission to be directed to one *Fortia* a young Master of Requests, that under the Authority of the Royal Name he might with greater facility obtain his own desires. This business was at first debated with great civility and moderation, and the Duke was very willing to satisfy the Commissioner of his Right, and Title, by shewing him Evidences of above three hundred years standing, by which his Ancestors had ever been maintain'd in their Title to all the Wracks that happened upon the Coast of *Medoc*, exclusively not only to the Officers of the Admiralty, but even to the King himself: by whose predecessors it had been formerly demis'd in free gift to the Lords of *Candale* for ever. After which he moreover deliver'd him Copies of those Evidences, clearing to him by several Authentick Writings and Records, his antient, and lawful Right; which he desir'd him to prefer to the Council, together with his Reasons, and the equity of his cause. But this was not the thing was desir'd at Court, and *Fortia* was blam'd for having taken cognisance of the Duke's Title, and for having receiv'd Copies of his Deeds, as if he had a mind to bring a business to the issue of a Suit, and Tryal, wherein they intended that Authority should stand for Law. *Fortia* therefore having receiv'd this check, would for the future endeavour by violence to repair, what he had by moderation, and respect to Equity overthrown; and to that end began to talk to the Duke in other terms, than he had us'd at first; wherein meeting with a Spirit that was not to be frighted with the menaces of the Court, the heat of their disputes grew at last to an open Quarrel betwixt them. Whereupon the Commissary, either unwilling, or not daring to have any more to do with the Duke, desir'd to be recall'd, as he was; and it is not to be doubted at his return to the Cardinal fail'd not to lay all the evil success of his own ill carriage at the Duke's door, by whose ill offices the former discontents were not likely to be any thing qualified, much less appeas'd.

The

The Duke had in the mean time dispatch'd away *le Plessis* to the King, to beseech his Majesty that he would please to send to the Parliament of *Paris*, to do him right in his lawful claim; giving him moreover instructions to go to the Cardinal, and in his name to conjure him to sue forth his Title, by such of his own Council as he should himself think fit; and that he for his part would willingly stand to their award: but the Duke's case was too clear for the Cardinal to submit his to reference. He had already seen his Title, which was such as he knew nothing but the Sovereign Authority could supersede, and that made him deaf to any thing of Arbitration. He chose therefore rather to continue his pretense under the protection of the Royal Name, and to that purpose procur'd *Monsieur Servient*, another Master of Requests, to be put into Commission to prosecute his Title in *Fortia's* stead; a man that by his dexterity and handsome carriage prevail'd so far upon the Duke's inclination, and esteem, that he obtain'd that from him, and in a very few days, which the other had been constrain'd to give over, as a hopeless thing, and impossible to be effected.

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The Duke offers to submit to a reference, which is refus'd by the Cardinal.

The Duke in fine condescended so far, as to consent that all the Goods sav'd from the Wrack, should be deposited in the hands of two sufficient Citizens; of which Goods there were seven or eight thousand little rough Diamonds, valued generally at forty or fifty * *Sous* a piece, some pieces of Amber-gris, (or rather black Amber, for it was of that colour, and nothing near so good as ours) several Bezoar Stones, and some other Merchandize, of no great value; and this was all that was recover'd of the rich lading of this prodigious Carrick, the rest being either buried in the Sea, or pilfer'd away by the Countrey people, though all put together was but a very small part of this mighty loss. *Servient* therefore by a gentle, and insensible violence, having (as has been said) won upon the Duke's inflexible temper, obtain'd all the satisfaction he could desire, and in exactly observing his Commission, acquir'd the Duke withal for his friend, performing therein what is only reserved for men of extraordinary Conduct, which was to reconcile so opposite Interests, and yet to disoblige neither party.

Monsieur Servient employ'd in the business, who reconciles the difference. * *Sous*, a penny, the *Sous de Paris*, or *Sol Marqué* is penny tar-thing English.

The differences, thus moderated by the prudence of *Servient*, were soon totally hush'd up by the noise of a War with *England*, which at this time unexpectedly broke out. The Duke of * *Buckingham*, Favourite to *Charles* King of *Great Britain*, as (by an extraordinary privilege of Fortune) he had been before to King *James* his Father, was (as it was said) highly press'd by some of the

* By my Authour call'd the Duke de *Boulzingham*.

House

Anno 1627. House of Lords, of the Parliament of *England* to give an account of the Treasure, that (as they pretended) had been imbezzeld during the Reign of the late King : upon which occasion, the Severity natural to that Nation in such Inquisitions, making him justly to apprehend the issue of an Enquiry ; wherein perhaps it had been impossible for any man living to have satisfied their Judgments, or their Malice ; he chose rather to withdraw himself from the inconvenience of such a Trial, and to put himself into a posture of standing upon his own Guard, than to run the hazard of a Sentence that he could not expect should be favourable to him, from men that were envious of his Favour and Fortune : and this has been said to have been one motive to this Invasion. Another, and which was no less prevalent with the Duke (as some have deliver'd, who pretended to be very privy to his thoughts) was the jealousy he had of the Cardinal's greatness, of whom he had been so ill satisfied in a late Embassy into this Kingdom, as thenceforward to conceive either so mortal a hatred to his Person, or at least so high an emulation of his Power, as it is believ'd by many prompted him to undertake this War with *France* ; from whence it may be judg'd, how light the causes commonly are, that bring on the ruine of Nations, and the desolation of Kingdoms. But the better to perswade the *English* to approve of this expedition (it being no easie matter to raise money there for any preparation of this kind without the consent of the people) his pretense was to succour the *Rochellers*, that were infinitely oppress'd, and the Protestant Party, which he said ; since the last Peace, was very much weakned in *France*.

Our *English* Authors, that as they must needs be better inform'd of the motives of this War, are likely better to inform us, give a far different account. *Vide Bakers Chronicle.*

The *English* land in the Isle of *Ré*. * Six thousand our Historians say.

The Cardinals Orders to oppose the *English*.

Having with this pretext palliated either his Animosity, or his Ambition, with a Fleet consisting of a hundred and fifty Sail, upon which he had Ship'd * ten thousand men, he presented himself before the Isle of *Ré* in July 1627. This Enterprize, which in all probability was likely to be favour'd with an Insurrection of those of the Reform'd Religion at home (who were not depress'd to that degree, but that they were yet very considerable) put the whole Court into a very great Alarm : wherein the Cardinal, who very well understood this affront, to be particularly directed against him, lock'd upon it as his own immediate concern : neither did he fail on his part of his utmost endeavour to frustrate his Adversaries Design, and to maintain himself in the advantages of his Princes Favour. He sent dispatches therefore to all parts of the Kingdom, for the raising of new Forces, and caus'd a Commission to be issued out to the Duke of *Angoulesme*, to call together such as were already on foot, with them to go to the defense of

Fort-

Fort-Louis, built before *Rochelle*, upon which it was likely the *English* would make their first attempt, and therein also to endeavour to curb *Rochelle* it self, which yet retain'd a mutinous disposition, under a dissembled shew of Obedience, and Duty.

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1627.

Le Plessis hapned in this juncture of time to be at Court, whither (as has been said) he had been before dispatch'd by the Duke his Master to solicit his Interest about the Wrack of the Carrick. This Gentleman was so generally esteem'd by all both for his Valour, and his Experience in matters of War, and principally by the Cardinal (who had been a witness of his behaviour throughout the Queen Mother's Affairs, and had in those times contracted a strict League of Friendship with him) that he immediately apply'd himself to him in this urgent necessity; neither did he herein forget any promises that might induce him, or omit any endearments that might oblige him to render the Duke his Master favourable to his designs, and himself to accept of an Employment, upon this important occasion: Assuring him withal, that no more mention should be made of the Carrick, or of any other cross Affair he had been perplex'd withal, and had now depending at Court. Upon this assurance *Le Plessis* departed from Court, provided with ten Commissions for the raising of a Regiment in his own name, and with all the civil Language, and fair Promises could be desir'd for the Duke his Master, whose assistance was exceedingly considerable, by reason of the short cut by Sea, betwixt *Bordeaux*, and *Rochelle*.

Le Plessis
the Duke
of *Espernon's*
Domestick
Servant, has
the com-
mand of a
Regiment
conferr'd
upon him,
upon this
occasion.

Le Plessis arriv'd in *Guienne* in the beginning of *August*, where he first gave the Duke an accompt of his own Affairs, and afterwards acquainted him with the Commission he had receiv'd for himself; who was so assisting to him in the raising of his Regiment, that it was one of the first that was ready for this Service. The Duke no sooner saw *Le Plessis* Companies compleat, but that he fell to making ready the Succours were requir'd of him for the Fort of the Isle of *Ré*, already besieg'd by the *English* Forces, though I must confess it was (contrary to his custom in other occasions) exceeding slowly: not that he did not heartily desire to see *Rochelle* reduc'd to the King's Obedience, but he could have been glad that the Cardinal, whom he had no reason to love, might have had no share in the honour of this great Enterprize; as if he had then foreseen that the addition of Reputation, and Greatness, he must infallibly derive from that success, would one day prove fatal to him. Yet in this distraction of thoughts he fail'd not nevertheless to prefer his Duty before all other respects, that regarded either his own Passion, or Interest; and in effect the

M m m

great

Anno 1627. great Succours that were drawn together upon *Olome Sands*, and by which the *Ile* was preserv'd, consisted principally of those Forces he sent away from *Bordeaux*.

Anno 1628. Yet was not this the only thing wherein the Duke was highly serviceable upon this important occasion, his instructions contributing as much at least to the taking of *Rochelle*, as any other means whatsoever: for it was he, without all contradiction that gave the first advice for the bringing up a *Cawsey* to block up the Harbour, and who rejected all the propositions of *Pompeo Targone*, as frivolous, and of no use; and indeed the success of those floating Forts, and Bridges contriv'd by this *Italian Engineer*, proving such, as the Duke had prophesied it would be, they were sain when all was done to follow his advice. A Copy of which advice I here present you, as it was written by his own hand to the Duke of *Angoulesme*, before the Cardinal came before *Rochelle*; the Duke rather choosing (it should seem) to communicate his opinion to this Prince, than to any other of the Commanders of the King's Army, as he had his person in much greater esteem.

SIR,

The Duke of *Espernon's* Letter of advice to the Duke of *Angoulesme*.

"I should have been glad of an occasion wherein by some signal Service, rather than by fruitless, and ill couch'd words to have manifested my Affection to you: But since my good Fortune will not so far gratifie my ambition, I must content my self with what I have, and make it the business of these lines to give you an assurance of the great obligation you have conferr'd upon me in sending Captain *Marsillac* with the Relation of the Relief my Lord the Duke of *Orleans* has happily put into the Fort *St. Martin*. I doubt not, Sir, but your Wisdom has contributed much to this great performance; the success whereof makes me believe, that at his Majesties arrival, the glory of chasing the *English* shamefully out of his Kingdom, is assur'd, and consequently that of reducing *Rochelle* to the last necessity of absolutely submitting to his obedience; for the design of blocking it upon the Land-side by Forts, and Redoubts, with lines of communication, is an infallible course: it is indeed somewhat a tedious way, but in a year or two at most the place must inevitably fall into the King's hands, without loss of men, and less expense of money: but the Port must of necessity be shut up, which is not to be done, but by some solid materials; and whosoever will undertake to do it by a floating Bridge, will find himself mistaken, at least my opinion tells me so; for the impetuosity of the Winds, and the force of the Tides, will

“ will break whatever swims above water, there being no stability in floating bodies to resist them. Several other reasons might be given, which would be too long for a Letter; and besides it would be a great presumption in me to think my opinion ought to have any place amongst so many great, and prudent persons, as you are in the King’s Army, &c. From *Cadillac* the 4th of *October* 1628. The Duke of *Angoulesme* signified to him, how much he approv’d of his opinion, by the answer he sent him the 21. of the same month, in these terms.

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1628.



My Lord,

“ The new assurances you are pleas’d to give me of your affection together with your prudent advice, have given me an equal satisfaction, and desire, to pursue the course you conceive most conducing to the happy issue of the Enterprize in hand. I do assure you, I am absolutely of your opinion, and I think myself very fortunate in it: but the diversity of Judgments amongst us, producing variety of counsels, I fear may be ruinous to a design; the beginning whereof might otherwise promise a successful event, &c. And elsewhere he writes him word: “ That he submits to his advice, as to a thing that ought to stand for a Law, and a Rule, as well out of respect to the great Wisdom upon which all his opinions were grounded, as to the perfect knowledge he had of all things, that might prejudice, or advance the design of *Rochelle*. And in truth from the year 1621. that he had been employ’d before this place, he had meditated nothing more, than how to reduce it into his Majesties obedience. So that I have seen in his hands at one time thirty several designs for the shutting up of the Port. *Pompeo Targone* (as has been said) came thither at that time to view the place, and the Duke call’d in several other Engineers to advise about it: but in the end concluded upon the Cawsey, as the only thing that could possibly block up the Channel.

The Duke
of *Angou-*
lesme’s an-
swer.

The sitting down before *Rochelle* soon stirr’d the whole *Hugonot* party into Commotion; and although most of the other Cities of their Faction, utterly disclaim’d having any hand in the *English* Invasion, and seem’d to condemn *Soubize* for having call’d them in: yet was there not one of them nevertheless that in the conclusion did not joyn with them, or that refus’d to be involv’d in the ruine of that Rebellious City. It was impossible the root of this Faction could be so violently shaken, and the incorporate branches remain insensible of the motion: so that the extreme members thereof, foreseeing a certain, and general ruine in the

The Com-
motion of
the whole
Hugonot
Party.

Anno
1628.



And of
Montauban.

fall of *Rochelle* (which was, as it were, the body where the soul of their Interest did inhabit) they no sooner saw it threatned by these mighty preparations: but that the common safety made them concur in the common defense, and break into open Arms in all parts of the Kingdom. In *Languedoc*, the *Severnes*, and *Guienne* they were excited by the instigation of the Duke of *Roban*: *Montauban* follow'd the example of the rest, and what Protestations soever the Inhabitants of that City had made to the Duke of *Espernon*, that they would continue firm in their duty, their destiny notwithstanding over-rul'd all those temperate resolutions, and the hour was now come, that the King's Victories must (in spite of their own endeavours to oppose it) establish them in a happier degree of Peace, and Safety, than till this time they had ever enjoy'd, even in the greatest prosperity of their Affairs.

It was no fault of the Duke of *Espernon*'s, that they did not obtain this benefit better cheap, and by better ways, and that they were not at once both happy, and innocent: he often by Letters put them in mind of their duty, and of the promises they had so faithfully made him, to continue firm therein, and, for a final testimony of the zeal he had to their preservation, sent to them one of the most powerful instruments he could possibly make choice of for so good a work. And this was *Morin*, a Councillor in the * *Chambre de l'Edict* of *Guienne*, a man of admirable Wit, and great Eloquence, to perswade them to their own good, had they been capable to understand it; and one the Duke conceiv'd the more proper for this employment, as being one of their own perswasion, who had born Arms amongst them with great Reputation and Valour, and who having upon very good considerations reconcil'd himself to his Duty, was the more fit to perswade them to do a thing, wherein he had himself been a leading example.

* *Chambre de l'Edict*, and *Chambre Me-partie* is all one, it being (as has been said elsewhere) a Court erected in favour of those of the Religion, consisting the one half of Catholics, and the other of those of their own party. The Prince of *Condé* made the Lieutenant General in *Guienne*, and some other adjoining Provinces.

So soon as these, and the rest of their Party had declar'd, the King seeing the War kindled in almost all the Provinces of his Kingdom, sent away the Prince of *Condé* into *Languedoc*, in the quality of Lieutenant General of his Armies, not only in *Languedoc*, and *Guienne*, but likewise in some other adjoining Provinces; to whom he also deliver'd two Commissions of Lieutenant Generals under him, for the Dukes of *Montmorency*, and *Espernon*. The latter of these had no sooner intelligence of the Prince's arrival at *Tbolouze*, but that he immediately posted thither to pay him the respect due to a Prince of the Blood, and from his own mouth to receive his Majesties Commands. He was there receiv'd by the Prince with all the tenderness, and manifestation of

of entire confidence he could possibly expect, or desire: but how kindly soever he took this entertainment, he could not nevertheless force his complacency so far as to accept of the Commission the Prince had to give him of Lieutenant General under his Command. He at first defended himself from it by several very civil, and respectful excuses; telling him, amongst other things: "That being his most humble Servant (and he was effectually so) no condition whatever could more subject him to his Commands, than the respect he had for his Quality and Person had already done, and that for any thing else, the power he had as Governour of *Guienne*, giving him of it self sufficient Authority to cause him to be obey'd in whatever he should please to command within that Province, he did not stand in need of any further Commission for that end. But at last (the Prince unwilling to understand his excuses, and still pressing him to receive it) the Duke with his usual liberty frankly told him: "That from his youth till that time he had ever been honour'd with such Commands immediately under the King's his Masters, without having ever accepted that quality under any other than themselves; and that he did therefore beseech him he would please to permit him in this last Act of his Life, to retain a privilege he had for so many years, and under so many glorious Matters enjoy'd. After so candid a Declaration, the Prince would no more importune him; neither did he discover the least offense, or unkindness, at the Duke's refusal; which he had the more reason to be satisfied withal, as he very well knew he had formerly rejected the same Employment under the *Count de Soissons*.

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The Duke had no sooner taken leave of the Prince, but that he return'd back in all diligence towards *Bordeaux*, to take order for the raising of such Forces, as he was to set on foot. He had at present no more, than the same Regiments of Foot, and the same Troops of Horse, that had serv'd before in the like occasion, and those the *Marquis de Monferrat* (whom he had lately made Lieutenant of his own Company of *Gens d'Armes*) had order to draw into the field: but these small Forces were scarce ready when the Duke receiv'd intelligence that a little Town call'd *Caussade*, near to *Montauban*, had had the confidence to declare for the *Hugonot* Party. Upon this news the just apprehension he had, lest the other Cities of his Government, that were inclin'd this way, should follow this ill example; and lest in the end, instead of *Montauban* alone, he should find thirty good Cities oppos'd against him, made him hasten that way to chastize these first Rebels: but he

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The Duke
of *Espéron*
opposes
himself to
the Duke of
Roan, who
was moving
with an Ar-
my to the
relief of
Rochelle.

he was hardly there arriv'd, when he understood both by several Letters from the Prince, and by other pressing intelligence from the Court it self, that the Duke of *Roan* had gather'd together a considerable body of an Army in *Sevennes*, where he was still rallying so many other Forces of his Party, that of them he doubted not to make up such an Army, as would be able by some notable attempt to divert the King from the Enterprize of *Rochelle*. It was therefore necessary for him to strive with all his endeavour to obstruct his passage, wherein consisted the main concern of the whole Affair, and accordingly he went about it, though not without great reluctancy, that he should approach so near to *Caussade*, and not stay to besiege it: but on the other side he durst not do it, lest whilst he should be taken up with an Enterprize of so little importance, the Duke of *Roan* might take that opportunity to execute his design. I heard many of his Servants murmur, that he was not more eager of this Siege, and he himself knew very well, that the Prince had writ something unhand-somely of him to the Court about it: but he was nothing moved at all that noise, and having good reason for what he did, nothing had power to alter his determination.

Whilst he was thus vigilant about *Montauban* to obstruct the Duke of *Roan*'s passage, the Prince of *Condé*, who had made a very considerable progress in *Languedoc*, by the taking of *Pamieres*, *Realmont*, and several other places, resolv'd to pursue his Victories into *Guienne*. There was a little corner in the lower *Roüergue*, and bordering upon the *Sevennes*, that had never yet felt the power of the Royal Arms; it was therefore agreed upon betwixt the Prince and the Duke of *Espéron*, that the Army should advance that way, their design herein being, either to disunite this little Countrey from the Duke of *Roan*'s Interests, or at least by this Enterprize to divert him from the design he had of moving towards *Rochelle*; it being very unlikely he should think of that, whilst the Cities of his party should be so dangerously engag'd in the most advantageous Post he had upon any occasion to retire himself unto.

The Prince
of *Condé* lays
Siege to *St.*
Afrique.

The Prince of *Condé* who was very punctual in all his designs, at the appointed day, which was in the latter end of *May*, presented himself in sight of *Vâbres*, an Episcopal Sea, and almost the only Catholick City of all that Countrey; to whom the Duke also the next day joyn'd himself with his Forces. Their design was suddenly to clap down before *Saint Afrique*, a Town very considerable in those parts, and exceedingly well fortified: but the success of this Enterprize did by no means answer their expectation,

Station, they being after a very brisk assault, vigorously sustain'd by those within, constrain'd to raise the Siege; after which the Prince's Forces being very much decreas'd in the preceding Service, and infinitely dejected with this repulse, as the Duke's also were, it was necessary to dispose them into several Garrisons to refresh them.

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With all
success.

It seem'd as if this baffle at *Saint Afrique* had hapned for no other end, but to justify the Duke about the business of *Caussade*, wherein the miscarriage of the one caus'd his wisdom to be highly magnified for not having attempted the other; whereas before both the Court, and the whole Kingdom talk'd a little odly of his proceeding; so ready is ill natur'd mankind to censure the bravest Spirits upon the least shadow of occasion, though after having perform'd in the sight of all the world innumerable actions that ought the least of them to defend the Author's name from Calumny, upon any accident of Fortune. The King lay at this time before *Rochelle*, and *le Plessis*, who had serv'd in the Isle of *Ré* at the defeat of the *English* with marvellous reputation, continued to serve with his Regiment at this Siege; where being upon the great Scene of Affairs, and hearing what was said of the Duke his Master, he fail'd not to let him know what censure the world pass'd upon him concerning the business of *Caussade*, and how he had been represented to the King: insomuch that the Duke finding it necessary to give his Majesty an accompt of what had pass'd upon this occasion, he dispatch'd away *Monsieur Fabert*, who was then in his entertainment, to Court, to that effect. This *Monsieur Fabert* was a Gentleman of whose education the Duke had had so particular a care, that he had ever been either under his own eye, or with the Duke *de la Valette* his Son; and having observ'd in him, in a very green youth, great courage, and understanding, and an extraordinary assiduity, and application to matters of his profession; and thence conceiving the hopes of those rare fruits we now see, had ever honour'd him (which was not ordinary with him to young people) with great demonstrations of particular favour and esteem.

The Duke
sent *Mon-*
sieur Fabert
to Court.

Fabert being arriv'd at Court, presently acquainted the King with the occasion of his coming, presenting with all his Letters of Credence to the Cardinal, wherein he acquitted himself so well, that his Majesty remain'd highly satisfied with the Duke's Conduct; and as touching the Cardinal, *le Plessis*, who had an old establish'd familiarity with him, writ to the Duke in a Letter dated from *Perigny* the 24th. of *September*, 1628. in these terms: "Before the arrival of *Monsieur Fabert*, there were various

rious

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“rious discourses of your proceeding at *Caussade*; wherein, though
 “some were prompted by their malice, yet even the most mode-
 “rate, and who spoke neither out of Envy, nor Disaffection, could
 “not absolutely acquit your Reputation: but since his coming,
 “all men unanimously applaud your Wisdom; insomuch that
 “Cardinal *Richelieu* himself, who before in obscure language
 “would sometimes give me private touches of reproach (to
 “which I could return no other answer, than to entreat he would
 “suspend his Judgment, till you writ to Court) has confess’d to
 “me since, that had you engag’d in that Siege, *Monsieur de Roban* had
 “doubtless pass’d by, as he had promis’d the *Rochellers*; and that
 “you had been so long in possession of well doing, that it was
 “henceforward impossible for you to do amiss.

After the raising of the Siege of *Saint Afrique*, they were now to think of a second devastation of *Montauban*, and to make the innocent Countrey suffer for the Crimes of that rebellious City: to effect which, the Duke had only two Regiments remaining of three that he had rais’d; the third which was that of *Saint Croix d’Ornano*, having by the Prince been taken into the Body of his own Army: yet did he not for all this refuse to undertake this difficult Enterprize, which nevertheless I do verily believe he could never have been able to execute, without the assistance of a great number of gallant Gentlemen Volunteers, to whose Valour (as has been already said) he stood oblig’d for most of the Services he perform’d for the King in that Province.

The business was therefore perform’d with very good success, not that the Enemy did not make a stout Opposition, and did not daily engage the Duke’s small Forces: but it was ever to their own loss. Whilst matters went thus prosperously on, the continual toil wherewith the Duke had been exercis’d during this whole Campagne, had so overcome his spirits, that he fell dangerously sick at *Castelfarrazin*; where, how importunate soever his Physician was with him to retire from the ill air of that Countrey, corrupted no doubt by the excessive heats, and the length of the War, which had there continued for almost five years together without intermission, he was notwithstanding obstinate to continue in his Camp, and would by no persuasions be drawn to forsake his Army. Neither, though his indisposition confin’d him to his bed, could it hinder his indefatigable mind from still working upon his business: he would have his people to bring him an hourly accompt of all that pass’d, and his Genius inspiring his followers with the same good Fortune had ever attended him in all his designs, he (even in the most violent height of his distemper)

The Duke
of *Espenon*
falls sick.

per) gave himself Orders, the execution whereof made him ever victorious. But after having long strugled with his Disease, he must at last give way to its violence; and his strength by the agitation of his mind visibly impairing, made his Physician begin to apprehend a more dangerous issue of his distemper, than was at first suspected. They were therefore constrain'd whether he would or no to force him from his Camp, and to carry him aboard a Boat, in which he was convey'd upon the River *Garonne*, and the next day brought to his own House *Cadillac*; where he was scarcely arriv'd, but that the change of air produc'd a manifest alteration in his health, which in a few days was succeeded by a perfect recovery.

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The Duke
recovers.

The waste having been made about *Montauban*, it was still necessary to leave some Forces thereabouts, to hinder the excursions of those of the City; which Forces, though very few, were notwithstanding so conveniently dispos'd, that the Enemy could never make any advantage of their own numbers. The Marquis *de Monferrant* (who together with the Lieutenancy of the Duke's *Gens d'Armes*, had at his recommendation moreover obtain'd the Office of *Mareschal de Camp*) was left to command them; an employment wherein he so well discharg'd himself, as besides the honour he deserv'd for having with so few men bridled the Licence of so populous a City, he further acquir'd that of having kept those men in so admirable a Discipline, that there was never the least complaint made of any disorder, or the least insolence committed by any of his party.

Whilst in *Languedoc*, and *Guienne* the King's Forces were taken up with these petty Enterprizes, his Majesty in his own person continued to streighten *Rochelle* both by Sea and Land; carrying on the Siege with so much vigour, and conduct, that after having made the besieg'd suffer extremities, far beyond what we read of with horror in the most senseless obstinacies of other desperate Cities; he at last reduc'd them to a necessity of submitting to his Royal Mercy. In which Surrender, though the wilful blindness wherewith the *Rochellers* had been so long possess'd, had kept them from looking into their own miserable condition, till they had consum'd not only all provisions fit for the use of man; but also all that the extremest hunger could compel the uncleanest creatures to convert to food: they yet found they had not exhausted the King's Royal goodness, who had enough left to pardon the miserable remains of those wretched people, the length, and sufferings of the Siege had yet left alive, preserving so those that had try'd, and had not been able to effect their own destruction, and.

Rochelle sur-
rendred to
the King.

Anno exercising his Clemency, upon such as had no compassion of
 1628. themselves. To conclude he made himself Master of *Rochelle*,
 that is to say, absolute King of *France*, which, till this City was
 reduc'd, he could not properly have been said to be.

Anno This glorious year was concluded by this happy Victory, a
 1629. success by which all the occasions of those civil discords, which
 the difference of Religions had hitherto almost continually fomen-
 ted, were so totally rooted up, as gave us for the future leisure to
 prosecute our Foreign designs; wherein we have since been so for-
 tunate, as by the success of our Arms to be secur'd of a firm, and
 last repose for the time to come, if we can continue this good
 union, and intelligence amongst our selves; the breach whereof
 can alone encourage our Neighbours to attempt upon our
 Peace.

The King being yet before *Rochelle*, and the Town upon the
 point of Surrender, his resolution was absolutely bent upon re-
 ducing the remaining Cities of the *Hugonot* Party to the same obe-
 dience; in order whereunto his Majesty sent a Letter to the Duke
 of *Espernon*, to acquaint him with so much of his design as con-
 cern'd the Province where he had the honour to Command; a
 Dispatch that was sent away by *Servient*, who was to be both the
 Bearer of this Missive, and the Interpreter of his Majesties fur-
 ther Intentions. The Employment this Gentleman had been upon
 into that Countrey the preceding year, about the business of the
 Carrick, and the dexterity, and prudence he had discover'd in the
 management of that Affair, had made him by the King thought
 worthy of, and sufficient for the Office of *Intendant de la Justice*,
 & *Police* in *Guienne*, with which he was at this time invested: but
 that being such a Commission as is hardly to be executed in Pro-
 vinces, that have Parliaments of their own, without intrench-
 ing upon, or at least, giving offense unto their Authority, soon
 begot a feud betwixt the Parliament of *Bordeaux* and him; which
 grew at last to such a height, that *Servient* was fain to prefer a com-
 plaint to the Council of some affronts he had receiv'd from that
 Assembly; whereupon he had granted him a Sentence of Prohi-
 bition, together with a Citation of personal appearance against the
 first President *de Gourgues*, and some other Members of that
 Court. They must therefore of necessity appear, and accordingly
 the first President came in at the appointed time; where presenting
 himself before the King, to justify the proceeding that had occa-
 sion'd this Citation, his reception was a little severe. The King,
 dissatisfied with him, as was said, upon other accompts, com-
 manded him to speak kneeling; which the President making
 some

some difficulty to do, as an unusual form, the King, rising from his seat, pull'd him by the Robe to compel him to it. 'Tis said, that even in this very act, and the confusion the face of an incens'd Prince might reasonably have put any man into, the President immediately recollecting himself, spoke of the violence was offer'd to him, with an Efficacy, and Eloquence that astonish'd all that heard him, and that was so powerful, as to extract some gentle and satisfactory expressions even from the King himself: but this was also the last lightning of his Wit, and he seem'd to have mustred all his Forces for this one piece of Service, ending his Life almost as soon as his Oration; who though of a contemptible stature, and an infirm constitution, but of a strange vivacity, and courage, was so wounded with the sense of the King's severity, that he was never after to be comforted; but retiring, already sick, out of his Majesties presence, dyed a very few days after. He had this obligation to the Duke of *Espernons* unkindness, that it discover'd in him a great many excellent qualities, that would otherwise have been buried in his Ashes; for had he in truth had nothing more to do, than merely to have exercis'd the ordinary functions of his place, he would even in that capacity have met with concurrences enough to have disputed that honour with him: but having had opportunity to manifest his courage in so mighty, and dangerous a dispute, his Eloquence in so many illustrious Assemblies, and his Zeal for the dignity, and honour of his Fraternity, in so many notable, and important occasions, has left behind him so fair a memory, that he does at this day pass, in the opinions of all that knew him, for one of the greatest men that ever presidid in that Court.

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The death
of the Chief
President
de Gourguessa.

If the King's success in the reducing of *Rochelle* gave a high reputation to the Royal Arms, the quick dispatch of that Siege was of no less utility to his other Affairs; for every one imagining this Victory would have cost as many years, as he was months about it, that opinion was so generally receiv'd, and concluded for so infallible a truth by all the neighbouring Princes, that there was hardly one, who had not propos'd to himself some advantage, or other from this long diversion; either to the prejudice of his Majesties Reputation, or to that of his Affairs. The King of *Spain* therefore, the King of *England*, the Dukes of *Savoy*, and *Lorain*, entred into a powerful League, that every one might make his benefit of this Civil War: Wherein *Spain* and *Savoy* doubted not, without any resistance, to possess themselves of the Territories of the Duke of *Mantua*, an Ally, and a Vassal to this Crown: The design of the *English* was not only to relieve

A great
League
amongst the
neighbour-
ing Princes.

Anno and reestablish the remains of the Reform'd Religion in *France*; but also to revenge themselves for the losses they had sustain'd in the business of the Isle of *Ré*, and the Duke of *Lorain* (an ambitious, and offended Prince) propos'd to himself, and that without much difficulty, the usurpation of the three Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, which, as they were naturally members of it, would bring an equal addition of benefit, and honour to his own Dukedom.

Spain and Savoy invade Mantua.

The last of the foremention'd Princes not daring to begin the quarrel, staid expecting when the other Confederates should break the Ice, in the mean time concealing his designs under a dissembled shew of Friendship; and the King of *England*, not well recover'd of the late Blow, had no mind to declare without the concurrence of the Duke of *Lorain*: so that whilst these two Princes sat still in mutual expectation, which should lead the Field, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, falling smartly to work, had by Arms so far advanc'd their designs, that they had already possess'd themselves of most of the Duke of *Mantua's* Cities, and excepting *Casal*, and *Mantua* it self, were masters of the whole Duchy.

The King, justly incens'd at so great an injury offer'd to him in the person of his Ally, might reasonably enough have reveng'd himself by the same way, by which he had been offended; but retaining, it should seem, a greater respect for the Duke of *Savoy*, than he had done for him, he dispatch'd an Ambassadour to him to complain That without denouncing of War, and to the violation of their former Treaties, he had taken Arms against a Prince, whom as an Ally he was oblig'd in honour to protect; advising him in the conclusion, either to restore things to the condition wherein he had found them, or to prepare himself to withstand the utmost power of his Arms, which he was resolv'd to employ for the vindication of his own Honour, and the protection of his Friends, and Allies.

If the Duke of *Savoy* (a Prince truly great in all things) had not yet been more ambitious, than he was great, it had been no hard matter for him to have found out such a remedy, as might easily have prevented the ensuing War; but being big with the hope of taking *Monferrat*, he was not to be perswaded to give over an Enterprize, which he thought as good as certain to him. He could not imagine that the King's Army tir'd out, as it was, with the incommodities of a tedious Siege, could be in any condition of coming to trouble his designs; neither did he believe that the King himself, who had been expos'd to the same inconveniences

his

his Army had suffer'd, could be so soon able in his own person to undertake so troublesome a Journey; which being presuppos'd, nothing could have power to hinder his Affairs; so that endeavouring to hold his Majesty in hand, without giving his Ambassadour any positive answer, or absolutely engaging his word, he still continued his Usurpation.

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1629.

The King impatient of this injury to his own person, and more of the injustice done to the Duke of *Mantua*, with a Resolution as generous in it self, as the execution prov'd glorious to his Name, concluded the following *February*, to cross the *Alpes*, and through all the difficulties of *Snow*, and *Ice*, to force his way to the defense of his Honour, which in *Italy* was so highly engag'd. An Expedition that the Duke of *Savoy* finding he could not with all his dexterity prevent, he resolv'd by Arms to guard the Entry into his own Dukedom: and to that end he caus'd the passage of *Suze* (a pass nature her self had made inaccessible (if any thing could be so to *Valour*) to be strangely fortified: but this strong Post the King made no difficulty to assault, in which Service the Duke de la *Valette* Colonel of the Foot, putting himself in the head of the Forlorn Hope, drawn out of the Regiment of Guards, first mounted the Enemies Works, and shewing himself as much Superiour to his Followers in bravery, as he was in Command, in a few hours overcame all difficulties, both of Mountains, and men that oppos'd his way.

The King
goes into
Italy.

The Duke
de la *Valette*
forces le pas
de *Suze*.

The Duke of *Savoy* after this defeat, not knowing what to oppose against the King's victorious Arms, since his best Forces, when fortified in a Post of so great advantage, had not been able to withstand them, began to see his danger, and to perceive he had no way left but by an Accommodation to defend himself from manifest and apparent ruine; which made him sue to the King for Peace, and obtain'd it upon condition, the Duke should favour the passage of his Army to the relief of the Duke of *Mantua* so unjustly invaded: An Accommodation with *Savoy* being thus concluded, the *Spaniard*, who despair'd of being able to make good his ground in the open Field, against an Army that had with so great facility forc'd the Duke of *Savoy*'s people in their own Trenches, thought fit to accept of the same conditions; and accordingly not only rose from before *Casal*, but moreover restor'd all the places they had already taken in the Duke of *Mantua*'s Dominions, wisely choosing rather to give way to the King's Fortune, than to run the hazard of a Battel, the event whereof they fear'd would be fatal to them: though this discretion only serv'd to defer for a time the Victories heaven had destin'd for us over that insolent, and implacable Nation.

Doubt-

Anno Doubtless had the King pleas'd to have made use of this occa-
1629. sion, and the power he had to effect any design he would have un-
 ~~~~~~ dertaken, he might at this time with great facility have given the  
*Spanish* Forces such a blow, that they would not of many years  
 after have been in any condition to have brav'd him again in *Italy* :  
 but his Majesty, contenting himself with having rescu'd his Ally  
 from the oppression of those two mighty Enemies, would not  
 in his own person seem to violate that Equity and Justice he had  
 travell'd so far to defend.

If the Forein Princes had taken a wrong measure in the be-  
 lief they had entertain'd of the length of the Siege of *Rochelle*, the  
 Duke of *Roban* was no less mistaken in the Expedition of *Italy* ;  
 wherein he doubted not his Majesty would meet with so many  
 great, and tedious difficulties, that he hop'd himself (who was the  
 soul of his whole Party) might in the mean time, and in the in-  
 terval of the King's absence, infuse so much vigour into his de-  
 clining cause, as that they would be in a condition for some time  
 at least, to defend themselves.

The Duke  
 of *Roban*  
 takes Arms  
 whilst the  
 King is in  
*Italy*.

He had therefore taken Arms in the *Sevennes*, and with the as-  
 sistance of the Cities of *Montauban*, *Nismes*, *Millaut*, *Castres*, *Pri-  
 vas*, *Ujetz*, and some others, had got such a body of an Army  
 together, as therewith he hop'd to maintain himself in that little  
 angle of the Kingdom, and either presently to obtain some advan-  
 tageous conditions, or to expect a more favourable time for the  
 reestablishment of his depressed party. In the mean time he treat-  
 ed secretly with *Spain*, from whence he had also obtain'd a pro-  
 mise of some supply of money: but the King, who had intelli-  
 gence of his practice, returning with the same celerity out of *Ita-  
 ly* into *France*, in the most violent heats of Summer, with which  
 he had pass'd out of *France* into *Italy* in the greatest extremity of  
 Winter, presented himself before *Priivas* (one of the Rebel Ci-  
 ties) in *June*, which also at his first coming he carried by assault :  
 after which *Aletz*, another of the same principles, surrendred  
 without any resistance. The Duke of *Roban*, observing what a  
 terror the taking of these two places had infus'd into his whole  
 Faction; and knowing on the other side that a Peace with *Italy*,  
 and *England* was already concluded, began to apprehend at last  
 he should be totally deserted by all his Confederates, and Friends,  
 and left alone to bear the shock of his Majesties victorious Arms;  
 which made him in time seriously to apply himself to his mercy,  
 to avoid the severe effects of his Justice.

One of the most powerful motives that induc'd him to sue for  
 this Peace, was doubtless the blocking up of *Montauban*; and the  
 waste

waste that, now the third time by express order from the King, was made round about that City. The Duke of *Roban* had plac'd his latest refuge in the strength of this place, and had ever hop'd, whilst it could maintain it self in a condition to sustain a tedious Siege, that resistance would infallibly put him into a capacity of obtaining very good Conditions: but the King, who had foreseen this design, writ to the Prince of *Condé* to joyn himself with the Duke of *Espernon* (to whom he also writ at the same time to the same effect) to deprive *Montauban*, by destroying their Fruits, of all possibility of subsistence, and therein the Duke of *Roban* of the assistance he promis'd to himself from thence in the last extremity of his declining Affairs.

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The Prince would himself be the bearer of this Dispatch, dated from *Suze* the 27<sup>th</sup>. of *April*, and accordingly arriv'd at *Bordeaux* in the latter end of *May*; where betwixt him, and the Duke, all things were soon concluded on for the execution of his Majesties Commands: an Enterprize, that although the Duke had neither competent Forces, nor other means wherewithal to perform it, that no order had been sent either for money to raise men, to furnish ammunitions of War, or to buy provisions for the support of the Army; his affection to the Service notwithstanding supplying all other defects, he soon put himself into a condition to second the Princes desires; wherein he was indeed necessitated almost alone to undertake the business, how difficult soever he knew it to be: For the Prince being oblig'd by his Command to have an especial eye to the higher *Languedoc*, his presence was there very requisite, and almost continually requir'd: but the Duke fail'd not, for any other consideration, according to his custom, to acquit himself very exactly of his share of the work.

Whilst the Duke was in the heat of this execution, the Peace was concluded with the Duke of *Roban* in *July*, which all the other Cities of his Faction likewise accepted, excepting *Montauban* which for some days stood out; not that they did not desire it equally with the rest, they had suffer'd too much, and were reduc'd to too necessitous a condition to oppose their own quiet: but the Duke (whatsoever those of *Montauban* could pretend) to wit, *That having suffer'd so much by his Arms they could not consent to allow him the honour of having subdw'd them*) very well understood that all those excuses were suggested to them by the Cardinal, who ambitious to have the honour of totally suppressing that party attributed to himself, did especially desire, that this City (which after the surrender of *Rochelle* was become the Metropolis of the Faction) should be deliver'd up into his hands. He had therefore acquainted

*Anno* acquainted the principal of the Inhabitants, that it was from him  
 1629. alone they were to expect whatever advantages they could propose  
 to themselves from this Accommodation, and that it would there-  
 fore concern them to reserve themselves entirely for him, to be  
 the more worthy of his protection, from whence they might de-  
 rive a greater support, than from all other powers upon earth.

The Cardi-  
 nal comes  
 to *Montau-*  
*b.iii.*

The Duke nettled at this usage, and unable in the interests of Honour to give place to any whomsoever, retir'd himself to his House *Cadillac*, with a resolution seeing the Cardinal would by his Authority ravish from him an honour, he had by his Services so highly deserv'd, not to pay him so much as the civility of a Visit in his Government, into which he was now coming, to take possession of *Montauban*, as if he had been the man had reduc'd it: But the Cardinal, whose design it was (as has been said) to engross to himself the whole reputation of this War, thought nothing would so much illustrate his Triumph, as to receive a Visit from the Duke of *Espernon* in one of the principal Cities of his own Government, and conceiving such a Complement would pass in the opinion of all the world for an absolute testimony of an entire submission, he was infinitely desirous to have him won to that complacency; which being he could not handsomely try to do directly from himself, he caus'd him to be very highly importun'd to that purpose, by some of the Duke's own peculiar friends, who were at that time about his person. These Gentlemen therefore, and amongst others particularly *Mareschal Bassompierre* represented to the Duke, that all this time an enterview betwixt the Cardinal and him was highly necessary to the good of his own Affairs, without which he could not possibly avoid giving a mortal Affront to a man become absolute at Court by the ruine of a Faction, which alone had hitherto serv'd for an allay to the excess of his power. An advice that was so well seconded by *le Plessis*, who of all others had the greatest sway with the Duke, and fortified with so many powerful Arguments, that at last he resolv'd upon this Visit. Yet do I very well remember with how great reluctaney it was, and with how strange a violence upon his own humour, and haughty spirit, that he suffer'd himself to be overrul'd in this particular, and how unwillingly he set out towards *Montauban*.

Though the Cardinal was very much press'd by his own Interests to go in all diligence after the King, who had taken the way to *Paris* immediately upon the conclusion of the Treaty, it is notwithstanding most certain, that he waited two whole days together the Duke's coming to *Montauban*; where when he came, he  
 receiv'd

receiv'd him with extraordinary kindness, and respect, and though many things had pass'd upon several occasions that might reasonably enough beget ill blood betwixt them, the Cardinal by an excess of freedom, and civility, gave manifest testimonies, that he retain'd no memory of any former unkindness: but on the contrary protested, that he would value the Duke's friendship preferrably to any other persons in the Kingdom, which was his own expression; and upon an intimation the Duke gave him, that he had occasion to make a Journey to Court, promis'd him, that soo soon as he should see the King, he would procure him leave so to do; a thing, which with all the importunities he could make, the Duke had before not been able to obtain: Neither did the Cardinal limit his offers here, he assuring him moreover, that he would serve him in all things, and if he would give him leave, supply the place of a fourth Son to him, wherein he would contend with the other three, which should pay him the greatest honour, which were the express terms of his Complement.

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The Duke gives the Cardinal a visit at *Montauban*, and is very well receiv'd by him.

The next day after his arrival, the Cardinal treated him in his own Lodgings, where he gave him the chief place of honour at the Table, notwithstanding the Duke of *Montmorency* was there present, omitting no civility that might beget a strict League of Friendship betwixt them: so that it is most certain, could the Duke have bow'd a little, and discreetly have husbanded these good dispositions, he might have improv'd them infinitely much to his own advantage: but according to his custom, either as if he had repented the having done too much; or as if he had a mind to blot out what any one could lay to his charge for having condescended too low in this visit, by retaining a kind of a grum reservedness in the rest of his Actions, he overthrew in a moment all the good his friends expected he should reap from this complacency: insomuch that I have often heard *le Plessis* wish he had never advis'd him to it.

After they were risen from the Table, the Duke being withdrawn to a Window in the Room where they had din'd to entertain the Duke of *Montpensier* in private; the Cardinal, who had the Archbishop of *Bordeaux* in very high consideration, came to present him to the Duke to reconcile him to him. This Prelate had apply'd himself particularly to the Cardinal's Service, and by a great complacency in all things, having adapted himself to his humour, and by that means got into a high degree of favour with him, had entreated the Cardinal by his Interest to put him upon good terms with the Duke; there having since the Archbishop's advancement to that Dignity (which fell to him by the death of

Anno  
1629.

The Duke  
of Espernon  
gives Car-  
dinal Richelieu  
new  
cause of of-  
fence.

Which is  
nevertheless  
dissembled  
by the Car-  
dinal.

the Cardinal *de Sourdis* his Brother) some differences hapned betwixt the Duke, and him, that had begot a little distance betwixt them. I was present at this Dinner (led thither by my curiosity as some others were) and (if it may be call'd one) consequently at this Reconciliation: When the Cardinal, who had already prepar'd the Duke for the business, and thought he had conquer'd his animosity, coming to him to the Window, where he stood, said to him these words, "My Lord, I here present you the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who is resolv'd to be your Servant; and I therefore intreat you to be his friend upon my accompt: to which the Duke scornfully turning that way, coldly reply'd, "My Lord the Archbishop and I know one another very well: After which, and a salute as cold as his complement, he turn'd again without more Ceremony towards the Duke of *Montpensier*, and follow'd on his discourse. The Duke of *Espernon* had no friend, nor Servant there, that could not heartily have wish'd this action had pass'd after a more obliging fashion: but that was all could be got from him. It is not to be doubted but that this indifferency highly disoblig'd the Cardinal, who found by that he had not yet acquir'd so great an Empire over the Duke's haughty spirit, as by his great civilities he hop'd he had gain'd upon him: he nevertheless retir'd into his Chamber without taking any more notice at all, and conquering his own passion, chose rather to attribute that odd carriage to the Duke's imperious humour (which he had practis'd so long, as to be well enough acquainted with it) than to lose the earnest he had already given towards the purchase of his friendship. He continued therefore to use him with the same respect he had hitherto done, and was yet so highly civil to him, that the next day when he departed from *Montauban* to go towards the Court, accompanied with the Duke of *Montpensier*, *Mareschal Bassompierre*, and several other persons of very great quality, that follow'd his Litter on Horseback; he was so highly respectful to the Duke, that he would not offer to go into it, so long as the Duke staid with him, which was nevertheless half a League at least from the City, but entertain'd him all the way on Horseback, though so soon as he took his leave he went into his Litter, without retaining the same respect to any of the rest.

I cannot, before I proceed any further, omit an observation I made at the Entertainment, of which we are now speaking, and of which the several misfortunes of the most eminent persons there have often put me in mind. There was scarce any body at the Cardinal's Table, excepting the Dukes of *Montmorency*, and *Espernon*, the *Mareschal Bassompierre*, and *Marillac*; three of which  
were

were the Cardinal's most intimate friends, and he would needs rank the fourth in that degree: from whence, if we consider what advantage, he amongst them all, that was the best us'd in succession of time, reap'd from his friendship; we shall understand upon how tickle, and dangerous a point, all Court favour depends.

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The Duke of *Espernon* was no sooner resolv'd upon a Journey to Court. but that he would in the first place acquaint the Prince of *Condé* with his purpose, and therein consult his advice; the respect he bore to this Prince, and the confidence he repos'd in his Friendship being such, as would not permit him to settle the least resolution, without making him privy to his design: wherein there was nothing of dissimulation, for he was effectually the Princes Servant, and to such a degree, that it must have been a service of a very foul nature, he would not chearfully have undertaken for him. He therefore dispatch'd away his Secretary to him, to acquaint him with his determination, and thereupon to beg his advice. The Prince was at this time at *Rabastens* in *\* Albigeois*, where after the Secretary had deliver'd what was given him in charge from the Duke his Master, the Prince with great civility return'd this answer: "That he concern'd himself very much in  
"all the Duke's interests: That in another time, and during the  
"favour of the *Luines*, he might have been capable of giving  
"him such advice, as he durst have answer'd would have been  
"serviceable to him, they having been men of so candid dispositions, as that their intentions might have been perfectly discover'd; but that at present he was so totally in the dark, as to  
"any understanding in the designs of those who were now at  
"the Helm: That he durst not adventure to give the Duke any  
"counsel, lest something might happen as prejudicial to his advice, as contrary to his desire; only he had very good intelligence that the *Garde des Sceaux* had been very busie, and inquisitive in making a collection of what Warrants the Duke had issued out, for the subsistence of such Forces as had serv'd in his  
"Government: That indeed he could not tell to what end he  
"had done it; but he could not imagine it would be to any good  
"intent, and that therefore the Duke might, if he pleas'd, consider of it. With which uncertain answer the Secretary was dismiss'd. The Duke, who was very secure of his own innocency (and it is to be wish'd he had been as cautious, and moderate to his own good, as he was perfectly honest to the King) did not, for all this caution, desist from still earnestly soliciting his leave, which in the end, after the Cardinal's arrival at Court, he obtain'd

The Duke  
acquaints  
the Prince  
of *Condé*  
with his resolution of  
going to  
Court.

\* A Coun-  
treys in *Lan-  
guedoc.*

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1629. tain'd, by a very favourable dispatch from the King himself to that effect.

The Duke  
of *Espenon*  
arrives at  
Court, and  
is very well  
receiv'd.

The Duke no sooner receiv'd this permission, but that he made all the haste he could to Court, to avoid the inconvenience of a Winter Journey; which he did by coming to *Paris* before *All-Saints*. At his arrival (as at other times) he was welcom'd with a great number of persons of Quality, who came out to meet him, and to attend him to the *Louvre*; where he first alighted, and where he was by his Majesty much better receiv'd, than he expected, by reason of several ill offices he knew had been done him to the King. It was indeed chiefly to justify himself from those aspersions, that he had been so passionately importunate for leave to come to Court; and he had express'd so much in his Letters, which was perhaps the thing that made his permission so hard to obtain; Princes being commonly no better dispos'd to admit of excuses, than they are to make them. From the *Louvre* he went to wait upon the Cardinal, to whom he stood oblig'd, not only for his leave to come, but also for his Majesties gracious reception now he was come, and was by him also receiv'd after a most infinitely obliging manner, the Cardinal still improving his civilities, and again making him a new tender of his service upon all occasions, as indeed from that time forward he began to distinguish him by his respect, from all other great persons of the Kingdom.

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1630. Already either the multiplicity of business with which the Cardinal was continually taken up, or the design he had to render his person more venerable, and more authoritative, by communicating it to few, had put him upon that stately way of living, that he was very rarely to be seen: insomuch that the Dukes, and Peers of *France*, the Officers of the Crown, the blue Garters, and whoever of the highest quality of the Kingdom, made no difficulty to wait below in the Hall, amongst a promiscuous crowd of Clients, and Suitors, the hours of his leisure, whether they came only to visit, or to speak with him about their Affairs: nay and were glad to go sometimes twice, sometimes more, before they could get access to his person: But the Cardinal, who was well enough acquainted with the Duke's temper to know, that such a repulse would not need to fright him for ever coming again to see him, entreated him beforehand, never to give himself the trouble of coming to see him, without first giving him notice, that he might always be at liberty to receive him: a rule the Duke on his part so well observ'd, that he never came, but all the Gates were open'd to him; his Coach admitted into the  
Court,

Extraordi-  
nary civili-  
ties of the  
Cardinal to  
the Duke of  
*Espenon*.



Court, and himself to all the freedom he could desire ; when oftentimes persons of very great condition could hardly be admitted at the Wicket.

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It has however been believ'd that all these extraordinary civilities began at *Montauban*, and continued to this time, were not altogether without design. Some have thought that the Cardinal, who evidently perceiv'd that the Queen Mother (who had suffered her self to be wrought upon by some ill offices had been done him in his absence) to be grown cold in her affection to him, would have been glad to have made the Duke his friend. He was powerful in himself, and much more in his Sons ; so that being secur'd of their friendship (which the whole Court knew to be faithful and inviolate where they once took) he thought he could receive no so violent an assault of Fortune, he should not be able, whilst back'd with so powerful a Family to withstand. There was great probability in this conjecture, and the Duke himself (as clear-sighted as any) was perhaps of the same opinion ; but if on the one side the Cardinal courted the Duke's friendship for this reason, the Duke on the other side would by no means go directly opposite to the Queen Mothers inclinations. He had ever honour'd her, though he had not always been well us'd by her ; and, having ever imputed to the Cardinal himself the greatest part of those unkindnesses he had receiv'd from this Princess, was more dissatisfied with him, than the Queen Mother for the ill returns of his Service. But another reason which made him so reserv'd in the acceptation of this precipitous friendship, was the imperious superiority the Cardinal pretended to over all the other great men of the Kingdom ; which the Duke could never allow him over himself to the degree that he desir'd, as still retaining a memory how much he had known him inferiour to him. All these considerations together rendred him less complacent, than could have been wish'd for the prosperity of his own Affairs : I shall not nevertheless herein take upon me to censure the Duke's conduct, nor attempt to pass so liberal a judgment upon a person I am, for so many respects, oblig'd to honour ; though the event made it plain, that had he carried things otherwise, he had done better. In short the Duke was so much the more reserv'd to the Cardinal, than he expected he should be, that the ardour of his sudden affection cooling by degrees every day more and more, degenerated at last into a perfect hatred, and from thence to persecution, as we shall hereafter, in due order of time, and the occurrences of Affairs, make more evidently to appear.

All things that had hitherto pass'd betwixt the Duke, and the Cardi-

Anno 1630. Cardinal were well enough understood; and this good intelligence continued till the Cardinals departure for *Italy*, the Duke being (as has been said) ever treated by him with extraordinary kindness, and respect far different from what he shew'd to all other persons of the same condition; yet could not the Duke (whose humour was impatient of any thing that touch'd him) sometimes forbear lashing out into very free expressions (giving the Cardinal thereby very often to understand, that he was not to expect any mean, or submits toleration from him) of which I shall here present you one example. The Cardinal either presuming upon the authority of his favour with the King, or the affection he pretended to have for the Duke, took one day the liberty to give him some advice concerning his deportment; whereupon falling into discourse of his severe humour, and giving him counsel to correct it, he did it merrily in the Duke's own broad *Gascon* accent (from which, how long a habitude soever he had had at Court, he could never totally wean himself) which interweaving with some very civil expressions, he seriously desir'd him in the end not to take it ill, if he had made a little bold with him in imitating his own way of speaking: to which this untractable spirit (highly offended at a raillery something too familiar for his humour) briskly reply'd: "*Why should I take that ill from you, which I suffer from Marais, who every day acts me in your presence? This Marais was one of the Grooms of the Chamber to the King, a pleasant fellow, and a Buffoon, that had a marvellous faculty of imitation; who by his faces, and tricks would make folks laugh; and when acting before the King, and the Cardinal, would make as bold with the Duke of Espernon, as other people. It cannot be imagin'd, but that without all doubt this comparison must needs displease the Cardinal; neither were the Duke's Servants, and Friends, to whom he related this passage at his coming home, much better satisfied with it: but the words were already out of his mouth, and were no more to be recall'd: Every one apprehended this liberty would draw upon him the hatred of him that was all powerful at Court; yet did nothing at present appear: so that if the Cardinal was really distasted at it, he nevertheless deferr'd his revenge till a fitter season.*"

A smart reply of the Duke of Espernon to the Cardinal.

New stirs at Court, occasion'd by the discontents of the Queen Mother, and the *Monsieur*.

And indeed he had at this time something else to do, than to stand upon a particular Quarrel with the Duke of *Espernon*, so many other Affairs of very high concern falling upon him at once, and at the same instant, that perhaps in his life he never had so hard a Game to play. The Queen Mother had long been very much dissatisfied with his proceeding; and her ill will, grown now to a greater

greater degree than ever, she could no longer forbear to profess an open, and implacable hatred against him. She could not endure that a man who was her Creature, and rais'd by her bounty, should get the start of her in the confidence of the King her Son, wherein by all the reasons in the world she ought to be preferr'd, and that made her directly oppose all his Counsels, which how well soever they succeeded, she still found matter enough to render them suspected to the King, and to discredit them by sinister interpretations. So great a power as this hitherto entire, and fortified by all the considerations of duty, and nature, was not easily to be baffled by a Servant, and who had no other support, than the affection of his Master, of it self mutable and uncertain; so that the Cardinal seeing himself assaulted by so passionate, and so powerful an Enemy, might reasonably enough apprehend being crush'd to nothing under the weight of her Authority, and Power: but as mischiefs seldom come alone, several Forein troubles also concurr'd with this disorder at home: The Duke of Savoy was grown by this time sensible of the dishonourable peace he had concluded at Suze: to which the loss of *Montferrat* stuck mainly in his stomach: He had reckon'd himself sure of the conquest of this place, and indeed had not the King interpos'd, that Countrey had by this time been wholly in his possession: He had therefore more firmly than ever confederated himself with the House of *Austria*, to the end they might joyntly invade the Duke of *Mantua*; the rumour of which preparation was already spread abroad, and they were already in Arms; in which condition this desolate Prince had no body to fly to for protection, save only the King of *France*. His interests, that could not without infamy be abandoned, put the Cardinals Affairs into very great danger; who, as on the one side he very well knew that Court divisions, which are the issue of ease, and rest, are ordinarily smother'd in employment, and of all other in that of War: So he also saw that this War being to be undertaken by his Counsels, to which the Queen Mother was directly opposite, he should become responsible for the event, and that the least disaster that should happen would infallibly be laid at his door. Yet, as if all these difficulties had been too few to perplex him, another of no less importance fell out at the same time, which was the discontent of the *Monsieur*, and his sudden retirement from Court; to which also another succeeded, and that was the Duke of *Lorain's* taking Arms, to joyn with the Emperour; who having a design to possess us with some jealousy of our Frontier of *Lorain* (thereby to give the Confederate Princes more leisure to make

Anno  
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The Queen  
Mother  
professes an  
open hatred  
to the Car-  
dinal.

The War  
with Savoy.

The Mon-  
sieur discon-  
tented.

The Duke  
of Lorain  
takes Arms.

make

Anno 1630. make a Progress in Italy) seem'd to threaten Metz, by advancing that way with his Army, and fortifying all the places upon that Frontier.

The Cardinal's dexterity in composing these Affairs.

In this conflux of untoward accidents, the Cardinal, though he could work nothing upon the implacable spirit of the Queen Mother, he found means nevertheless to appease the *Monsieur*, and to bring him back to Court, by obtaining for him from the King, whatever he could either for himself, or in the behalf of his friends, demand or desire. He sent moreover into *Lorain* to sound the Duke's intentions, who for this time dissembling his designs, protested he had taken Arms for no other end, than to serve the King, by opposing the Emperours designs; who, he said, could attempt nothing upon his Countrey, that must not infallibly redound to the prejudice of *France*. So that by this means the Cardinal having either compos'd, diverted, or at least deferr'd part of those mischiefs that most immediately press'd upon him, he would himself undertake the expedition of *Italy*; whilst the King should totally reclaim the *Monsieur* his Brother, and satisfy all his discontents, by the performance of those things that had been promis'd to him.

The Cardinal's expedition into Italy.

The Cardinal was no sooner arriv'd in *Savoy*, but that he sent to feel the pulse of that Duke, whom finding still constant to his old State Maxims (which was by fair words, and large promises to amuse such, as were likely to hinder his designs, whilst he in the mean time was still intent upon his business) he fell so briskly to work, that having taken from him *Pignerol*, and some other strong places, the *Savoyard* was at last constrain'd to return again to his first Treaty.

The King resolves upon a Voyage into Italy.

The King awak'd by this good success of his Arms, and unwilling the glory they seem'd to assure should derive to a Servant, resolv'd upon a Journey into *Italy* to command his Army in his own person; neither though the Cardinal was ambitious to the height, was he at this time sorry, he should come to eclipse his honour, since he must leave *Paris* to do it, where he knew all ill offices were perpetually done him. The interest of his conservation therefore prevail'd here with the Cardinal over his insatiate thirst of Glory: but the Queen Mother stiffly oppos'd this Voyage, by representing to the King the interests of his health, and safety; to which she forgot not to add the Cardinals inordinate ambition, who she said car'd not to expose both the one, and the other for his own particular vanity. But all these remonstrances prov'd in the end too weak to prevail; so that the appetite of Honour prevailing above all other considerations, and his Majesty being

being not to be staid at home: the Queen Mother to give the Cardinal less time to reestablish himself with the King (who had after much importunity consented at last to his banishment) was resolv'd to follow the King her Son to *Lyons*; to try if she could, whilst he was in this good disposition, obtain the effects of his promise.

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1630.

The King then in *April* set forwards from *Paris* towards *Italy*, the glorious success of which second Expedition, making up one of the most illustrious parts of General History, it ought not to be contracted within the narrow bounds of a particular Life; wherein the Duke of *Espernon* having also had no share, I should not have waded so far as I have done into these secret Affairs of Court, had they not at last proceeded to involve him further therein, than he had himself intended to engage.

Before the King's departure from *Paris*, the Duke especially solicitous of his Service within the Precincts of his own Government, intreated his Majesty to appoint him an *Intendant de la Justice*; he having at his coming out of *Guienne* left there neither Lieutenant, nor Intendant in his absence to look after his Majesties Affairs in that Province: a request that the King being very willing to grant, as it principally concern'd himself, he gave the Duke liberty to choose whom he should think fit out of his Council. The Employment, being one of the greatest honour, was coveted by several persons of very great desert; but the Duke preferring above all those who made suit for it, one of the Council, that perhaps least dream'd of any such thing, entreated *Monsieur de Vertbamont* Master of Requests to accept it. This person of approved honesty, and equal capacity, had, in several Employments of very great importance, given very good proofs both of the one, and the other: but these qualities how eminent soever, were yet accompanied with another that serv'd no less to recommend him to the Duke's Election; and that was the great friendship betwixt him and *Monsieur d'Autry*, at that time President *Seguier*, and since *Gard des Sceaux*, and Chancellor of *France*; with whose good conduct in the same Commission, the Duke had been so highly satisfied, that he desir'd nothing more, than one that would imitate his Vertue to succeed him: and he hop'd to find in this Gentleman, what he had already prov'd in his Predecessor; neither was he deceiv'd in his Judgment, he found his expectation answer'd to the full. And for ten years together that *Vertbamont* serv'd the King in the Duke's Government, he gave the Duke so many testimonies of his integrity, and vertue, and in return receiv'd from the Duke so high, and so just applause, that I dare be bold to affirm, there was never observ'd the least dissent, or contrariety betwixt them.

*The end of the Ninth Book.*





THE  
**H I S T O R Y**  
 Of the LIFE of the  
**Duke of Espernon.**

The Tenth Book.



**A**T the same time that *Verthamont* departed for *Guienne*, the Duke of *Espernon* was preparing to go to *Metz*, there to expose his person for the defense of so important a place. A Journey to which he was continually press'd by the constant intelligence he receiv'd from thence, that the Emperours Forces every day increas'd, that he was fortifying *Moyenvic*, a very considerable place near that City; and that the Duke of *Lorain* (notwithstanding all his fair pretenses) was certainly confederated with the House of *Austria*, to the prejudice of the Kingdom of *France*. The Duke *de la Valette* his Son had, by his Majesties Command, been sent away before, upon the first jealousy the Court had conceiv'd of the Emperours, and the Duke of *Lorains* designs: but the Duke, prudently considering, that a Frontier of so great importance could not be too carefully provided for, went with some of his friends to put himself into it, having moreover engag'd several other persons of condition (who had staid behind at *Paris* after the King's departure) if occasion

Anno  
1636.

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*Metz*, the  
Duke of *E/-  
spernon* puts  
himself into  
the place.

Anno  
1630.

were, to come, and joyn themselves with him, for the defense of the place: So that had it ever come to a Siege, the respect that several worthy men bore to the Duke's person would, without all doubt, have invited a great many persons of great quality, and approv'd valour, to serve in so honourable an occasion. But there hapned to be no need of any such thing; and perhaps the presence of the Duke, and the prudent care he, together with the Duke his Son, took for the preservation of that City, made the Emperour alter his design, by putting him out of all hopes to effect it.

The Duke  
of Espernon  
comes to  
Metz.

The Duke arriv'd at Metz the first of May, where he was receiv'd with manifestations of an universal joy in the people, becoming their gratitude, and his own desert. In his way thither he had call'd to see the *Mareschal de Marillac*, who as he was at this time (at least in outward appearance) in greatest repute with the Cardinal, so had he the principal charge of the Affairs of that Countrey committed to his care; wherein doubtless this unfortunate Gentleman labour'd to his own ruine, and to the Sentence of Death that not long after pass'd upon him: for the Duke found him busie fortifying the Cittadel of *Verdun*, preparing provisions, and other necessaries for the Army of *Champagne*, and performing several other Services, which after pass'd for Crimes, that were judg'd worthy of no less than Death. The Duke was by him receiv'd with all sorts of honour, and noble entertainment; to which the *Mareschal* soon after added a visit at Metz, where they consulted long together of what was best to be done for the King's Service upon that Frontier, continuing ever after in a more strict correspondence than before.

He visits the  
*Mareschal*  
de *Marillac*.

The Duke's  
orders for  
the defense  
of Metz.

The Duke was no sooner arriv'd at Metz, but that he forthwith fell to work about the repair of the old Fortifications of the City, and to the designing of new; he sent moreover to solicit the Duke of *Orleans* (left Regent during the King's absence) for a supply of some Ammunitions of War: but he had first sent a dispatch to the King to acquaint him with his motion towards the Frontier: with which his Majesty in his answer of the 23. of May declar'd himself to be highly satisfied; sending him word, "That his being in those parts, would secure his fears for what concern'd the safety of the whole Frontier of *Lorain*; exhorting him to continue his vigilancy, and care for the conservation of so important a place; assuring him withal of his good will, and affection, and of the esteem he had of his person, justly grounded upon his merit, and old Services for the Crown. Which were in part the express words of that Dispatch.

In



In the mean time the rumor daily increasing that *Wallestein* was advancing with his Army to waste the Countrey about *Metz*, and afterwards to block it up by Forts, and the Duke conceiving that the King would be so taken up in *Savoy*, that he could not come to relieve him, should he chance to be reduc'd to any great straight; he saw it was necessary for him to make use of his own Credit, Money, and Friends, therewithal to serve his Majesty upon this occasion. He writ therefore to the *Cardinal de la Valette* his Son, who was then with the King, to tell his Majesty, the Queen Mother, and the Cardinal, That foreseeing how hard a thing it would be for his Majesty in the heat of his Enterprizes, to provide for the necessaries of the place, and Frontier, where he had the honour to serve him, he franckly offer'd, if his Majesty would give him leave, upon his own credit, to raise and arm ten thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse for the defense of the City of *Metz*, and the *Messine* Countrey. An offer that the King, with high commendations of his worth, as freely accepted, writing him a very obliging Letter thereupon; and the Cardinal in his dispatch dated from *St. Jean de Morienne* the 25<sup>th</sup>. of *July*, expressing himself thus: "As concerning the offer you have made the King, to advance money for the Levies you desire to set on foot, his Majesty looks upon it with such an eye of acknowledgement, as the quality of so generous an offer does justly deserve; knowing, as he does, the zeal you have to the success of his Affairs, and the power you have, as heretofore, to serve him for the time to come,

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1630.

The Duke offers the King to raise an Army upon his own interest.

Which is accepted.

The Duke to add effects to this promise, departed from *Metz* about the end of *July*, to return to *Paris*, there to raise money for his Leavies, and to provide himself of such men of Command, as were willing to take employments upon this occasion; but the threats of the Imperialists by little, and little, vanishing at last to nothing, they satisfied themselves with having fortified *Moyenvic*, which was soon after taken, and demolish'd by the King's Army: and the Duke of *Lorain*, not daring at this time wholly to discover his evil intention, staid to expect a fitter season, which also was not far off, wherein to do it; as he afterwards did, but with very ill success, as will in its due place appear.

The Duke being thus return'd to *Paris*, deliver'd of those apprehensions he had been possess'd withal concerning *Metz*, and satisfied with his present condition, sat still, calmly expecting, without any disquiet in his own particular concerns, the issue of the great Contests at this time on foot in the Court at *Lyons*; where, it was said, the Queen Mothers animosity against the Car-

The Duke of Espernon returns to Paris.

dinal

Anno  
1630.

The King  
falls sick at  
*Lyons.*

dinal was increas'd to such a degree, that in the greatest height of the King's sickness, which at this time was exceeding violent, she omitted no opportunity of incensing his Majesty against him, as the sole author of his Disease; wherein her importunities were so great, as at last to obtain a solemn promise from the King, that so soon as the War of *Italy* was at an end, he would give her the satisfaction she desir'd, by removing this great Minister from the Administration of Affairs.

Though the peril the Cardinal was now in, was very great, and that the Duke had continual intelligence of all that pass'd at Court, yet did he notwithstanding still continue towards him the same civility, and respect; he writ to him very often, and in truth so long as that great cloud of disgrace hung over his head, the Duke would have been really sorry, that it should have broke upon him: though he had by his dexterity no sooner clear'd the sky of Favour, but that the Duke, who could not brook his excess of Authority, and Power, converted all his former complacency into testimonies of hatred; that fail'd very little, as we shall hereafter see, of rebounding back upon himself, to his own ruine. Which till it shall more plainly appear, I shall only say this by the way, that the Duke had doubtless a very great esteem for the Cardinal, never speaking of him, so much as in private, but with a Character of Honour, and respect; so that, had he not expected from his friends an over-servile, and submiss regard, I do verily believe the Duke's friendship would have been constant, and inviolate to him: but a civility that went very far with the haughty humour of the one, appearing nothing to the excessive ambition of the other, the Cardinal enduring no equal, and the Duke hardly admitting of any superior; it was impossible so to compose things betwixt two so aspiring spirits, but that they would at last break out into an open feud.

Whilst the Court at *Lyons* was agitated with this Tempest of Division, of which we are now speaking, the Duke of *Espernon* in the greatest calm, and serenity of repose, enjoy'd at *Paris* the honour, and applause, that his well known, and long continued vertue, had acquir'd to his person, and name; insomuch that, as his Coach pass'd through the streets, we had continually the pleasure of seeing the people flock together in crowds from all parts of the City to gaze upon him; considering with admiration so vigorous a health in so great an extremity of age, pursuing him with acclamations wherever he went; and the old hatred, that the former Factions had stirr'd up against him, being now converted into love, and esteem, gave us to understand, that envy is not always

ways the concomitant of Vertue; but that there is a certain pitch, to which the one, being once arriv'd, is got clear out of sight of the other, which of a mean and earthy composition cannot shoot its darts so far as to reach the Station, where Supreme Vertue is enthron'd.


Anno  
1630.

In this great, and undisturbed leisure, that the Duke enjoy'd at *Paris*, he who was himself a great lover of Building, could find no better entertainment wherewithal to divert himself, than by going abroad to see the Houses, in and about the City, which were then erecting, with the magnificence that we now admire in our proud and stately Structures. Amongst others, going one day in very good company to the *Hofstel de Luxembourg*, that the Queen Mother was then finishing, they entred the Gallery, where she had caus'd the manner of her escape from *Blois* (as the most remarkable passage of her life) to be painted in Story. One of the most apparent evidences the Duke could possibly receive, that that service of his was no more regarded, was, that he, who had been the sole Authour of the whole Action, was no where represented in that painting, though so much as the very Footmen that opened the Boots of her Coach had not been omitted. He had heard before of this injustice that had been done him; but though it had touch'd him very near, had never manifested the least discontent: neither do I believe he would have said any thing upon this occasion, if the company who were with him, had not provok'd him to it: But every one asking him questions of a thing whereof they knew he was able to give them the best account, at last some one freer than the rest, ask'd him how it came to pass that he was only left out of the story? to which the Duke modestly reply'd: "That he did not know who had done him that wrong; but that whoever they were that intended to disoblige him in it, had doubtless therein more offended the Queen, than him: That he was very certain (however excluded the story) that no one could condemn him for having any ways fail'd in the action, or in any thing he had undertaken for the Queen upon that occasion, his carriage of that business being too generally known for that; neither did he believe they would much magnifie her, for having deny'd him so poor an acknowledgement.

A sudden answer of the Duke of Espernon to a very nice quest on.

If the Duke was very well pleas'd to see himself in such a degree of reputation and esteem, upon one of the most conspicuous Theatres of Europe; he was no less afflicted at the ill news he daily receiv'd from his Government, where their Corn Harvest had prov'd this year so thin, that thereupon a great, and deplorable

A Famine itt  
Guienne.

*Anno* 1630.  rable Famine ensu'd throughout the whole Province of *Guienne*. Neither did the Duke fail in this exigent to try all possible ways to relieve them; for after having given order for the distribution of all the Grain that could be gather'd in his own Territories, he moreover dealt with some Merchants of *Paris*, who undertook, that provided they might have Commission from the King, out of *Picardy*, and *Britanny*, to make sufficient provision wherewithal to supply that Province. They had no sooner made this proposition to the Duke, but that he immediately dispatch'd away an express Courier to the King to obtain that leave, which was accordingly granted; upon the return of which dispatch those, who had so largely promis'd, did indeed perform something; but nothing near what they had made the Duke expect: so that nothing could so divert the Judgment Almighty God was pleas'd to inflict upon this delicate part of *France*; but that in less than six months space above forty thousand persons miserably dy'd for want of bread; a number that had in all probability yet been much greater, had the Duke's care to their preservation been less, by which the evil was at least moderated, though it could not be totally overcome.

In the mean time the King's health was so miraculously restor'd at *Lyons*, that his Majesty resolv'd to return back to *Paris*; during which Voyage 'tis said the Cardinal employ'd all manner of industry, and offer'd all sorts of submission to the Queen Mother to reconcile himself to her favour; but all in vain, she was still so implacably bent against him, that the Peace of *Italy* being already concluded, and consequently the time come wherein the King had promis'd her to remove the Cardinal, they were no sooner arriv'd at *Paris*, but that pursuing this Affair with the same vehemency she had begun, and so as if she had already foreseen all those evils she justly had to fear, she was importunately instant with the King for the accomplishment of his Royal Word. What repugnancy soever the King might have to deprive himself of a Servant he had found very useful to him in the management of his Affairs, yet the respect to a Mother, and the obligation of Nature had so prevailing a power over his own interest, and delight, that the Order was at last sign'd for the Cardinal's removal; when the King to avoid either the Ceremony, or Complaints of a Favourites farewell, return'd upon that, and no other accompt to *Versaille*, from whence he was come but a few days before. Doubtless had the Queen Mother gone along with the King this little Journey, she had made her self absolute Mistress of Affairs, and there had been an end of the Cardinal: But she thinking the work

Cardinal  
*Richelieu* in  
disgrace.

work already done, though she had but begun it (a common oversight) and out of that belief stopping short in the heat of her persecution, gave the Cardinal by that means leisure to reestablish himself with the King, and totally to subvert the power, that had been employ'd to his ruine.

Anno  
1630.

Yet was it not by his own prudence, and conduct, that he was thus suddenly restor'd, who on the contrary had set up his Rest, and was content to submit to his Fortune by withdrawing himself from Court; a resolution wherein he had been so precipitous, that he went the very evening of his disgrace to lye at *Pointoise*, from thence to continue his journey to *Havre de Grace*, the place he had made choice of for his retirement. His equipage was already prepar'd, already he was by the most of his friends (the first, and most ordinary effect of disgrace) slighted, and forsaken, and nothing but solitude remain'd in his House; when the Cardinal *de la Valette*, prompted by a design more generous in it self, than advantageous to, or perhaps expedient for the concerns of his own Family; rousing up the subdu'd spirit of his dejected Friend, made him by force of Arguments recollect himself, and see his error. He remonstrated to him, as it is sufficiently known to all the Kingdom (though so long as the Cardinal lived no one durst record it) "That he could not assume a more dangerous resolution, than to think of retiring himself: That such as had once rais'd their fortunes to that height to which his was now arriv'd, had no steps left them by which again to descend: That he had no way to maintain himself in the height he then was, but by aspiring higher, that therein the way before him was honourable and secure; but that there was nothing but precipice behind him, which upon the least motion of retiring would give him such a fall, that he would never be able to rise again: That he deceiv'd himself, if he thought his adversaries would satisfie themselves with what they had already done; it being plain that they must still apprehend the recovery of his power, which would be so much the more formidable to them, as he had been by them more justly provok'd: That he was therefore to go boldly to the King, whilst the memory of his Services was yet recent, and whilst his enemies (blinded with their good success) had left a passage open to him, through which he might at great ease, and with great safety, travel to the ruine of their designs: That he would himself accompany him to run his share of the danger (if any could be) in the execution of what he did advise; and that having made him a promise of his friendship, he would preserve it inviolate to him in the one, and the other

Cardinal  
*Richelieu*  
restores  
himself with  
the King, by  
the advice  
of the Car-  
dinal *de la*  
*Valette*.

Anno 1630. *Fortune.* What might not a friend have reasonably expected in acknowledgement of so prudent, and so generous a counsel, and that was crown'd with so favourable a success? we shall nevertheless in a short time see a sad return of that seasonable kindness.

The two Cardinals go together to the King to *Versaille*, where whilst the Queen Mother remains at *Paris* they overthrow all her designs.

Cardinal *Richelieu* fortified by this advice, instead of taking his way towards *Havre de Grace*, went directly to *Versaille*, where addressing himself to the King, and being better acquainted than any with all the little Labyrinths of his Majesties humour, he soon, by the charms of his Eloquence, overthrew whatever his Enemies thought they had establish'd by more powerful ways. In the mean time the Queen Mother, dreaming of nothing less than so sudden a change, already reign'd in *Paris*, behaving herself to all that came near her person like one who was now got to be the Sovereign Arbiters of all Affairs; and no more caring either to improve, or retain her Interest with persons whose Service she conceiv'd for the future unnecessary to the support of her Power. The Duke of *Espernon* hapned (to his good Fortune) to be one of these; he had the day preceding the Thunder-clap against the Cardinal, and of a long time before, receiv'd all kind of civil respect from this Queen; but after his dismissal presenting himself before her as he us'd to do, she had so little regard for him, as before his face to hold discourse an hour together with people of far inferiour quality, without so much as vouchsafing him one word. A neglect which if it was resent'd by the Duke (as it was to the last degree) it was notwithstanding of no little advantage to him: for the Cardinal, who knew how solicitous the Queen Mother had been to win him to her party before his disgrace, who was not ignorant of the strong connexion he had with the House of *Guise*, and above all of the great intimacy that was betwixt the Princess of *Conty* and him; and who had been moreover inform'd that the night preceding his disfavour, he had been long in secret Conference with the *Mareschal de Bassompierre* one of his most passionate enemies, had from all these knowledges conceiv'd a violent presumption, that the Duke must of necessity be deeply engag'd in his enemies interests, and designs. But the Queen's indifferency did in part justify him from that suspicion, though some have believ'd that that alone would not have been sufficient absolutely to have clear'd him from the Cardinal's jealousy, nor to have secur'd him from imprisonment at least, if the late merits of the Cardinal his Son had not rescu'd him from that danger. It was in truth very necessary some body else should have that care of him, he being so far from contributing

An alteration in Affairs at Court.

buting in the least to his own preservation, that on the contrary after the face of Affairs was wholly chang'd, that the Queen Mother was fallen as well from her hopes, as her credit with the King, that the Princess of *Conty* was confin'd to her own House, that the *Garde des Sceaux Marillac* was under the same restraint, that *Mareschal Bassompierre* was clapt up Prisoner in the *Bastile*, and that an Order was granted out to call the *Mareschal Marillac* from the command of an Army to undergo an infamous Execution: In fine after the fatal day call'd *la journée des Dupes* had produc'd so many dire effects, that not only all the men of Quality, but almost all of any name at Court, went to visit the Cardinal, to dispossess him of the opinion, that they might have been any way inimical to him: the Duke of *Espernon* was perhaps the only man that would not go to see him, nor once offer to justify himself from the jealousy he might reasonably enough conceive of his disaffection, and that purposely the more to manifest it to him. He went 'tis true to *Versaille*, where he saw the King, and had the honour to talk with him; but he would never be prevail'd upon to go into the Cardinal's Chamber, though very near the King's, to pay him the least civility, or respect. I saw *le Plessis* the same night infinitely afflicted at this carriage; this Gentleman who was very discreet, well vers'd in Affairs, and much more passionate for his Masters interests, than for any thing that concern'd himself, had importun'd him to give the Cardinal a Visit; but according to his custom, the more he represented to him the danger of not doing it, the more obstinate he was not to do it, his haughty, and undaunted spirit, rather choosing to transgress the Maxims of Policy, and Prudence, than those of Bravery and Honour. It is indeed true that he went two days after to see him, where (the Cardinal knowing every tittle of what had pass'd) it may be imagin'd how he was receiv'd; though the Duke, without being concern'd at his cold entertainment, said to those who spoke to him of it: "That he had done as he ought to do; that every one did  
 "not understand the distinction that ought to be made betwixt  
 "the Master and the Servant; that those were respects so different  
 "in themselves, as they ought not to be slightly confounded; and  
 "that he was old enough to carry the authority of Example.

Of all the means that can be propos'd for the establishment of a prodigious power, there is none so certain as attempts that are vainly made to suppress it; it appearing that whatever is imperfect in the one, does ever give increase to the other; neither can there be any so imprudent, or so dangerous a resolution, as to offend a great Minister by halves; since by making him sensible of

Anno  
1630.

All people  
address  
themselves  
to the Car-  
dinal.

Except the  
Duke of  
*Espernon*:

Anno  
1631:

Anno

1631.



The Cardinal falls foul upon his enemies.

not sparing the *Monfieur*,

nor the Queen Mother.

The Duke of *Espernon* retires into his Government of *Guienne*, which he finds in a most deplorable condition.

the power he has to revenge himself, you give him at the same time a pretense to do it with some colour of Justice. It fell out so in the violent, but fruitless endeavours the Cardinal's Enemies made use of to work his ruine; by which being made to understand the interest he had in the King's bosom, and employing that interest under the sole pretense of retorting the injuries he had visibly receiv'd, he found his Majesty so much the more inclin'd to take his part, as he saw there was a kind of equity in the case: wherein he would not do his business by halves, as his enemies had done; but vigorously pressing them, who either had already fall'n foul upon him, or who had yet the power to do it; he put himself by that means into a condition of living not only in security, but also in repose for the time to come, by removing all such as were likely, either to molest his Peace, or to trouble his Affairs.

As the *Monfieur* was the person whose power of all others (after having publickly declar'd himself his Enemy in his own House) the Cardinal had most cause to fear; so was he the first he took occasion to fright from Court, by causing him to be possess'd, that his person was not there very secure: the Queen Mother also was by the same device perswaded to depart from *Compeigne* to retire into *Flanders*: So that these two being remov'd out of the way, and all the Queens adherents being either clapt up in prison, or confin'd to their own Houses, nothing remain'd that could bring any obstacle to his designs, or stop the swing of his Fortune, that now sail'd with all her Canvas a trip in the full Tide of Favour.

The Duke of *Espernon* was yet at Court in the midst of this Tempest, who judging by the example of the wrack of these great Fortunes, what power the Cardinal would have over him, unless he did wholly submit himself to his pleasure, he chose rather calmly, and without disorder, to retire into his own Government, than to preserve himself by submitting to so unhandsome, and so dishonourable a compliance.

He departed then from *Paris* in *June* 1631. to return into his Government of *Guienne*, where being arriv'd he found that miserable Province in the most desolate condition that can possibly be imagin'd: the Famine had there been succeeded by a Plague; and if by his Wisdom, and good conduct, he had not deliver'd them from the third Judgment, which was that of the Sword, by keeping those Regiments quiet, that, after the Peace was concluded, had been sent thither to be refresh'd, there had been an end of that pleasant part of *France*: but his good Discipline in restrain-



restraining the licence of the unruly Souldiers, that were quarter'd in the Countrey; the good order he took for bringing in the relief of Corn; and the care he had, that the Magistrates, and Officers of Health, perform'd their duty in endeavouring to stop the progress of the Contagion in the City, were to so good effect; that without all doubt, both *Bordeaux*, and the whole Province stand eternally oblig'd to his vigilancy and care.

Anno  
1631.

After having taken the best order he could for the preservation of the Capital City, he departed thence with a resolution to continue some time at his house *Cadillac*; but he could not make so long a stay there, as he intended. This little place being in a manner necessitated by its situation so near to *Bordeaux*, and lying upon the same River, to have continual intercourse, and Commerce with the principal City, had thence caught the Infection, which, for ten or twelve days that the Duke made his abode there, made miserable havock among them; yet was it only upon the Inhabitants of the Town, as if it had had a respect to his Family: insomuch that although he never refused to admit any of the people into his house, that he went himself frequently to visit the sick in their Cabins, and that so numerous a Train as his, could not long continue in so little a place, without having some communication with infected persons; yet was there (which was a kind of Miracle) a continual health throughout his whole Family. At last at the importunity of his Domesticks, who were much more solicitous of him, than he was of himself, he resolv'd to leave the lower, and infected, to go seek out a better air, in the higher, and more healthful *Gascony*.

The Duke  
goes into  
the higher  
*Gascony*.

He went therefore first to *Nerac*, where he met intelligence of a Rebellion newly broken out at *Saint-Afrique*. This City, elevated to a strange degree of presumption, by having a Siege rais'd from before it, of which we have already spoken in the year 1628. receiv'd order at this time to quarter seven Foot Companies belonging to the Regiment of *Phalsbourg*, the same that has since long serv'd by the name of the Regiment of *Chamblay*: upon the receipt of which Order, the Inhabitants had betaken themselves to open Arms, shut up their Gates, and deny'd entrance to those Companies. Neither was this all, they proceeded from words to some untoward effects, some Souldiers were kill'd from the Walls of the City; neither did these seditious people fail of their endeavours to engage *Millant*, and some other neighbouring Cities of their Religion, in the same Revolt: but the Duke having upon the first notice of this disorder presently transferr'd himself to *Montauban*, with a resolution to proceed further

if

Anno

1631.

The Duke of Espernon stops the progress of a new Rebellion by dismantling several strong Cities of the Hugonot party.

if occasion should require, by his presence, prevented further mischief, which otherwise might have grown up to something of greater importance. The Inhabitants of *Saint-Afrique*, seeing themselves left alone, abandon'd by all their old Confederates, and Friends, and moreover besieg'd by old Souldiers that had lodg'd themselves under their Walls, resolv'd in the end to open their Gates to the Garrison, as they accordingly did; giving the Duke thereby an opportunity, he would by no means let slip, of tying them for ever fast to their duty. Making a right use therefore of the astonishment, and consternation they were then in, he commanded the Inhabitants to be disarm'd, and the Walls of their City to be demolish'd, according to the Articles of the last Peace granted to those of the Reform'd Religion. *Verthamont Intendant de la Justice* took upon him the charge of seeing it perform'd, who, together with his Office of *Intendant*, was moreover qualified with a Commission for the dismantling of several Cities of that Province, which had engag'd with the Duke of *Roohan* in the late Commotion. So that the Walls of *Millant*, one of the strongest Holds of that Party, were soon seen levell'd with the ground, as also those of *Saint-Afrique*, of *Pont de Camarés*, of *Saint-Rome*, *Tarn*, and several other places. Wherein so good order was taken, that there was no more fear this little Countrey, one of the hardest to be reclaim'd in the whole Kingdom, and that had been likewise one of the last, that had return'd to its obedience, should for the future commit any more offenses, or be guilty of any new Commotion.

The Inhabitants of *Montauban* cannot in this part of my story, without great injustice, be deny'd the due praise of behaving themselves exceedingly well upon this occasion; who no sooner heard the Duke design'd to come into their Countrey, but that they dispatch'd away some of the chiefest amongst them, to beseech him, that he would honour their City with his presence. An invitation wherein some scruple might reasonably have been made, and would the Duke have been govern'd by the advice of many of his Servants, he had not perhaps so easily given up himself to the discretion of a people, that it had not been in his power sometimes to use so kindly as he desir'd. To this consideration the present juncture of Affairs, rendred their complement much more suspected, *Saint-Afrique* (a Town of the *Hugonot* Party) was already revolted, and had solicited all the other Cities of the same Religion to concur with them in the maintenance (as they call'd it) of that little Liberty, they had left remaining; but the Duke by his generosity overcoming all these jealousies (sufficient of themselves

The Inhabitants of *Montauban* behave themselves very well upon this occasion.

themselves to have made a less daring man lose the opportunity of performing that Service for the King, he then did him) accepted their invitation, and went confidently to *Montauban*; where, if those of the Town had really any evil intention (which did nevertheless no ways appear) having by his presence dissolv'd that ill humour, he thereby rendred the mutinous designs of *Saint-Afrique* so inconsiderable, that they fell at last upon the heads of them, who had been the contrivers of the mischief.

The Duke at first had intended to have continu'd for some time at *Montauban*, believing that the Commotion of *Roiïergue* would not so soon have been appeas'd; but having by his prudent care compos'd things sooner than he expected, he in a few days found himself at liberty to go as far as the Frontier to the Baths at *Banieres*. This Countrey, abounding with Gentry equally to any other of the Kingdom, had been the Nursery from whence *Monsieur de la Valette* his Father, the Admiral his Brother, and himself had continually drawn out most of the brave men with which they had so gloriously serv'd their Kings, and maintain'd their own Fortunes; as it was also out of them, that he had constantly chosen most of his Officers for Foot Commands. The acknowledgment therefore of his former favours, being by no better way to be express'd, than by the great conflux of those he had oblig'd, they came to wait upon him in so great numbers, and so handsomely attended, that he could hardly have been better accompanied in any other part of his Government. They here pass'd away the time, as people usually do in the Bathing season, in all sorts of innocent Recreations, to which the good Company there had invited the Ladies, as well as the Gentlemen of the Countrey: when the Duke, after having bestow'd more of his time upon his friends, than to the consultation of his own health (which at so great an age continued in a marvellous vigour) would return back towards the lower *Gascony*, to see the miserable condition of that part of the Province, still groaning under the same heavy judgments, wherewith at his first coming from Court he had found it afflicted.

Whilst the Duke was preparing for his return, he receiv'd news of the Grace his second Son had receiv'd from the King, who had lately conferr'd upon him the honour of Duke, and Peer; he had long before receiv'd his Patent for that Dignity, which has made me so often in the preceding discourse, give him that Title; but he had neither taken his Oath, nor assum'd his place in Parliament till this time. The Territory of *Ville-Bois* settled upon him by the Duke his Father at his Marriage, was also honour'd

Anno  
1631.

The Duke  
goes to the  
Baths of  
*Banieres*.

The Mar-  
quis de la  
*Valette*  
takes his  
Oath for  
Duke and  
Peer of  
*France*.

with

*Anno* with the Title of a Dutchy, by that means leaving its former denomination, to take that of its Lord, and Owner. That which rendered this new Dignity more remarkable was, that Cardinal Richelieu (at this time advanc'd to the greatest height a Subject can be capable of) would at the same Session be installed in the same degree of honour; so that they were both receiv'd together in Parliament, and both their Letters Patents the same day verified, and confirmed.

The Cardinal de la Valette made Governour of Anjou.

The Duke, though at present ill enough dealt withal at Court, and inwardly not over-well satisfied with former passages, could not however, but acknowledge this for a favour; so that, once in his life accommodating himself to the time, he writ a Letter of Complement to the Cardinal: to which he soon after return'd an answer obliging enough; wherein, after he had reply'd to the Duke's civility concerning his Sons promotion, he proceeded to acquaint him that the Cardinal his youngest Son had been lately created Governour of *Anjou*. A news at which the Duke was highly pleas'd: but as joy seldom arrives without some mixture of bitterness; this was soon follow'd by one of the most just, and most sensible afflictions that could almost arrive, which was the Death of *le Plessis* his beloved, and faithful Servant. This Gentleman, equally wise, and valiant, dextrous, and faithful, and who had all these qualities eminent in him, to a very conspicuous degree had been so happy, that the Services which had been acceptable to the Father, were no less pleasing to his Sons; inso-much that not one of them but was passionate for his advancement, and ambitious to contribute something to his Fortune; a thing he himself so little considered, that had he not met with Masters liberal in their own Natures, his deserts had been the worst rewarded of any mans of his time: but such was the acknowledgment they all paid to his merit, that the Cardinal de la Valette was no sooner provided of the Government of *Anjou*, but that he cast his eye upon *le Plessis*, to bestow upon him one of the best and principal Commands of that Province, which was that of the Castle of *Angers*. He had already that of *Chasteau Trompette* of *Bordeaux*; neither would the Duke consent to be totally depriv'd of his Service, all that he could condescend unto to satisfie his Son, being to share with him in this good Servant, and to give way that he should serve at the Castle of *Angers*, still keeping the command of *Chasteau Trompette*. *Le Plessis* having therefore taken his leave of the Duke at *Condom* to go to take possession of his new Government staid by the way to keep his *Christmas* at *Bordeaux*, with an intention after the Holy days were pass'd, to

con-

continue his Journey to *Angers*: but his Devotion making him commit a violence upon his health, at this time something impair'd, by an indisposition that began to grow upon him, his Disease increas'd to such a degree at midnight Mass, that the conclusion of his Prayers was almost the end of his Life. He went out of the Church seiz'd with a Catarre, by which his breathing being stop'd, and all sense and memory taken away, he was in a few hours totally suffocated. He could not certainly by a more Christian, nor a more easie death have finish'd a very excellent life: but the Duke of *Espernon* could not of a long time after be comforted for his loss; neither indeed could a greater almost have befallen him, he having scarce any other Servant left, that was allow'd the liberty to tell his Master, what he conceiv'd was best for the good of his Service: the Duke, who would never slacken the severe hand he ever held over all his Servants, not enduring that any of them should presume to advise him: this only by the prerogative of his Age, and approv'd Fidelity, was dispens'd from that Law; a dispensation that he notwithstanding ever made use of with so great modesty, as to make it appear it was rather a Priviledge granted by the Master's bounty, than any Empire usurp'd by the Servant over his Masters affections.

Anno  
1631.  
*The death  
of le Pleffis  
Baussoniere  
the Duke's  
principal  
Servant.*

The life of the Duke of *Espernon*, and his particular actions, have so great a connexion with the publick interest, that his story is no where to be long continued without putting the writer upon a necessity of interweaving something of the general concerns of the Kingdom; which obliges me in this place to resume the gross of Affairs, and with the year to enter into transactions of very great importance, wherein the Duke had so eminent a share that his greatest enemies, and such as were most emulous of his glory, cannot but do him that right as to confess that he strook the greatest stroke in the success of the Royal Arms.

Anno  
1632.

The Queen Mother and the *Monsieur* being retir'd out of the Kingdom, it was not likely, but that two so great persons, being open, and profess'd enemies to the Cardinal (whom they had publickly declar'd to be the Author of their discontents) would do their utmost endeavours to make him feel the effects of their indignation: but it appearing that the King was in a manner oblig'd in honour to protect his Minister, and that he was not consequently to be assaulted without offending his Majesty himself, they were to expect a great, and vigorous opposition, to whatever attempts they should make upon the Cardinal's Fortune. These two discontented Princes therefore, well foreseeing this difficulty, willingly accepted the offers made them by the Emperour, the

*Troubles  
arise upon  
the retire-  
ment of the  
Queen Mo-  
ther, and  
the Mon-  
sieur.*

Anno 1632. King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Lorain*, to take Arms in their favour: but as it was impossible these separate Forces should unite, and move at the same time, whereas those of the King embodied, and acting by one sole authority, could in a moment produce the effects of all their power: it was no hard matter for the Cardinal to frustrate the attempts of all these Foreign Princes, and to repel even upon them themselves, who were most active to destroy him, the designs they had projected for his ruine.

The Empe-  
rour, the  
King of  
*Spain*, and  
the Duke of  
*Lorain*, en-  
gage in  
their quar-  
rel.

If the Cardinal's wisdom was of great use to him (as questionless it was) upon this occasion, it must likewise be confess'd that Fortune did no little contribute to his safety, who from the extremities of the North, rais'd him up a Prince, one of the most eminent, and great in all qualities both Military, and Civil, that latter ages have produc'd, and that was the great *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*. This Prince (in truth inconsiderable enough, had not his single Person, and Valour in themselves, been worth the greatest Armies) undertook to invade *Germany*, and to assault the Emperour in the heart of his own Dominions; notwithstanding that this mighty Prince, who had already subdu'd all the powers that were opposite to him, possess'd that Empire (compos'd of many Kingdoms) in a greater degree of Sovereignty, than any of his Predecessors, who had sway'd that Scepter for many Ages before him, had ever done.

These difficulties, sufficient to have discourag'd, and withheld the mightiest powers serv'd only for Spurs to the ambition of this generous, and magnanimous Prince. He entred then into *Germany*, where at his coming he proclaim'd liberty to all the Princes, and People; a great allurements indeed, but his large promises without some advantageous effects were not of force to draw many Partizans over to his side. He sought therefore with great eagerness an occasion wherein to make tryal of his Arms, which he knew was the only way to win himself Reputation, and Friends; and the Emperour, who had no less Interest to stop the impetuosity of an Invader who came to brave him in the heart of his own Empire, oppos'd to this Torrent (and that under the command of the best, and most fortunate Leaders he had) his Army hitherto victorious over all the Forces they had met in the Field: but the glory of all those Victories serv'd only to render that of the King of *Sweden* more illustrious, which he obtain'd over these Conquerours at the Battel of *Lipsick*; by which great, and famous action, having rendred his name (till then almost unknown) formidable throughout the whole Empire, he ran from one extremity thereof to the other, almost without any resistance

stance, at least without meeting any impediment that could stop his way.

Anno  
1632.

The Cardinal (as he had good reason) rendered himself very facile, and favourable to this Prince, who seem'd to be come out of his Rocks, and Desarts for no other end save only to defend his quarrel. He assisted him therefore in the beginning with some few men, and a little money; which though not very considerable, the *Swede* nevertheless gave so important a diversion to the House of *Austria*, that having their hands more than full of their own Affairs, they were far from being in any capacity of traversing their Neighbours designs. If the Emperour had enough to do at home, the King of *Spain* had no less need of all his Forces at the Siege of *Mastrick*; and the Duke of *Lorain* depriv'd of the support of these two great Princes, under whose shadow, and protection he had taken Arms, being of himself unable to withstand the King's Power, was necessitated (as he had done some time before) to fly to his Majesties mercy. By the Treaty of *Vic*, concluded in the beginning of the year, he had deliver'd *Marsal* to the King by way of caution for the performance of his word; and for this second of *Liverdune*, he moreover assign'd to him *Stenay*, *Jamets*, and *Clairmont*; upon which good security his Majesty having granted him peace, he was constrain'd to observe it, though it was only not long after to break it: from whence ensu'd the loss of his whole Dukedom.

The *Monsieur* seeing himself thus defeated of all hopes of any Foreign assistance, his Servants assay'd to procure that for him at home, they saw was not elsewhere to be expected; to which end Letters from the Queen Mother, and himself were presented to the Parliament of *Paris*, to try if by that application they could interest that Assembly in their grievances, and inveagle the *Parisians* into a good opinion of their cause: but all in vain; they practis'd moreover several discontented persons, whose assistance consisting only of a very few men, was also of no great effect; the remains of the *Hugonot* party were likewise tamper'd withal; but besides that they were reduc'd to such a low condition, that they had greater need of some Potent Prince to protect them, than that they were in any capacity to repair the fortune of a great Prince declin'd; there was so good order taken to hold them in, in all parts of the Kingdom, that not a man amongst them durst once offer to stir. The Cardinal having from the beginning of the year foreseen, that the discontents of the Queen Mother, and the *Monsieur* exasperated, and fomented by strangers, would infallibly bring a War upon the Kingdom, had omitted no manner

*Anno* 1632. of precaution that might serve to frustrate their designs : he had caus'd the Kings standing Regiments both of Horse and Foot to be reforc'd, had put sufficient Garrisons into all the important Cities, had by very severe prohibitions forestall'd all such as were likely to engage with the Enemy ; and those of the Religion, though already upon the matter subdu'd, being yet in some sort, even in their impotency to be suspected, he had taken a particular care to make sure of them upon this occasion.

The *Mon-*  
*sieur* enters  
the King-  
dom:

What difficulties soever the punctual execution of these Orders had strew'd in the way of the *Monsieur's* designs, and notwithstanding that he saw himself abandoned by his Foreign friends, sufficiently taken up with their own particular Affairs, he thought nevertheless that the sole interest of the Duke of *Montmorency*, who was absolutely at his Devotion, would of it self enable him to execute his revenge for the injuries he had receiv'd. Upon which assurance he entred the Kingdom in *June*, accompanied only with two thousand Horse, pick'd up of several Nations, and two thousand Foot, or thereabouts, taking his way through *Burgundy*, without making any discovery into what part of *France* he intended to retire : and then it was that the King's Orders, and dispatches were redoubled, and sent with great diligence into all parts of the Kingdom, to which it was probable those Forces would direct their March. They seem'd principally to threaten either *Languedoc*, or *Guienne*; the Governours of which two Provinces having no great reason to be very well satisfied with the Court, the Cardinal did not well know what to think of them, nor what to promise to himself from their Fidelity in so critical a time. Of these the Duke of *Montmorency*, the more reason the Court had to be jealous of his behaviour, the more industrious he was (as guilty men usually are) to wipe off all shadow of suspicion they might justly conceive; insomuch that 'tis said he dispatch'd post after post to the King to give him assurance of his Loyalty; a thing that afterwards prov'd one of the most dangerous circumstances of his offense. The Duke of *Esperson* did not promise so much, and perform'd much more, he only sending the *Sieur de Campels*, Gentleman of his Horse, to assure the King of his Fidelity, and was so punctual in the performance of his word, that he fail'd not in the least Article of his duty.

The Duke  
of *Montmo-*  
*rency* de-  
clares in fa-  
vour of the  
*Monsieur*.

After the Duke of *Montmorency* had kept the Court sufficiently in suspense of what he resolv'd to do, he at last declar'd himself by taking open arms in favour of the *Monsieur*; who was now come into *Languedoc*, where he caus'd several Cities he had made firm for his purpose, to revolt, and moreover debauch'd many Gentle-



Gentlemen of very eminent quality, whom either the respect, and affection to his person, or the hope of change had allur'd over to his Party.

Anno  
1632.


If the *Monsieur's* designs, before the Duke of *Montmorency* declar'd in his Quarrel, had amus'd the whole Court, their astonishment was infinitely augmented, after he had betaken himself to Arms, who having immediately thereupon publish'd several causes of his discontent, many at that time allow'd them to be very just, though no one could approve the course he took to manifest his resentment. The news of his defection surpriz'd the Duke of *Espernon* at *Agen*, it surpriz'd him indeed, who expected nothing less than to see himself engag'd in a party contrary to the dearest friend he had in the world; though that friendship, as all his other friendships had ever done, must here give placé to his duty. Upon the first Orders therefore he receiv'd from the King, after the *Monsieur's* entry into the Kingdom, he immediately departed from *Cadillac*, to advance into the center of the Province, which was *Agen*, to the end that from that prospect, he might observe what parts of his Government stood most in need of his presence.

The Duke of *Espernon* advances towards *Languedoc*.

There was no dispute (the Duke of *Montmorency* having declar'd) but that he must of necessity advance towards *Languedoc*; to secure *Montauban*; that being the nearest City of importance to the revolted Province: but the difficulty was, how to do it so, that *Montauban* might not rather secure him, who had only his own Guards about his person, with ten Companies of the Regiment of *Pbalsbourg*, that remain'd of twenty he had had in *Guienne*, the rest being a few days before sent away to joyn with the *Mareschal de Schomberg*. The *Mareschal* arriving in *Languedoc*, had sent to borrow these Forces of the Duke of *Espernon*, perhaps out of a design, rather to weaken him (of whose resolutions they were yet uncertain) than to strengthen himself; which though the Duke could at that time very ill have spar'd; who was to go to expole himself in a place, where he had great reason to suspect his own safety, yet would he not refuse the *Mareschal* upon his first demand; by that freedom sufficiently manifesting with what integrity and candour he proceeded in the Kings Interest.

This proceeding, how franck and generous soever, could not nevertheless so satisfy the Court, that they were not yet in great anxiety, and suspense, what his resolution might be: the hereditary friendship, and strict alliance, betwixt the House of *Montmorency*, and him, were sufficiently known; neither were they ignorant that the tender, and passionate affection he had for the person

The Court in apprehension of the Duke of *Espernon's* resolutions.

*Anno* 1632.  person of this Duke, was equal to that he had for his own Children; they knew moreover that two days before the Duke had declar'd, the Marchioness of *Montferrant* of the House of *Montmorency*, widow to the Baron *de Montaut* the Duke's Cousin German, and now Wife to one of the most intimate friends he had in the Province, had parted from the Dutchess of *Montmorency*, to return into *Guienne* to her Husband who was then with the Duke of *Espenon*: so that this Lady, a woman capable of the greatest Affairs, above what is usual in persons of her Sex, there were few who did not conclude, she had been purposely sent by the Duke her Kinsman to labour an intelligence with the Duke his ally; though in truth there was no such thing. In fine, the good or ill success of Affairs depending without all doubt absolutely upon him, the Court had all the reason in the world to be in some fear of what his determination would be. All the Gentry of his Government were wavering, those of the Reform'd Religion who had been constrain'd to accept of an incommodious Peace, in all apparence, waited only expecting a fit opportunity to begin a new War; thereby to obtain more advantageous conditions, than those that had been impos'd upon them; and the people oppress'd more than ordinary by new Taxes, desir'd nothing more than trouble, and confusion, which they conceiv'd to be the best, and only remedy for their present calamities. These evil dispositions were not only in *Guienne*, but *Angoumois* also; *Xaintonge*, *Limousin*, and *Poitou*, panted with the same thirst of Innovation: so that in all these Provinces (where the Duke had long govern'd) they yet retain'd for him so great a love, and respect, that what resolution soever he had taken, would without contradiction have been follow'd by them for the best. Neither had he needed to have made any great ado, to procure a great deal of mischief; since by only sitting still, and conniving never so little at those who were ready for Commotion, he might have wrought matters into such a confusion, as would infallibly have put the Kingdom into very great disorder; and then the *Mareschal de Schomberg*, shut up betwixt the Forces of *Languedoc*, and *Guienne*, would have been irrecoverably lost. But this good Frenchman, what aversion soever he might have to the Cardinal's immeasurable greatness, what affection soever for the Duke of *Montmorency*, or what advantage soever he might reasonably propose to himself from the alteration of Affairs (the face whereof he might doubtless have chang'd) he still prefer'd the Service of his Prince, and the good of his Countrey, before any particular Interest of his own, and remain'd unshaken in his duty, notwithstanding

standing all the overtures had been made, and the importunities had been us'd to debauch him.

Annos

1632.

The Duke acting with this sincerity and candour, thought it very requisite to confirm the King in the assurances he had formerly given his Majesty, of his fidelity, and truth, which he did by sending away the *Count de Maillé* to that effect: and proceeding from words to actions, after he was arriv'd at *Montauban*, his first care was speedily to dispatch away two Gentlemen throughout the whole Province, to summon in to him all the persons of quality, whom he had most reason to suspect. There were very few who did not promptly obey this Summons, which being deliver'd them by men of Repute, they could not make any excuse, that they had not receiv'd his Commands; and it was no hard matter for the Duke when he had them so near his person, to keep them there, and so narrowly to watch them, that they were not conveniently to be practis'd; by which means, besides this advantage, which was none of the most inconsiderable, he from this way of proceeding, deriv'd another of exceeding great moment, which was insensibly, and as it were almost without design, to fortifie himself in a City, where he was very weak, and the disposition whereof was as yet very uncertain.

It is not to be believ'd how great an effect these prudent precautions produc'd to the security of Affairs, nor how much several persons were disabus'd thereby, who otherwise might have suffer'd themselves to have been deceiv'd by false impressions of the Duke, and such as were utterly contrary to his intention: but his fidelity was so legible throughout the whole order of his conduct, and he gave so little hopes to those who were seditiously affected, of being to be tempted to embrace any disloyal motion, that in so great a disposition to evil, and in so favourable an occasion to do it, there was not one man of quality of *Guienne*, excepting *Saint Croix d'Ornano*, who was one of the *Monsieur's* Domestick Servants, that went out of the Province to joyn with him; the Duke's good Example, and Exhortations, so containing all the rest within the bounds of their Duty, that the King had a very good issue of an Affair, his Majesty himself thought would not so easily have determin'd. It was after all these important services, that it was justly said of the Duke of *Espernon*, that *In doing nothing he had done all*; for in effect, without stirring from the place, without arming any other than his own Guards, without having spilt one drop of blood, or spent six pence of the King's money, he procur'd his Majesty, without danger, or expense, a Victory that settled the whole Kingdom in repose.

The

Anno

1632.

The King writes very graciously, and the Cardinal very kindly to the Duke of *Espernon* in acknowledgment of his good Service.

The King, inform'd by the Duke's dispatches of the good order he had taken in his Government, by very gracious Letters (which the *Count de Maille* brought back at his return) signified to him how highly he was satisfied with his conduct; wherein, amongst other things, his Majesty acquainted him with his intention to leave *Paris*, and to take the way of *Lyons*, there to command his Army in his own person (a thing the Council would never consent unto, till they were secure of the Duke's intentions) and the Cardinal, in his Letters bearing the same date with the King's, writ to him in these express terms: "I shall content my self with giving you this assurance, that nothing can possibly be added to the infinite satisfaction his Majesty has receiv'd in the Zeal you have manifested to the good of his Service in the present occasion; and that I shall with great diligence seek all opportunities that may contribute to the desire I have to let you see, that no one is more really than my self, Your, &c. To these during the King's Expedition, he receiv'd several other Dispatches, of the same obliging style, which I forbear to copy here, that I may not importune my Reader,

But how great soever the Duke's Merits and Services were, and how large soever the promises, that had been made him, the memory of those Services was notwithstanding so short liv'd, that even before the storm was well over, they sought an occasion to quarrel with him, thinking it, belike, better cheap to cavil at some little passages, (which ought rather to be imputed to his humour, than his intention) than to stand oblig'd to him for this Service.

I should never have done should I undertake to relate all the particularities (though remarkable enough in themselves) or should I so much as insist upon the more eminently considerable passages that hapned upon this occasion, which makes me omit many things, that perhaps would not be altogether unpleasant, to come to the main business of all, which is the defeat of the Duke of *Montmorency*, and his being taken prisoner.

'Tis well enough known after what manner this unfortunate Lord precipitously, and almost alone, engag'd himself against a whole Army; a rashness by which he became the principal instrument of his enemies Victory: insomuch that had he combin'd with them against himself, he could not more blindly, and wilfully have run upon his own destruction. He compell'd the *Mareschal de Scomberg* to fight against his intention, and to overcome him against his will; he had not, 'tis true, full fifty men slain in this Engagement, which will yet appear a great number, considering that he had not above an hundred, that charg'd with him

upon

The Engagement of *Castellanaudary*, wherein the *Count de Moret* was slain; and the Duke of *Montmorency* taken prisoner; from which disaster the ruine of the *Monsieur's* party ensues.

upon this occasion. The *Count de Moret*, a young Prince of great merit, and much greater expectation, was so unfortunate as to lose his life without the Trenches that separated the *Monsieur's* Army from that of the *Mareschal*; some other persons of quality ran also the same Fortune: but although this loss was small in respect to the number of men, the taking of the Duke of *Montmorency* made it nevertheless so highly considerable, that every one concluded the ruine of the whole party infallible. For the *Monsieur* having upon him repos'd his whole confidence for the command of the Army, the Cities and Forces of *Languedoc* being wholly ty'd to his person, and interest, and all things absolutely depending upon him; he was no sooner taken, but that the Cities revolted, and the Army disbanded: so that in a few days the *Monsieur* saw himself so totally deserted, that what attempt soever he had a desire to make to rescue the Duke of *Montmorency* out of the enemies hands, and yet to dispute the Victory, he had so few left wherewith to execute his desire, and those few so dejected with the late misfortune, that he was reduc'd to a necessity of relying upon the faith of a Treaty for the preservation of a Servant, who contrary to his order had lost himself.

Anno  
1632.

The Duke of *Espernon* advertis'd of this accident, by a dispatch from the *Mareschal de Scomberg*, dated the second of *September*, which was the next day after the fight, was afflicted beyond expression at the Duke of *Montmorency's* misfortune. He gave him at the first for lost, and being very well acquainted with the severe Maxims of that time, together with the implacable hatred the great Minister had conceiv'd against him, did forthwith conclude, that this first Offense would also be the last he was ever likely to commit.

Yet not to fail upon this event in any of his respects, he wrote to the King to signify to his Majesty the joy he conceiv'd for the prosperity of his Arms; he sent likewise the same Complement to the *Mareschal de Scomberg*, and to the *Marquis de Brezé*, who had behav'd himself very gallantly upon this occasion: but he also manifested to the Duke of *Montmorency*, his great grief for his misfortune. It was by a Gentleman dispatch'd on purpose to that end (and before the liberty of receiving his friends addresses, was taken from him) that he sent to assure this Duke of whatever

The Duke  
of *Espernon*  
sends a  
Comple-  
ment to the  
Duke of  
*Montmoren-  
cy* in Prison

Anno

1632.



in the granting whereof, the *Mareschal* was so exceeding civil, as to cause the Duke's Gentleman (which was *Naugas* the Lieutenant of his Guards) to be forthwith conducted to the Duke of *Montmorency's* Chamber. *Naugas* had there full liberty to deliver all he had in charge from the Duke his Master; whereupon this unfortunate Lord, who had ever honour'd the Duke, as if he had been his Father, touch'd with the sense of this seasonable manifestation of a Friendship, which he knew to be unfeigned, would needs upon the instant return an acknowledgment of the timely kindness, by a word in writing under his own hand, though very much weakened with ten great wounds, and roul'd up with Lints and Plaisters. Wherein he briefly told him according to his ordinary way of writing, "That he acknowledg'd himself infinitely oblig'd for the favour he had done him: That he would not however in return offer him his \* *good Graces*, which, at this time were none of the best (intimating thereby his wounded face) but that, if it should please God to restore him to his health, he would imploy that, with his life in his Service. To which he added by word of mouth, several passionate expressions of the Affection he bore to the Duke; not then dreaming without doubt that he should so soon be depriv'd of all means whereby to make it appear. All which, being brought back by *Naugas*, only serv'd to augment the Duke's Affliction, who was the more compassionate of his friends condition, by how much he himself was ignorant of his own misfortune, and insensible of his danger.

\* Not otherwise to be rendred without spoiling the sense.

The Duke advances to *Tholonze*.

The Duke of *Montmorency* brought to *Tholonze*, and his Tryal begun.

The news of this defeat having met the King at *Lyons*, who with new Forces was following his other Armies, his Majesty no more doubted, but that all the *Monfieur's* Party would suddenly dissolve, as in a few days it did; so that having nothing more to do, save only to settle what had been discompos'd by the late Commotion, he mov'd with so great deliberation towards *Tholonze*, that he arriv'd not there till the 22. of the month following. The Duke of *Espernon* in the mean time, seeing there was now nothing that could oblige him to make any longer stay either at *Montauban*, or upon the Frontier of *Languedoc*, went to the waters of *Encausse*, a journey he rather undertook to divert himself, whilst he waited in expectation of the King's coming, than for any great business he had there in order to his health.

The King being (as has been said) arriv'd at *Tholonze* the 22. of *October*, there was present order given for the bringing thither of the Duke of *Montmorency*, who accordingly arriving there, was, as soon as brought, committed into the custody of two Judges

Judges of the Parliament: a proceeding by which his Relations and Friends, being given to understand, that they aim'd directly at his life, there was not one of them who was not ready to serve him, with the hazard of his own; but yet not one of them durst be so bold, as to speak for him to the King. His Majesty seem'd to have bolted the door against all manner of intercession, by denying his pardon to the *Monsieur*, who had not (as it was said) sign'd the Articles of the Treaty upon any other account, save only to preserve him. The Princess of *Condé* was moreover forbidden to enter into *Tholouze*, by that means being rendred incapable of paying so beloved, and so noble a Brother any other duty than that of her fruitless sighs, and tears. In this general consternation, whilst the Cardinal *de la V.alette*, was using his utmost interest, and endeavour with Cardinal *Richelieu*, the Duke of *Espernon* was no less importunate with the King, he being the only man that had the courage to speak directly in the behalf of the Duke of *Montmorency*, and to be the Orator of his other Friends, wherein if his success was not such, as he did heartily desire; yet ought he not in this place to be deny'd the testimony of his vertuous endeavour for the preservation of so precious a life.

He address'd himself therefore boldly to the King, when being kneel'd down, with greater submission to prefer his most humble Suit, the King was pleas'd to raise him up, and to give him leave to say: "That he did not throw himself at his Majesty's feet to justify the Duke of *Montmorency* in the least, nor by "excuses to extenuate the greatness of his offense: That he did "acknowledge him to be guilty, his Crime being too high, and "manifest to admit of any excuse; but that if it were less, it "would be less worthy of his Majesties mercy: That that Ver- "tue truly Royal, never appear'd in so great lustre, as when em- "ploy'd upon great Subjects, and after great Offenses: That his "Majesty would hardly meet with another occasion, wherein it "would be so conspicuously eminent, as in this, all Europe ha- "ving at this time their eyes fix'd upon him, to observe what he "would please to determine of so illustrious a Head: That he "was the bolder to sue to his Majesty for this pardon, by how "much having in his own person, and upon almost the like oc- "casion, receiv'd the same Grace from his Majesties bounty, he "flatter'd himself to be so happy as that his Majesty had never re- "pented himself of that favour: That he was not the only per- "son amongst his Servants, who stood oblig'd to his Clemency "for the same benefit, but that *Monsieur*, the Cardinal *de Ri-*

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The Duke of *Espernon* intercedes for the Duke of *Montmorency*.

Anno 1632. *chelier* was equally concern'd: That they had both of them engag'd in the Queen Mothers interest in a time when his Majesties Royal Name was oppos'd against them, though they had therein no other intention, than to do him service; and that if in that juncture his Majesty had left them to the severity of Law and Justice, he had depriv'd himself of the great services of the one, and the gratitude of the other: That the youth of *Montsieur de Montmorency* deserv'd no less to be excus'd, than their good intentions: That his person being in his Majesties power, he would be secur'd from doing any thing to the prejudice of his Service; but that his preservation might serve eternally to his glory: That he did humbly beseech his Majesty to consider, that the great name of *Montmorency* was now only surviving in his single person: That the merit of his Ancestors (who by a long succession extended their race almost to the first foundation of the *French* Monarchy) pleaded so highly for his Pardon, that one rash Act ought not to forfeit so brave a Gentleman to the severity of his Majesties Justice. That if he should be so fortunate as to obtain a second life for his friend, he would with all his heart become his Security, that for the future it should never be employ'd, but in his Majesties Service, and that his Blood should serve for no other use, than to wash away the Stain, and for ever to obliterate the memory of his Offense.

The King with great patience, and without once offering to interrupt him, gave the Duke free liberty to continue his discourse to the end, seeming moreover to hearken to him with some kind of hopeful attention: but that favourable audience was also the only fruit of his address; for his Majesty having from the beginning of the Duke's Speech fix'd his eyes upon the ground, never lifted them from thence so much as once to look upon the Duke who was speaking to him; neither when he had concluded did he answer him one word: by which silence the Duke perceiving the ruine of his friend to be absolutely decreed, he spoke again, and said, "Sir, since I am so unhappy as not to hope to obtain your Majesties Pardon for Monsieur de Montmorency, I humbly beg leave that I may retire: When though the King had been dumb to the first, he found words to make answer to this last request, by telling him, "Yes, you have free leave; neither do I intend my self to stay long in this City. Whereupon the Duke afflicted to the last degree, that he had been able to obtain nothing more (though indeed he had not expected much better success) presently withdrew himself to go wait upon the Princess of *Condé* in the Suburbs of *Tholouze* (to which place she was retir'd) there to condole with her their

The Duke of *Espenon* not being able to prevail with the King in the behalf of the Duke of *Montmorency* begs leave to retire, and obtains it.



common misfortune. He found at his coming thither that Cardinal *Richelieu* was but newly parted thence, whose visit, by giving her no satisfaction, having put her into the last despair, the Duke's hapned to be exceeding seasonable for the composing of her mind agitated with so violent a Passion.

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Though the Duke from that very day prepar'd himself for his departure, yet had he time enough before he went, totally to reject a proposition made to him on the Cardinal's behalf, presently after the King's arrival at *Tbolouze*. He had caus'd the Duke to be treated withal to quit the Government of *Metz* in his favour; offering him in exchange the survivancy of that of *Guienne*, for the Duke *de la Valette* his Son, who was already seiz'd of that of *Metz* in reversion. *Bullion*, newly created *Sur-Intendant des Finances*, was chosen by the Cardinal, as a person most acceptable to the Duke to make to him this Overture: a proposition at which the Duke, having serv'd the King so well as he had done in the last occasion, was not a little surpriz'd; and the rather because his Services having been of great importance to the Cardinal's Fortune (which was much more strook at in the late Rebellion, than any thing that concern'd either the King or the Kingdom) he had reason, besides the satisfaction the King had been pleas'd to manifest of his performance, to expect also a very grateful return from the Cardinal himself. It was the belief of many at that time, that the Cardinal's design was, to accommodate himself with the Bishoprick of *Metz*, together with five or six great Abbeys in that City of above an hundred thousand Livers a year Revenue, besides the Bishoprick which was worth twice as much, and to add thereunto the Government of the City, and Countrey, with those of the Cities and Cittadels of *Iboul* and *Verdun*; to the end that by providing for himself so certain, and secure a retreat, he might in time be arm'd against all disgrace; to which others have added an opinion, that he had a project to reunite all the Provinces that had formerly been members of the Kingdom of *Austratia* in his own person, to hold them in the quality of a Sovereign Prince, whereof *Lorain*, and *Alsatia*, which were in his Majesties possession, together with the three forenamed Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, made up the greatest part; it had been a matter of no great difficulty for the Cardinal to have possess'd himself of this Eitate, by any title he would have desir'd of the King: So that, if he ever had this thought, it is not to be wondred at, if he was sensibly offended that the Duke refus'd to treat and to comply with him in a thing, he had set his heart upon for the establishment of his Fortune.

Cardinal  
*Richelieu's*  
ambitious  
designs.

How-

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However it was, it is concluded by all, that this Affair made the Cardinal take up a resolution absolutely to break with the Duke of *Espernon*, whom he saw to be too stiff to stoop to his Authority, and look'd upon as the only person of the Kingdom, who had either the power, or the Spirit to mate his greatness. Wherein nevertheless though the Duke appear'd to be very averse, yet did he not absolutely reject the Cardinal's proposal; but conceiving he did not offer enough, demanded moreover a *Mareschal's Staff* for the Duke *de Candale* his eldest Son. This was a Dignity that could not indeed be deny'd to his merit, though it had never been laid in the balance against the Government of *Metz*: but if the Duke had a kindness for this Son, the Cardinal had no less aversion, who (it was said) having been wounded to the quick with some smart touches of the Duke *de Candale's* Wit (as pleasant a one indeed as any of his time, but withal as tart, as pleasant) he could by no means forget it, but would rather choose to leave a thing of so great importance to the establishment of his Fortune imperfect, than to be instrumental to the advancement of a person by whom he conceiv'd himself so highly offended. Having therefore broke off with the Duke upon these terms, it is to be presum'd, he only for the future waited an occasion, or at least a pretense wherewithal to colour his revenge. Wherein though the Duke's haughty humour was likely enough to furnish him with as good as he could desire, it appear'd nevertheless that fortune (who will ever have a hand in all humane Affairs) seconding the Cardinal's passion, produc'd him one much sooner, than he expected. It was in truth, at this time, contrary to the Duke's intention, who, although he would not discover a weakness in condescending below his own Dignity, had no desire notwithstanding to provoke the Cardinal's Almighty power, by insisting upon any thing he might irreproachably do.

After that, by the death of the Duke of *Montmorency*, the King thought he had absolutely appeas'd the storm in *Languedoc*, his Majesty thought of nothing more, than by the nearest way, and with a very slender train, of returning back to *Paris*. The Queen, who was attended by the Council, and all the Court, two days after the King's departure, began her Journey towards *Bordeaux*, as greater conveniency to send away her equipage down the River *Garonne*, where being arriv'd, her Majesty was pleas'd to honour the Duke of *Espernon* so far, as to cross the River, to go see him in his House *Cadillac*. The Vertue, Generosity, and other excellent qualities this Queen was Mistress of, had acquir'd the Duke absolutely to her Service; who also in return, receiv'd infinite testimonies

The Queen  
goes to *Cadillac*.

stimonies of her love and esteem; so that it is not to be doubted, but he was overjoy'd to have so favourable an Opportunity, wherein to manifest, in some measure, his Gratitude for her Grace, and Favour. Nothing therefore was spar'd to that end, and the Duke, having a few days preceded her Majesties coming, had made so plentiful provision of all things, and she was receiv'd at his House after so splendid a manner, that as on the one side it was impossible for him fully to satisfy his Duty, and Affection; so could he on the other very hardly have done more, than he did, or have added any thing to the Splendour, and Magnificence of this Entertainment.

The Duke's ill Fortune would have it that Cardinal *Richelieu* came this Journey with the Queen; who since he had fortified *Brouage* to such a degree, that it is at this day reputed one of the strongest places in *France*, had never been there, and would now therefore for all the money he had laid out upon it (which was a vast Summe) give himself the satisfaction of taking a view of his Work. The Duke was not sorry for this Resolution; but on the contrary, no publick unkindness having hitherto hapned betwixt them, he invited the Cardinal to his House, hoping the good Entertainment he intended him there, might thaw the former Coldness: but it fell out quite otherwise, and two untoward Accidents that hapned in this Journey making the discontents, which had so long been hatching in the Cardinal's Bosom, to disclose themselves, occasion'd soon after the first Disorder the Duke had ever receiv'd in his Fortune. Of these Accidents the first was this.

The Queen being to pass the River betwixt *Cadillac*, and *Bordeaux*, to come to the House, the Duke had prepar'd Coaches ready to receive her Majesty, at her landing; giving order withal to some of his Servants to reserve one for the Cardinal, that he might have no cause to complain of any want of respect towards him: an Order nevertheless so ill observ'd, that the Queen first landing, and the Coaches design'd for her Train proving too few to contain them all, they also made bold with that, which was intended for the Cardinal. At the Queens coming ashore, the Duke, having paid her the respect that was most justly due, by attending her Majesty to her apartment, that first duty perform'd, went back in all haste to receive the Cardinal upon the River, himself taking a Coach along with him for that purpose; but for all his diligence he came too late, meeting the Cardinal already advanc'd a pretty way towards the House on Foot; where, though the Duke made him all imaginable Excuses for the fault

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The Cardinal comes to *Cadillac*, where he takes new offense at the Duke of *Espernon*.

The Cardinal's first complaint.

had

*Anno* had been committed contrary to his Order; they were not  
*1632.* nevertheless of force to dispossess him of the distaste he had taken,  
 that he had not been so well us'd as he ought to be: so that though  
 he receiv'd them with some shew of satisfaction, his actions ne-  
 vertheless sufficiently manifested his discontent, he being not to be  
 perswaded to make use of the Coach the Duke had brought him;  
 and although already seiz'd with the beginning of a distemper, of  
 which a few days alter at *Bordeaux*, he had like to have dy'd, he  
 was nevertheless obstinate to finish the remaining part of his way  
 on foot, though with great trouble and inconvenience, till he  
 came to the Lodgings that were made ready for him.

This was the first cross accident the Duke met with upon this  
 occasion, and in this every impartial Judge must of necessity ac-  
 quit him. The second hapned soon after at *Bordeaux*, wherein,  
 though it be true, that there was something more of the Duke's  
 haughty humour, yet was his intention nevertheless infinitely  
 wide of the sinister interpretations were put upon it. The Queen,  
 having staid two whole days at *Cadillac*, caus'd her self to be con-  
 vey'd thence back to *Bordeaux*, in order to the continuation of her  
 Journey, where at the same time the Cardinal also arriv'd: but  
 his Disease was by this time so much increas'd, that finding him-  
 self then in excessive pain, within a very few days they began to  
 despair of his life; and in truth without the assistance of a Chi-  
 rurgeon of *Bordeaux*, he had then infallibly dy'd of a suppression  
 of Urine. Whilst he lay in this extremity, the Queen resolv'd up-  
 on leaving *Bordeaux*, to advance towards *Paris*, by taking *Ro-  
 chelle* nevertheless in her way; a place she would by all means take  
 this opportunity to see, as an eternal Monument of the Kings  
 Victory. The Duke very well understanding what respect was  
 due to his Queen, and Mistress, whilst her Majesty staid in the Ci-  
 ty, had caus'd his Guards to lay aside their Liveries, and Mus-  
 kets; divesting himself moreover of all other Marks, and Fun-  
 ctions of a Governour in her presence: but so soon as she was  
 gone, and that he had had the honour to attend her to her Boat,  
 he did not conceive himself oblig'd to retain the same respect for  
 the Cardinal. He therefore immediately after the Queens departure  
 commanded his Guards again to put on their Cassocks, and to  
 take their Arms; and very well attended, presented himself at the  
 Cardinals Lodgings, who continued yet very ill, though some-  
 thing better than before. Upon this occasion, that was interpre-  
 ted for a premeditated Violence, which was only intended for a  
 Civility, and Respect; and those of the Cardinals Servants, who  
 saw him come to the House so accompanied, ran to alarm their  
 Master,

The Cardi-  
 nal's second  
 complaint.

fter, by telling him that the Duke of *Espernon* was coming to attempt something upon his person. Whereupon follow'd a Hubbub throughout the whole Family, every one was agast, and betook themselves confusedly to their Arms. In the mean time the Duke enters the House, where not knowing what to think of the general Disorder, and astonishment he observ'd in every face he met, he went on to the Cardinal's Chamber door, follow'd by very few (having forbidden his Guards to set so much as one foot upon the stairs) where after having enquir'd of the Cardinals health, and having been answer'd, he was exceeding ill, and in such a condition that he intreated to be excus'd, he could not see him, he return'd back in the same posture he came, there being neither more nor less in this Affair.

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This is indeed the naked truth of the Story: but it was not so represented to the Cardinal; those who were about him on the contrary to insinuate into his Favour, and to make him believe they had done him a notable piece of Service, assuring him that without their extraordinary care, and the good posture they had put themselves into to oppose the Duke, he had infallibly been lost. The Duke was afterwards inform'd, and had it from very good hands, that the Archbishop of *Bordeaux* was one of those who possess'd the Cardinal with this belief; so that the Duke, and he not having been (as you may have observ'd) very good friends before, an Office like this could not but incense him anew, and the more justly, by how much his Honour was therein so highly concern'd. He was impatient to think they should represent him for a man that would harbour violent Designs against the person of a Cardinal, and a Priest; which certainly was the thing that most contributed to the great Disputes, that hapned betwixt them the ensuing year; of which you will have a suddain accompt, and such a one as will take up a great part of this last Volume.

The Cardinal's animosity against the Duke of *Espernon*, fomented by the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*.

The Duke who neither then, nor of some time after, knew any thing of the ill impressions the Cardinal had been possess'd withal, continued to use him at the same rate he had begun; his Guards attended him where-ever he mov'd; he never went abroad but extraordinarily well accompanied, and many Gentlemen of the Country, who had come in to him upon the Queens arrival, still continuing about his person: The day that the Cardinal departed for *Broilage*, the Duke, thinking thereby to pay him a greater Civility, and respect, follow'd by his Guards, and Friends, conducted him to his Boat. By which new Complement he so reviv'd his former Apprehension, that some have since said, the

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Cardinal had a mind to make the world believe, he had avoided a very eminent danger, by escaping out of the Duke of *Espernon's* hands. The Duke could never perswade himself that the Cardinal could have any such apprehension, he being a man of too great judgment not to see, that had he had any design upon his person, nothing could have hindred him from the execution of that design. He had been, without dispute, the strongest in the Cardinal's Lodgings, when he took the first alarm, and during the whole time of his stay at *Bordeaux*, the favour of the people being nothing inclin'd to him, his Domesticks alone had not been able to have made any resistance against those of the Duke, especially fortified, as he was, by such a number of his Friends of the Province. It is therefore evident, that the Duke never had any intention to hurt him, forasmuch as he did not do it: but he had nevertheless an opinion, (and that opinion was grounded upon great probabilities) that the Cardinal's ambitious spirit was offended to the last degree, that he had not paid the same respect to his Person, he had done to that of the Queen; and that, being he could not handsomly publish the true cause of his discontent, he had palliated it with this pretense, to have the more plausible colour of revenging himself upon the Duke, as upon an enemy, who had plotted against his life.

The Cardinal arrives at *Brouage*.

The Cardinal was no sooner got to *Brouage*, but that (whether it was the change of Air, or the joy to see himself in a place of safety that produc'd this good effect) his health began visibly to improve; when the Duke of *Espernon*, ignorant as yet of the ill impressions he had been possess'd withal, concerning his former Visits, dispatch'd a Gentleman to him to enquire of his amendment. It was by the return of this Envoy, that he was acquainted with all the former story, of which the Cardinal *de la Valette* his Son, who had never departed from Cardinal *Richelieu*, during the whole time of his sickness, gave him a full accompt. This suspicion so lightly grounded, and so much contrary to his intention, did much more offend, than any way incline the Duke to offer any thing in his own justification: And although he very well foresaw that a jealousy of this nature, whether feign'd, or true, threatned him with some great, and sudden mischief; it was nevertheless so far from rendring him more flexible, or more complacent, that he chose rather to expose himself to the worst effects of the Cardinal's unresisted power, than to recede in the least from his ordinary way of living.

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This Journey of the Cardinal's to *Bordeaux*, and the morosity of his distemper there, was not fatal to the Duke alone; the disgrace

grace of the *Garde des Sceaux, de Chasteau-Neuf*, being (as has been said) resolv'd upon at the same time; the reasons of which disgrace are to this day a secret, though the thing it self was soon enough publickly known: for the Cardinal had no sooner seen the King, but that *Chasteau-Neuf* had Orders sent him to retire to *Ruffee* in *Angoumois*, who being upon his way in Obedience to that command, a second Order overtook him, by which he was carried away Prisoner to the Castle of *Angoulesme*. The Duke of *Espernon*, who stood highly oblig'd to this Gentleman's friendship, for several acts of Favour in his Affairs, and who had moreover his Vertue, and Integrity in very great esteem, was very much afflicted at his misfortune; yet did he even from the accident it self derive such a consolation, as serv'd very much to sweeten his discontent. And that was the choice the King had made of *President Segurier*, on him to confer the Seal; one that was the Duke's intimate and very faithful Friend, and of whom from his first Employments, he had made so advantageous a judgment, that he conceiv'd there was no advancement how high soever in his Profession, to which he might not justly pretend, if his Vertues once came to be sufficiently known. But if the Duke began the year, with so great an occasion of joy, Fortune, who never suffers the Affairs of this world to continue long in the same posture, did also not long defer to poyson his content, by one of the rudest Assaults he had met withal in the whole course of his life; and since the Archbishop of *Bordeaux* was the Instrument by which she wrought this disgrace, it will not be impertinent to give a brief accompt of that which kindled their first Divisions, and the ensuing causes, that occasion'd this last Disorder.

This Prelate, Brother to the Cardinal *de Sourdis*, had immediately upon the death of his elder Brother succeeded him in the Archbishoprick of *Bordeaux*, but not in the good intelligence had been betwixt the Duke of *Espernon*, and him; not that the Duke had not this mans merit, which was very great, in high consideration also, he had Wit, Courage, Dextetity, and many other good qualities, which had formerly acquir'd his esteem: but the intimacy he had with Cardinal *Richelieu*, rendred his friendship so suspected to him, that he could not confide in a person, he saw engag'd in so strict a League with another he did not love. As for the Cardinal *de Sourdis*, who had no such connexion, the Duke had ever liv'd with him in so perfect an Intelligence, as has rarely been observ'd, betwixt two persons of so eminent condition, to have been maintain'd so inviolate, and sincere: Yet was

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The disgrace of  
*Chasteau-Neuf*  
*Garde des Sceaux.*

President  
*Segurier*  
made *Garde des Sceaux.*

The difference betwixt the Duke of *Espernon* and the Archbishop of *Bordeaux.*

*Anno* 1633. it not without the admiration of all that knew their Humours; they were both in the one, and the other haughty, and fierce, there was much of fire and ambition, in both their natures; and little would have serv'd to have kindled a fewd betwixt them: but perhaps knowing one another to be so Subje& to Heat, they would not interfere, foreseeing that whoever should begin, would doubtless in his adversary meet with a vigorous Opposition. This Cardinal had formerly had great Disputes both with the Parliament, and the Governours of the Province, which Disputes had begot him much trouble; so that his more mature, and more temperate Age, having cool'd the violent Ardours of his more ungovern'd, and inconsiderate Youth, he began to relish the conveniency of Peace, choosing rather to busie himself about the well ordering of his Diocess (which he did equally with any Prelate of the Church, about laying Foundations of Monasteries, Hospitals, and other A&ions of great Lustre, and Example, than to spend his Spirits, and consume his time in fruitless and unprofitable Quarrels. The Duke also on the other side, who had his share of Contention with the Parliament, found himself sufficiently perplex'd with them, without drawing new inconveniencies upon him. by forcing a man of the Cardinal's condition to his Adversaries side; so that as to any thing else, these two Lords observing a great Correspondency in their Complements, Visits, and all other Punctilio's of mutual respect, this former consideration serv'd not a little to the continuance of this good Intelligence betwixt them. In fine, whether it were their Interests, or the sole respect of their common Vertue, that begot this friendship they had for one another, it could hardly have been greater: but after the death of this Cardinal, his Brother having (as has been said) been promoted to that See, the Duke did not pay him the same Honour, he had done his elder Brother; who on the other side impatient of that distinction, joyn'd himself with the Parliament, at this time high in contest with the Duke, and supporting the interests of that Assembly, with the Credit he had with the Cardinal (which was very great) procur'd some determinations in their favour, concerning the things so highly controverted betwixt the Duke, and them. In acknowledgment of these Obligations, the Parliament augmented in his Person the Honours that had usually been paid to his Predecessors, and the Duke on the contrary cut off some of those he had formerly paid even to him himself; an usage which the Archbishop publicly resenting, oblig'd the Duke (who never engag'd in a quarrel, but to push it home) to be more obstinately bent, not to give him the least



least satisfaction in any of his complaints: So that he still persisted, not only to use him, as he had begun: but to this abatement of Ceremony, added moreover some disobliging effects. All this had preceded the Accommodation made at Cardinal Richelieu's being at *Montauban*; but this Reconciliation having satisfied neither the interested persons, nor him who had interpos'd to reconcile them, they rather remain'd in a disposition to do one another a Spight upon the first occasion that should present it self, than to live in the good Intelligence could have been wish'd for their common repose. Since that time the Duke had been advertis'd, that it was principally the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, who had exasperated the Cardinal against him, and who had rendred his Visit at *Bordeaux* (when he went to see him, attended by his Guards) suspected to him. A thing that had offended him to the last degree, and he had publickly complain'd of that proceeding (for his Passions were never conceal'd) which was also reported to the Archbishop who was at this time oblig'd to come into his Diocess to make some Residence there.

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He departed therefore from Court, and took the way of *Guienne*. Some have believ'd that it was by the express Order of Cardinal Richelieu, that he undertook this Journey, who having upon the late distastes he had taken at the Duke, summon'd all his old animosities to his remembrance, had sent the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, whom he knew the Duke did not love to brave him, his spirit being the better known to him, as he had made tryal of it, upon other occasions, and found it bold, and capable of the highest resolutions. I shall not however take upon me here to interpose my judgment in any of these Transactions; I shall only report things true, and as they were, without disguise, hatred, or envy, any of which it would certainly very much mis-become me to retain after the Duke's death, whose desire it was they might be buried with him, that being one of the most express commands he gave his Family at the last hour of his Life.

The Archbishop being upon his way towards *Bordeaux*, turn'd a little out of the ordinary Road to go into a Territory belonging to his Bishoprick, call'd *Monravel*; where being arriv'd, he was inform'd, that one of the Duke's Guards had been assisting in the execution of some Acts of Justice, wherein he was himself immediately concern'd, and which would otherwise perhaps have met with some opposition. He would therefore take this occasion to send a Gentleman to the Duke, to return his thanks for so opportune a kindness: who having found the Duke at *Bordeaux*, told him from the Archbishop his Master, "That he took the

assistance

The Archbishop of *Bordeaux* sends to complement the Duke of *Espernon*.

Anno 1633. " assistance one of his Guards had given some of his people to  
 " the support of his interests, and in the time of his absence for a  
 " singular favour, and obligation; and that he had therefore  
 " commanded him to come kiss his hands, and to return him his  
 " hearty thanks. Some have drawn a consequence from this way  
 of proceeding, that the Archbishop did not come with any de-  
 sign to offend the Duke, it being unlikely, that had he had any such  
 intention, he would have sent to him to have sought his friend-  
 ship, by the acknowledgment of an obligation receiv'd. others  
 (and perhaps too critically) have believ'd, that it was only artifice  
 to make the Duke appear more in fault, and that the Archbishop,  
 knowing the Duke's humour had made no difficulty in making  
 this dissembled Application, to the end, that it being rejected, as  
 he expected it should be, the Duke might be more universally  
 condemn'd, even when being provok'd, he should break out in-  
 to just and necessary resentments.

Whatever the design of this Complement might be, it was very  
 ill receiv'd, and so ill, that if the Archbishop had therein any  
 clandestine end, to extract from it some new cause of offense, he  
 could hardly better have succeeded. The Duke made answer to  
 the Gentleman who came from the Archbishop, " That thanks  
 " were neither necessary, nor due to a person, who had no design  
 " to oblige: That if any thing by his orders had been perform'd  
 " to his Masters advantage, it had been done upon no other ac-  
 " count than the meer consideration of Justice, without any re-  
 " spect to his Friendship: and so dismiss'd him. The Duke ob-  
 serving all his people surpriz'd at so slight, and so crude an answer,  
 to satisfy them in some measure, told them, " That they ought  
 " not to wonder if he had made a rude return to the Archbishop's  
 " Complement: That it was without doubt no other than a  
 " feign'd Civility in *Monsieur de Bordeaux*, who he very well knew  
 " did not love him, to seek an advantage against him: That he  
 " would be glad under a colour of seeming Courtesie, to lay a  
 " weakness at his door, and to make the world believe, that he  
 " had first sought his Friendship: That had the Bishop sent to  
 " him by the way of a simple *Hon d'ee* only, he should have  
 " receiv'd his Visit with the respect due to a man of his condi-  
 " tion; but having added terms of thanks, which presuppos'd a  
 " favour receiv'd, he would not the world should believe, that he  
 " had made the first application to a man he did not take to be  
 " his Friend.

The Archbishop might very well judge by this first repulse,  
 that he should have a very hard game to play with the Duke of  
*Espernon*,

*Espernon*, which made him hover very near a month about *Bordeaux*, before he could resolve to enter the City. It is most certain, that in the mean time he sent to Court to acquaint the Cardinal with what had pass'd betwixt the Duke and him, and to receive Instructions from him, how he was to behave himself, if matters should grow to a greater height betwixt them. To which the Cardinals answer was (as it was a few days after Publish'd) that he assur'd him of a powerful Protection, and such a one as he had promis'd him before his departure; whereupon the Archbishop made no difficulty to engage in the Affair, to such a height, as even to be himself the Aggressor, as at the first dash, by giving the Duke very sensible, and very publick Affronts, he manifestly appeared to be.

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The first was, when upon his arrival at the City, he did not find the Jurats (that is the Magistrates) upon the River, ready to receive him at his Landing; which he pretended to be a Ceremony due to his Place, and Dignity, as having formerly been paid him: but the Jurats, who declar'd to have sometimes done it only upon Courtesie, and without any intention to draw it into Example, would by no means consent, that what had been perform'd meerly in the nature of a Civility, should become a Right. This therefore he would interpret for a hainous offense, not only from the Jurats, but also from the Duke, who he believ'd (with some reason) to have been the cause, that Honour had been deny'd him. So that without longer dissembling his Discontent, the Jurats having deputed two of their Corporation to Harangue him so soon as he should be alighted at his own Palace, he answer'd them in these very words.

“Gentlemen, I have reason at my arrival to be satisfied with  
 “the people of *Bordeaux*, who have behav'd themselves civilly  
 “towards me; and I look upon it as a continuation of the good  
 “affection, they have formerly had for the late Cardinal *de Sourdis*  
 “*dis* my Brother: but I have reason to be dissatisfied with the  
 “Magistrates of your City, and cannot but believe, that if those,  
 “who put the words you have deliver'd me into your mouths,  
 “had given you leave to pay me the respect you ought to have  
 “done, you would have done it after the accustomed manner,  
 “and in the usual place: but by having made your selves slaves  
 “to your Offices, and by having forfeited your Liberties in so  
 “doing, you have committed this neglect. I must needs think  
 “this proceeding would have been against the sense of the People,  
 “might they have been allow'd the freedom of their Voices, and  
 “consequently can take nothing ill from them: and as to your  
 particular,

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1633. “ particular, I shall also pardon you; forasmuch as I know what  
“ you have done, was by the Instigation of others, and not up-  
“ on your own account.

The Duke of *Espernon* was too evidently glanc'd at in this Discourse, to be insensible of the Injury was done him, and consequently sought nothing more than an occasion wherein to manifest his Resentment. It was nevertheless contrary to the advice of all the Friends and Servants he had about him, that he took up that Resolution; there being none of them who did not very well foresee, that having to do with a man of the Archbishops condition, and upheld as he was, by the most powerful Protection of the Kingdom, he must of necessity put his Affairs into very great disorder.

I would omit nothing of what pass'd upon this occasion, this being the first occurrence whereby the Duke's Fortune was really wounded; the others that had pass'd before had only rippled up the skin, and hitherto he had bravely overcome all the difficulties had been oppos'd against him. Since therefore the Scene is now to be chang'd, and that a new prospect of his Affairs will be presented to your view, it should not methinks be impertinent to repeat every Circumstance, that contributed to this Alteration: but on the other side I must, in being so particular, descend to such little things, as I fear will importune my Reader. I shall however do the best I can to avoid that inconvenience, by touching at every thing; but with so much brevity, as shall be no durable penance, even to those who are least delighted with such recitals.

The Duke, nettled to the quick with the Archbishops Speech to the Jurats, began rather by trifling Peccadillo's, than by downright Injury to manifest his resentment: for it must needs be confess'd, that never man was more ingenious than he, to offend such as he did not love; so that he set all Engines on work, little Affronts, as well as high Abuses, and spar'd nothing that might any way contribute to his Revenge. Having therefore found the Archbishop so sensible of this first Assault, he persisted to wound him deeper by new and more legible Offenses. He had in propriety, as Lord of the Mannor of *Puipaulin*, the Royalty of the *Clie* of *Bordeaux* (which is the Fish-Market there) so as that he might lawfully forbid the entrance thereinto to any, he had no mind to admit: He therefore commanded the Archbishops Officers one Fish-day to be excluded, to the end they might be necessitated to take their Fish without the Bar, with the rest of the people. These men refused to receive it after that manner, and otherwise they could not have it; neither was the Duke content with doing  
this

this alone; but, knowing it would be brought in from other places, caus'd his Guards moreover to watch all the avenues to hinder it; by whom some were turn'd back, who would have done the Archbishop that Service, and in the end some of his own Domesticks very roughly handled.

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Upon this occasion it was, that the clandestine Animosities, they had hitherto in some measure smother'd in their Bosoms, flam'd out to an open Feud betwixt them; and from this beginning all the Disorders we shall hereafter see ensue, took their rise and being. The Archbishop by Publick Declarations complain'd of the Violence had been offer'd to him by a sort of men set on purposely to do it, describing them by the name of the Ruffet Cassocks, which was the Duke's Livery; demanding of the Magistrate protection, and assistance to oppose them, and protesting to Retire with his Clergy, if they would not provide for his Safety. Whilst the Archbishop was thus busie to vindicate himself by Forms of Law, the Duke, conceiving it very unbecoming the Authority he had in the Province, to proceed by the same ways, would try to do his business by other means: He therefore commanded the Lieutenant of his Guards, the next day after the Archbishop had exhibited this injurious Bill, against his Guards, to go with all his Souldiers to present himself before him, and to ask of him, If amongst all those he knew any one man who was likely to commit an unhandsome action? The Lieutenant did as he was commanded, and waited near to the Archbishops Palace his return from the City; when seeing him come in his Coach, he presented himself to speak to him: It was about Dinner time, when the Archbishop seeing so many Souldiers attending the Lieutenant, and not imagining they could come after that manner for any civil end, he commanded his Coach-man to drive on. The Lieutenant was still earnest with him, and (with his Hat nevertheless in his hand) beseeches the Archbishop he would be pleas'd to hear him; assuring him withal he had nothing to say, that could any way offend him: but all was in vain, the Coach-man was still call'd to to drive on; when the Lieutenant fearing to lose the opportunity of executing what he had in charge (and having on the other side not much studied the \* Canon, where-  
in so many persons by this Contest have since been made perfect) call'd in the end to one of his Companions to lay hold of the Reins, and to stop the Horses: which being accordingly done, the Archbishop came immediately out of his Coach, crying out there was violence offer'd to his person, and so retir'd himself into his House.

\* *Siquis  
suadente  
Diabolo, &c.*

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The Duke, inform'd by the Lieutenant of his Guards how all things had pass'd, perceiv'd by the manner of it, that the Archbishop had been put into a terrible fright; which was the only thing he had intended, and so turn'd the whole business into Mirth, and Laughter. But the Archbishop did not so; but having on the contrary the afternoon of that very same day, being the 29<sup>th</sup> of *October*, summon'd in all the Orders, and Societies of Ecclesiasticks in the City, he there expos'd before them the open Violence he pretended had been offer'd to him, rendring the action as foul as he could possibly make it, and omitting nothing he thought would conduce to the interest of the whole Body of the Clergy in his Quarrel. Wherein he succeeded so well, that at the very instant most of the Assistants, fir'd by his Eloquence, concluded upon an Excommunication; some notwithstanding there were, more moderate than the rest, who a little allaying the fury of this first Sentence, perswaded them in the end to resolve upon a Deputation to the Duke, to complain to him of the ill usage their Prelate had receiv'd since his arrival, and therein chiefly of the insolence committed by the Lieutenant of his Guards, and to demand his Justice.

This Complaint was prefer'd to the Duke the 30<sup>th</sup> of *October*, at which he was a little surpriz'd; and now better considering what this Affair, by the interest all the Ecclesiasticks would take in it, might produce; would, it was conceiv'd, have been glad that things might have continued in the same posture they then were, without running on into greater extremes; neither would he upon the suddain return any precise Answer. He therefore told the Canon, who had been deputed to him in the behalf of the whole Clergy: "That the Speech he had made to him consisted of several Heads of great importance: That he was old, and his memory so ill, that it would be hard for him to remember all he had said: That he therefore desir'd he might have it in writing, and that then he would consider of it, and return his Answer in writing also. The Duke thought that during this respite he desir'd, the Archbishop would suspend the Publication of his Censures, and that in the mean time, what had pass'd might by the mediation of Friends, in some amicable Treaty be hush'd, and taken up: but he did not in his Adversary meet with a spirit so flexible to an Accommodation, who on the contrary was so obstinately deaf to all overtures of Agreement, that upon *All-Saints* day he thundred out his Excommunication against the Lieutenant of the Guards, and all those who accompanied him, at the \* Profnes of all the Parish Churches of the City. Neither did he therein

\* The Profnes are the Publications of the Feasts, and Fasts of the Church, Banes of Matrimony, Excommunications, &c.

therein spare the person of the Duke himself, of whom in his Act he spoke in these terms: "And although the Authors of this attempt be compriz'd in the same censures; nevertheless, considering how many persons are oblig'd to frequent them for the Service of the King, and the good of the Province, we would not; neither will we make the same Declaration, and Denunciation against them: but reposing our trust in the mercy of Almighty God, who strikes the most obdurate hearts, and thence draws tears of saving Repentance, we have appointed, and ordained, and do hereby appoint, and ordain, Prayers of forty hours upon Sunday the 6<sup>th</sup>. of November in the Church of St. Michael of this City, to implore the assistance of the Divine Goodness for the Conversion of Sinners, &c. Given at Bordeaux this Monday the last of October 1633. Here you have the first Action that pass'd betwixt these two great persons, which could not possibly have been push'd on by either side with greater heat, or violence, there being not a day, nay hardly a minute lost betwixt them; but all things hurried on with that vehemency, and precipitation, that whoever had observ'd the impetuosity wherewith these two Enemies ran against one another, might very well have foreseen, that the shock at their meeting, must of necessity bear one of them to the ground.

This business made a mighty noise at Court, whither the Archbishop had writ in great diligence, and where the Cardinal interest'd himself in his cause, as it had been his own Affair: but, although he was from that time forward resolv'd to push things to the last extreme, and from this Quarrel to derive an occasion wherein to revenge himself of the Duke, for all his former discontents; he had nevertheless the Duke, and the Cardinal *de la Valette*, the Duke of *Espernon's* Sons in so high consideration, that he surrendred all his Animosity to the respect he had to them. He would therefore take a moderate course to compose this Disorder by an Accommodation; the agitation whereof was committed to *Villemontée*, one of the Council of State, and *Intendant de la Justice* in *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois*, a man of great esteem with the Cardinal, and the whole Council. This Gentleman therefore departed with this Commission, to transfer himself in all haste to *Bordeaux*; but notwithstanding all the diligence he could use, the Animosity betwixt these two haughty Spirits was so great, as had, before he could arrive there, shuffled matters into so strange a confusion, that it was utterly impossible to find out any way to compose them.

The Duke of *Espernon* exasperated to the last degree, that the

*Annos*  
1633.  
The Archbishop pronounces a Sentence of Excommunication against the Lieutenant of the Duke of *Espernon's* Guard, and tacitly against the Duke himself.

Cardinal Richelieu endeavours an Accommodation betwixt them.

But in vain.

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1633. little respite he had so modestly desir'd, should be deny'd him, and to find that the Archbishop would not a little bend by his example; from that time forward excluded all thoughts of Reconciliation, and for the future only meditated how to settle his Conscience in repose, by paying the respect, and submission that was due to the Church. To this end therefore he call'd an Assembly of several Learned Divines in his own House, to consult about the Excommunication had been pronounc'd against the Lieutenant of his Guards, and implicitly against himself. In this Debate there were very few who did not conclude it altogether groundless; of particular Opinions therefore they drew up a Publick Act, which being subscribed by all the Doctors, to the number of more than thirty, was publish'd throughout the City, to the end, they said, that all Scandal and Scruple might be taken away, which the Archbishops Excommunication might have rais'd, and begot in the minds of the people.

But that which was design'd for so good an end, produc'd, as we shall see, a very different effect. Amongst the Doctors, the Duke had Assembled, there were several Religious, and other Ecclesiasticks, who were under the Archbishops Jurisdiction; this Prelate therefore being strangely incens'd, to be abandoned by his own Party, in a Cause wherein the Church was so highly concern'd, and impatient to have the Lye given him, by those very men, by whose advice (or the greatest part of them at least) he had Publish'd his Censures, would once more call them together; his design therein being either to make them retract from what they had subscribed to in the Duke's favour, or to punish them for having submitted themselves to a Secular Power. He therefore cited them to appear before him, by the publication of an Ordinance, bearing date the 10<sup>th</sup>. day of *November* 1633.

The Doctors, surpriz'd at this citation, were very much afraid of their Metropolitan's Indignation, and some severe Chastisement, that would be inflicted on them. This apprehension made them fly to the Duke's Protection, who, to secure them, the same day issued out another Ordinance, wherein he prohibited all sorts of persons, of what quality, condition, or profession soever, to meet in an extraordinary Assembly, either in the Archbishops Palace, or elsewhere, without his especial Licence; excepting nevertheless the Religious, and Ecclesiasticks immediately belonging to the Archbishop's Congregation, and whose Councils he customarily made use of, for the better ordering the Discipline of his Diocess. The Doctors, not yet believing themselves sufficiently secur'd by this Edict, entreated the Duke that he would more-

over



over place the Archers of the Watch of the City upon all the Avenues, and Gates of the Archbishops Palace, to hinder such as would pretend to obey the Bishops Summons. A request the Duke as readily granted, conceiving himself so far oblig'd in honour to protect them, that whatsoever could be represented to him, to hinder that determination, the consequences whereof, were in all probability like to be exceedingly untoward, it was notwithstanding impossible to divert him.

*Anna*  
*1633.*

The Archbishop had no sooner notice, that the Captain of the Watch, with his Archers, had planted himself at his Gates; but that immediately putting on his Pontifical Robes, and causing himself to be follow'd by some Ecclesiasticks, together with what people he had about him, he went on foot out of the House, crying out in the Streets as he pass'd along, *To me my people, there is no more Liberty for the Church.* In this posture he went to several Religious Houses of the City, gathering after him a great number of people (who ran from all parts to the Novelty) as he went along, and in the end return'd back towards his own Palace, without effecting any thing more, or being able to raise any Commotion in the City.

Whilst all these things were in doing, the Duke was at the Capuchins, in one of the remotest parts of the City, where having news brought him by two Presidents of the Parliament of what had pass'd, and of the danger there was, lest the Archbishop should stir up any Mutiny to the prejudice of the common Safety; he was at last by them intreated to interpose his Authority, and Wisdom, for the conservation of the Publick Peace. In the heat therefore this sudden intelligence had put him into, the Duke speedily mounted his Coach, commanding they should drive that way he heard the Archbishop was gone. He had in company with him the *Count de Maille*, and the *Commendator de la Justice*, both of them men of very eminent Vertue, and in whom he had a particular confidence: but in this sudden passion their Counsels could by no means prevail. The Duke made his Coach-man still drive on, and through all, till he came near the Archbishops Palace, whither he heard he was upon his return, and where he overtook him. The Bishop thus overtaken, still continued on his pace, when the Duke having staid him by the Arm, and demanded of him by what Authority he stirr'd up this Commotion in his Government, he was by the Archbishop interrupted, who cry'd out aloud, *Strike Tyrant, thy blows will be to me Flowers, and Roses, thou art Excommunicated.* In the heat of this bustle, the Duke catching him by the hand, lifted it up twice, or thrice,

*Anno* thrice, and set it against his Breast: but in the end, the Arch-  
*1633.* bishop still provoking him with injurious Language, and with his  
 Hat on, the Duke with a Cane he had in his hand, touch'd the  
 Brim of his Hat, and thrust it off his head to the ground, telling  
 him at the same time, he did not know the respect he ought him;  
 but if the Reverence to his Profession did not restrain him, he  
 would make him know it. Something worse might perhaps have  
 pass'd, had not the *Count de Maillé*, and the *Commendator de la Ju-*  
*stice* interpos'd, who stepping in betwixt them, put an end to this  
 untoward bustle, very much unbecoming both the one, and the  
 other.

After this action had thus pass'd, the Duke return'd to his own  
 House, and although he very well knew no good issue could at-  
 tend it, manifested notwithstanding no shew of apprehension,  
 or repentance, discoursing of it with his Friends (who were more  
 in suspense than he himself appear'd to be, of what would be the  
 event) as of a thing of an indifferent nature, and a just resent-  
 ment of an Affair wherein his Honour was concern'd. The  
 Archbishop was no sooner disingag'd from the Duke, but that  
 he forthwith repair'd to his Church, where he pronounc'd his  
 Sentence of Excommunication, both against him, and all those  
 who had been in company with him, prohibiting Divine Service  
 in all the Churches of the City, and also in that of *Cadillac*, by a  
 publick Act, I shall forbear to Copy in this place, that I may not  
 importune my Reader.

The Sen-  
 tence of  
 Excommu-  
 nication  
 pronounced  
 against the  
 Duke of  
*Espenon*.

This first Spiritual Thunder-bolt having been darted by the  
 Archbishop, he had moreover recourse to the Temporal Authority,  
 very well foreseeing, that if that did not justify the Blow he  
 had already levell'd at the Duke, it would be no very hard matter  
 for him to evade it, and to frustrate any mortal effect by very per-  
 tinent, and powerful Reasons. He sent away a dispatch there-  
 fore to Court, wherein he gave Cardinal *Richelieu* an account of  
 the Violence had been offer'd to him; at which the Cardinal was  
 so highly incens'd, that nothing now had power to appease him.  
 He therefore talk'd no more of attempting an Accommodation,  
*Villemontée's* Commission (who had been sent away upon their  
 first difference to that purpose) was at an end, even before he  
 could arrive at the place; so that nothing now was thought of,  
 save how by the Kings Authority to enquire into the Riots con-  
 tain'd in the Archbishops Complaint: and his Majesty as Prote-  
 ctor, and eldest Son of the Church, was counsell'd by the Car-  
 dinal (particularly concern'd in the Affair, by the interest of his  
 profession, which he would render inviolable) to make a signal  
 example

example of his Piety and Justice, in the Person of the Duke of *Espernon.*

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It is believ'd, that if the Duke had taken the same course, the Archbishop did, and had sent to Court in time to give his Reasons for what he had done; he had infinitely discredited his Adversaries Cause; but it was for some days impossible to prevail with him to do it. He still carried on the business with the same indifferency, saying to such as urg'd him to that course (with a generosity something out of season at this time) "That he was not to give an account of his Actions to any, but the King himself, which he was ready to do when-ever his Majesty should please to call him to it: That he very willingly gave the start to such, as were diffident either of themselves, or their Cause; and that he had done nothing, but what he ought to do, for the maintenance of the King's Authority entrusted with him. So that carrying himself at the same careless rate, it is not to be imagined how much he fortified his Enemies side by his own negligence; nor how many advantages he gave him, which he would otherwise perhaps never have obtain'd, had not he himself contributed to them.

In the end notwithstanding for fashions sake, he dispatch'd away one of the Souldiers of his Guards to Court, but it was not of four days after the bustle; and then he did it after such a manner, as made it appear it was rather out of complacency to his Friends, who were importunate with him to that effect, than out of any respect to his own Interests. His Sons, who before this Courriers arrival knew not what to oppose to the Archbishops Complaints, had now something to say in their Fathers behalf: but it was impossible for them to alter the Resolutions already taken, or to suspend the blow the King (who had his hand already up) was ready to discharge upon him.

The Court files with the Archbishops.

Whilst Affairs were debated with this heat at Court, they were carried on with no less violence at *Bordeaux*. The Parliament there had taken cognizance of the Quarrel, and though the Duke had several very good Friends in that Assembly, yet the number of those who were not so prevailing, and the news that came every day from Court, to the Duke's disadvantage, having given mens minds very ill impressions of the success of his Affairs; the Company could not be dissuaded from sending a Deputation to the Archbishop, to let him know how highly they interested themselves in his Offense, and to make him a tender of all the good Offices, they were capable to do him upon this occasion. After which, from Offers, going on to Effects, they began to fall

And the Parliament of *Bordeaux* also, who draw up an Information against him.

to

*Anno* 1633. to fall to work, about drawing up an Information against the Duke, and notwithstanding he made several Protestations to appeal from the Parliament, as a Court prohibited in all his Causes, nothing could stop the Torrent of their proceeding; but they would perfect what they had begun, as they did, and so exactly for the Court Palat, that they would hear talk of no other Information.

The Duke Signs his Answer, wherein he gives a true Relation of the whole business.

*Villemontée*, who had heard nothing before his departure of this last business, was gone, according to his Orders to Accommodate the first, and was by this time arriv'd at *Bordeaux*. The Duke of *Espernon* knew him not, on the contrary he had been rendred suspected to him, by having been represented for a great Creature of the Cardinals, and that was consequently like to be very partial to the Archbishops side; but the Duke, having at their first Conference, found him much more sway'd by his Duty, than all other Respects, he made no difficulty to repose his entire Confidence in this man's Vertue, and to give him a full account of the whole action, to the end that he might draw up his answer in due Form of Law, The Duke was so generous, as herein to cause every thing that had pass'd to be laid open at length, and without disguise; to which he would moreover add his Seal to confirm it; and although it was often represented to him, by very understanding men, that so ingenious a Confession was not necessary, in an occasion wherein he saw his Adversaries prosecute with so much heat, and that in this case, his single Confession would more prejudice his Cause, than the Depositions of all the Witnesses could be produc'd against him; yet those Remonstrances were not of force to dissuade him, he smartly replying: That he had not done an action to disavow it, and that whatever the issue might be, it would be much more supportable to him, than the shame of being reduc'd to the necessity of disowning any Act of his life. It was in truth upon this single confession of the Duke's, after the Parliaments Information had been sufficiently canvas'd, that the Cardinal pronounc'd the Excommunication to be valid, and right; and that the King was oblig'd both in Equity, and Honour, to repair the Injury committed by one of his Officers of that condition, against the Person, and Dignity of a Prelate, and the whole Church.

The first reparation was a command the Duke received in a Dispatch from the King, to depart out of his Government, and to retire to his House of *Plassac*, which was in these words.

Cousin,

Cousin,

“ Having seen a Declaration of several Riots, whereof the  
 “ Archbishop, and the Clergy of *Bordeaux* highly complain to  
 “ Us ; We have thereupon thought fit to send you this Letter,  
 “ which will be delivered you by the *Sieur de Varennes*, one of our  
 “ Gentlemen in ordinary, to tell you, We desire that immediate-  
 “ ly upon sight hereof you retire to your House of *Plassac*, and  
 “ there remain till our further Pleasure. We do also send to the  
 “ Archbishop, to signifie to him, that it is our desire he come to  
 “ us, to the end we may be fully inform’d of the truth of what  
 “ has pass’d ; purposing in the mean time to send one of our  
 “ Council, to our said City of *Bordeaux*, to enquire into, and  
 “ to bring Us thence a perfect Accompt of the business. The rest  
 “ we refer to the said *Sieur de Varennes* to communicate to you,  
 “ whom you are in all things to believe ; praying God Cousin,  
 &c. At *St. Germain en Laye* this 18<sup>th</sup>. of *November* 1633. Sign’d  
*Louis,* And below

Anno

1633.

The Duke receives a Command from the King to depart out of his Govern- ment.

*Philippeaux.*

The Duke of *Espernon*’s Friends at Court, being inform’d of the severe contents of this Dispatch, were not a little in doubt after what manner he would receive it. They fear’d his great Spirit, full of those generous Maxims, which had for so many years, and in so many froward occurrences supported his Reputation, and Fortune, would with great difficulty submit to Laws, so different from what they had been in former times. Amongst these the Cardinal *de la Valette* (a man as well read in the Court, as any whatever of his time) upon this occasion laid aside the complacency of a Son, to assume the austerity of a faithful Adviser, and writ to him to this effect, “ That he did beseech him to  
 “ look upon this Affair, as one of the greatest Difficulty and Im-  
 “ portance he had met withal in the whole course of his life :  
 “ That to avoid any inconveniences might befall him, he must  
 “ immediately submit to the King’s Pleasure, and Command, and  
 “ refer the business wholly, and without reservation to the Car-  
 “ dinal, which was the only way to put a good end to this Dis-  
 “ pute. *Monsieur de Seguiet Garde des Sceaux*, the Duke’s inti-  
 mate friend, and a man that appeared more for his Interest, than the condition of the time seem’d conveniently to permit, did the same, writing him word, “ That a prompt and absolute Obe-  
 “ dience was the only way whereby a cause, his Enemies Favour  
 “ rendred generally disapprov’d, might be brought to a success-  
 “ ful issue ; but that without that, it was utterly impossible for

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“ his Friends, and Servants, to do him those Offices were necessary for the bringing of matters to any tolerable conclusion. All the Duke's other Friends having confirm'd the same thing, he evidently saw, that he must of necessity obey; yet was it not without an incredible violence upon his own Humour, and great Spirit. He had at other times resisted the greatest powers of the State, when arm'd against him with the King's Authority, and Forces, whereas now he saw himself reduc'd to submit to four lines of Paper; they made him indeed to depart out of his Government: And though it be true, that in these latter Times, the Royal Authority was rais'd to a more illustrious height, than formerly it had ever been; yet I do not know that any one has observ'd a greater example of his Power, than upon this occasion. All France acknowledg'd the Duke, for the eminent qualities he was master of, to be a man of the greatest Reputation of his Age; he was possess'd of the greatest, and most important Governments of the Kingdom, powerful in Riches, Commands, Places, Servants, and much more in his Children. His three Sons had all of them great Offices, and great Employments, and yet with all these advantages he was not able to resist four words; and then it was, that he plainly saw a Subject had no way to support himself in his Fortune, and Reputation, but by Obedience; and that the Power of a King, manag'd as it ought to be, can meet no difficulties, nor impediments, it cannot easily master, and overcome. He had seen a time, when by making a shew of Resolution, or Discontent, men had sometimes obtain'd part of what they desir'd, or at least defended themselves from what they had not a mind to do. Under the Reign of *Henry* the III, the diversity of Factions, which then divided the State, had so weakened the Authority of the Sovereign, that he durst scarce pretend to more than a voluntary Submission from his People: And *Henry* the Great his Successor, by an excess of Bounty and good Nature, had continued to do, what the other had been constrain'd to by inevitable Necessity. This Mighty Prince was of so noble a Disposition, that he would destroy none; so that, excepting the *Marschal de Biron*, who would have no compassion of himself, almost all the great men of the Kingdom, were either actually Rebels, or highly Disobedient, without ever feeling either the Sword, or so much as the Hand of Justice. The Regency of *Queen Mary de Medici*, was equally moderate, and gentle, and the Tempests that arose in her time, being appeas'd with money, men did not only offend securely, but made moreover a profit of their Crimes. The *Marschal d'Entre* try'd to change those milders into rougher

Maxims; but he lost himself in the practice of this premature severity. In the Ministry of the Duke *de Luines*, there was no more of violence, than in the preceding Reigns: the good success notwithstanding the Royal Arms, always had in all Enterprizes, during the time of his favour, made it plain, that there was nothing his Majesty could not with great facility effect in his own Kingdom. He had with great ease suppress'd the Queen Mothers Inturrection; he had invaded the Party of the Religion with very great success, wherein having found their weakness by their disunion amongst themselves, he was by that discovery encourag'd to undertake their total ruine; and the Cardinal entering into the Ministry in so favourable a juncture of Affairs, press'd the declining Faction so home, that in a very short time he remov'd all Obstacles, which could any ways oppose the Royal Authority, or impede the establishment of his own. The Party of the Religion was totally suppress'd, the House of *Austria* infinitely weakened; all the other Princes who were ill affected to the Crown, reduc'd to a necessity of complying with whatsoever was impos'd upon them; and those of the Nobility who were so bold, as to oppose the King's will, had been so roughly handled, that not a man durst any more expose himself to the punishment they all knew would inevitably follow the least forfeiture of their Duty. It had been but of very late years, that this new form of Government had been introduc'd into the Kingdom, and the Duke was grown old in the practice of other Maxims: It is not then to be doubted, but that it must needs be with great repugnancy, and unwillingness, that he could Accommodate himself to a thing so unusual, and severe; he did notwithstanding do it, and without delaying time, or spending any more than was requisite for the making of some few Visits, and taking leave of his Friends, he departed out of his Government, suspended from his Functions, Excommunicated from the Church, and reduc'd to the conversation of his own Domesticks only. Though in a condition so different from what it had formerly been, and so contrary to his ordinary way of living, he could not but be very much afflicted, he nevertheless so well conceal'd his grief, that he was not observ'd to be either more melancholy, or dejected, than at other times; and he had so great a command over his own passions, as not to utter so much as one word unbecoming either his courage, or his piety, ever retaining in all things the devout Reverence due to the Holy Church.

So oft as any one writ him word from *Paris*, that his Friends could have wish'd he had retain'd a greater moderation, and re-

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 spect towards the person of a Prelate, he would still maintain, " That in repelling an injury done to the Royal Power, he had " done no more than it was his Duty to do : That the King him- " self might prostitute his Authority as he pleased; but that as " for him who was oblig'd in his Majesties Right to maintain all " the Priviledges of his Command; he neither could, nor ought " to have done otherwise, than he did, and that he would ever do " it, though he was thereby certain to forfeit, not only his Offices, " and his Estate, but also his Life.

The Duke comes to *Plassac*, where he observes his Excommunication.

And submits to the Church.

So soon as the Duke was arriv'd at *Plassac*, he began to observe his Excommunication, though he wanted not the advice of several very Learned Divines, who maintain'd it to be invalid, and unjust; wherein his submission appear'd to all so much the more to be commended, in that he was willing to undergo the punishment of an Offense, he was not convinc'd he had committed. Thus banish'd to a Countrey House, where his only consolation should have been to have convers'd with his God, even there also the doors of his Church were bolted against him; so that he assist'd no more at Masses as he had formerly ever done; he moreover deprived himself of the participation of all the Sacraments: but he omitted nothing withal that might any ways serve to manifest his respect to the Holy Church, and her Ministers. He made all the Protestations that could be prevailing to the vindication of the integrity of his Obedience, and to that purpose sent away an express dispatch to Cardinal *Bichi*, the Pope's Nuntio in *France*; he sent also to *Poitiers*, where he knew the Archbishop of *Bordeaux* had call'd together an Assembly of Prelates, to make the same Declarations; but it was all in vain: and it was decreed he should undergo all, and all the severest Forms of Penance, before he should receive his Absolution.

The Duke sends a Dispatch to the King.

But as the Spiritual Authority was not arm'd against him alone, and that it was not that (though he had it in the highest reverence) he had the greatest reason to apprehend; it was also necessary for him to employ his principal care, and endeavour, to divert the Fury of the Royal Power, which was already display'd against him. To that effect therefore he dispatch'd away the *Count de Maillé* to the King, with instructions especially to sollicite, that the Commissioners his Majesty had made him hope for in his Dispatch, might be sent away, that by the return of their Report, his Majesty might be fully inform'd of the truth of his Actions: but after the Information of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, which was altogether favourable to the Archbishop, the Court had no ear left open, either to his Prayers, or Complaints; and the Cardinal



dinal having solemnly espous'd the Quarrel, and made it his own, was so far from permitting the Duke's Friends to dispute his Will with their best Arguments, and Reasons, that he would not so much as endure any one should dare to propose them.

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How great soever the Cardinal's passion was herein, or how great soever his Credit with the King, they were not however such as could hinder the Duke, and the Cardinal *de la Valette* from paying (with equal Generosity, and good Nature) the respect which by all sorts of Obligation, they so justly ow'd to the Duke their Father. The first of which had no sooner notice of the Dispute his Father had with the Archbishop, but that he departed from *Metz*, to come first to Court, there to observe the disposition of things, and from thence to go to *Plassac*, either to comfort the Duke his Father in his Affliction; or to give him his best advice in his Affairs. As for the Cardinal his Brother, what dependence soever he had at Court, he very often expos'd all that Interest, to perform his Duty, and so far as to engage sometimes in so hot Disputes with the Cardinal *Richelieu*, that it was often believ'd, they would never again be so fully reconcil'd, that there would not still remain a Core in the bosom of the one or the other.

So soon as the Archbishop had got his Information perfected, and so well to his liking, that he conceiv'd his proofs could admit of no Dispute, he departed from *Bordeaux* to go to *Paris*. *Plassac* the place to which the Duke was retir'd, was in truth in his way, but not so, that he might not without any inconvenience have balk'd it; and all the world believ'd he would have been so civil to the Duke's Disgrace as to have done it: he did not nevertheless, but on the contrary, pass'd along by the Park Wall after so bra-ving a manner, that he made the noise of his Equipage rattle against the very Walls of the Duke's House. And then indeed it was, that the Duke felt himself most sensibly wounded, and that this Bravado had like to have transported him to something that might have made the Archbishop's Cause better than it was, by offering to him some signal Violence. I was my self a witness how much ado he had to forbear; but his Friends and Servants representing to him the importance of the Action he was about, he in the end gave way to their Reason, though I do believe with the greatest violence he committed upon himself, and his great Spirit, throughout the whole progress of this troublesome Affair.

The Arch-  
bishop of  
*Bordeaux*  
goes to  
*Paris*.

The Archbishop was no sooner arriv'd at Court, but that all the Prelates, who were then in *Paris*, assembled after an unusual manner, to deliberate amongst themselves what was best to be

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done

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1634. done in the behalf of their Brother; which Convocation the Duke of *Espernon* had no sooner notice of; but continuing to do, as he had formerly done, he sent to them his Protestations of an absolute submission to the Holy Church. The Duke *de la Valette* therefore, who was return'd back to Court, demanded Audience in the Assembly, in the name of the Duke his Father; which being granted, he there laid down his Reasons before them, with so much efficacy, and elocution, that of five and twenty Prelates who were there present, thirteen were of opinion to take upon them the quality of Judges, under the good pleasure of the Pope, and the King, the Duke having absolutely submitted himself to their Determination: but this resolution was not for the gust of the Court; by this way the business would have been too soon decided, and it was resolv'd the Duke should pay much dearer for his re-establishment in his Offices and Commands. The next day therefore what had been agreed upon the day before, was totally overthrown, and *Messieurs* the Prelates would by no means accept the high degree of Judges, the Duke had so submissively offer'd, but would humble themselves to the qualities of simple Parties only. They assembled then again at the Archbishop of *Bordeaux* his Palace, and from thence sent a Deputation to the King, wherein the Archbishop of *Arles* was to speak for the rest. All that (they say) was observable in the Bishop's Oration, was only an excessive vehemency; in the heat whereof he made use of all the odious terms he could invent, to allure his Majesties Indignation, and to possess him with the highest sense of the Duke's Misdemeanour. Upon which occasion it was that *Caspian* Bishop of *Nantes*, one of the greatest, and most vertuous Prelates of his time, cry'd out, "That if it were possible for the Devil to submit himself to God Almighty, to such a degree as the Duke did, he would infallibly obtain pardon for all his Offenses; and that notwithstanding the Church deny'd this Pardon to a Christian, who had ever serv'd God and his Church. But neither this true Remonstrance, nor any other whatsoever that could be offer'd in the Duke's behalf, could produce any good effect to the composing of this Affair.

He had very good intelligence of all the Severity was practis'd to his prejudice; for although the greatest Powers were declar'd against him, he had notwithstanding friends in the Assembly, that were sway'd by no other consideration, save only the pure interest of Piety and Justice. Of this number were the Archbishops of *Sens*, and of *Tholouze*, the Bishop of *Nantes*; before mention'd, that of *Mans*, of *Beauvais*, and some others. These Prelates acknowledg'd by the whole Kingdom for men of great Merit, and Example,

Example, no sooner had intelligence of what the rest of their Order were contriving against the Duke, but that they came in all haste to *Paris*, to do him all the good Offices, the condition of the time would permit: but there was an over-ruling power, that rendred all their endeavours fruitless; so that after having long sustain'd the Torrent of Authority, that opposed their Reason, they were constrain'd at last to give way to force, that ever gives the Law to the best Arguments.

Upon the Complaints of the Clergy prefer'd to the King, by the mouth of the Archbishop of *Arles*, his Majesty commanded that the Informations of the Parliament of *Bordeaux* should be put into the hands of *Lauzon*, Master of Requests, to make his Report. *Villemontée*, who was also at the same time at Court, was likewise order'd to give in his Answer; after which, and that the Depositions of the Witnesses, had been sufficiently canvas'd, the Cardinal, who was present at the Council, was of opinion, "That upon the Duke's single Confession contain'd in his Answer, he ought to be reputed Excommunicate, and as so, that the King ought to declare him laps'd from all his Offices, and Dignities, till by vertue of his Absolution he should be re-united to the Church.

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A Sentence  
against the  
Duke of  
Espernon.

Though the King's Sentences were by the Duke himself obey'd with all manner of submission; his Friends, and Servants nevertheless did not forbear, even in the face of the Court, with many powerful Arguments to move for his *Quietus est*; of which Arguments there were enow of themselves, to make an entire Volume: but I have nothing to do to transcribe them here, both in regard they were of no advantage to the Duke at that time, and that his intention remains sufficiently justified, by his Respect, and Submissions to the Church. The Cardinal *de la Valette* fail'd not however to urge, and dispute those Reasons, as he had ever done; but not having been able to prevail, that the Clergy might themselves be Judges of his Father's Cause; nor that the King would please to take off the punishment he had impos'd upon him, till after he should be absolv'd; The Duke was constrain'd to apply himself to the Court of *Rome*, first to obtain the repose of his Conscience, and after his Restoration to his Offices, and Commands.

His Secretary was therefore dismiss'd from *Plassac* to go to *Rome*, furnish'd with several Dispatches directed to several of the principal persons of that Court. The Duke's name, famous in all parts of Europe, was with his Holiness in very great esteem; he had had the honour to be acquainted with him in the time of his

The Duke  
sends a Dis-  
patch to  
*Rome* to pro-  
cure his Ab-  
solution.

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his Nuntiature in *France*, and he was then reputed no ill Catho-  
lick. His Holiness therefore very graciously receiv'd his Submis-  
sions, and, contrary to the custom of that Court, where delays  
are very usual (chiefly when the Authority of the Apostolick See  
in any Debate of Consequence, is concern'd) cutting off a great  
many of the tedious Forms, caus'd the Expeditions necessary for  
the Duke's satisfaction to be dispatch'd, and sent them away to  
Cardinal *Bichi*, his Nuntio in *France*. So that, had the Resoluti-  
ons of the Court of *Rome* at that time had less dependence upon  
those of *France*, the Duke had from thence obtain'd a speedy, and  
full satisfaction. But so many rubs were on this side the *Alpes* laid  
in the way, that four whole months were laps'd, before the Duke  
could receive his Absolution, which when it came, was no other  
neither than, *Ad Reincidentiam*, a term us'd by those who treat of  
such matters, when it is not a plenary Absolution.

Who is it that, reading the progress of this Dispute, but must ad-  
mire that a little Complement ill receiv'd, and a few words ill in-  
terpreted, should grow to be one of the most important Affairs of  
two of the greatest Courts of Europe? I was very unwilling to  
have been so tedious in being so particular: but others having re-  
lated it so as they knew would please the Great Ones of that time,  
who were no Friends to the Duke, I thought my self oblig'd to  
render here an account of things as they truly pass'd: which if  
it will not here absolutely excuse the Duke for being in his sudden  
passion too violently transported against an Ecclesiastical Person,  
it will at least serve to manifest the respect he bore to the Church,  
and to a Dignity he ever had in the highest Reverence, and  
Esteem.

The Duke's  
Affairs be-  
gin to dis-  
cover a bet-  
ter face.

From this time forward the Duke's Affairs began to appear  
with a much better face at Court, his Sons having by their dili-  
gence, and discretion so moderated Cardinal *Richelieu's* heat, that  
nothing remain'd to do, save only how to contrive a durable Re-  
conciliation, and from this breach (as it often falls out) to derive  
an occasion of inseparably uniting their two Families. The Car-  
dinal notwithstanding would first have his Will: he had (as has  
been said) in the Year 1632. desir'd that the Duke would demise  
his Government of *Metz* in his favour; wherein, having not  
met with that complacency he expected, he must now be satis-  
fied. Neither would promises serve the turn, the laying down  
the Government of this place must also precede the Absolution,  
the Cardinal being by no means to be periwaded to consent, that  
the Duke should be allow'd to be a Christian to God, and his  
Church, whilst he continued a Rebel to him. Yet was it not  
never-

nevertheless at this time to make any private advantage of this Demission, he had alter'd that design; and the possession of Metz seeming to be superfluous, in the assurance he had of the King's Favour, which he thought he had absolutely acquir'd by the necessity of his Service, the sole end, he could in all appearance propose to himself herein, was, to let the world see, that no one was thenceforward to contend with him, and by an example of this nature to establish his Authority over all the other great men of the Kingdom. The place however only chang'd the hand without going out of the Family, it being transferr'd to the Cardinal de la Valette; as the Duke his Brother was made choice of by a Marriage wholly to piece up, what the late Disorders had disunited. And then it was that they began in good earnest to treat about a plenary Absolution, of the satisfactions were to be made to the Church, and other things that were of course to precede the Duke's Restauration to his Offices, and Commands.

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An Alliance  
with the  
Duke pro-  
pos'd.

But before I proceed to the conclusion of this Affair, it will not I conceive be impertinent, to give an account of two passages, which will render the Duke's constancy, and generosity highly considerable, even in the greatest cloud of his Disgrace; the first whereof was this. In the time that the Court Persecutions were most violent against the Duke, many of his Enemies, both of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, and other parts of the Province, out of a vanity of Generosity, would needs offer themselves to be reconcil'd to him, believing that in such a time of affliction he would be more flexible to an Accommodation, and that seeing how many Enemies he had to deal withal, he would be glad to lessen their number; at least they doubted not but he would receive into his Favour, and good Opinion, those who in so malignant a Juncture should, out of the sole respect to his Person, and Vertue, offer their Service to him: but he on the contrary apprehending, that to appear facile to Reconciliations in a time of disgrace, would be interpreted weakness, and want of Spirit, sent them word, "That he could not deny his Friendship to such as should desire it of him, in a time when he should be in a capacity to oblige them; but that he would never reconcile himself to receive any good Offices from any, who had not been his Friends. And he remain'd so constant to this resolution, that he was never to be perswaded to alter it, what prudent considerations soever could be laid before him to that effect.

The other thing was a Proposition made to him by a Letter from *Paris*, writ by an unknown hand, Seal'd with an unknown Seal, and without Superscription. In this Letter there was pro-

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pounded to him an infallible way to cut off Cardinal Richelieu, his worst, and implacable Enemy, and bent to his ruine (which were the express terms of the Letter.) He who was the Author of this design deliver'd himself to be a Gentleman of Lorain, and an Engineer; who for this piece of Service would demand no more, but six hundred Pistols only, three hundred in hand, and the rest when he had done his business. The Duke had the very thought of so great a wickedness in the greatest horror, and detestation; and what cause soever of unkindness, or offense he might have against the Cardinal, he had his person notwithstanding in very great esteem, which had it been less, or that his Animosity had been greater, it is most certain, that he would never have chosen so base a way to his Revenge. He therefore burnt the Letter without speaking a word of it to any, save one of his Domesticks only, though the Proposition was thrice repeated. The Servant the Duke was pleas'd to entrust with this secret, observing with what obstinacy the Villain persever'd in his damnable resolution, did very rightly judg, that it was not to the Duke alone he would discover his treacherous intent, well foreseeing he would say as much to all the great men of the Kingdom, that he thought to be discontented, and that in the end he would be trap'd, as it fell out. That if then he should accuse the Duke to have hearkened three times to his Proposition, without making any discovery of it, his silence in such a case might pass, in the Cardinal's Opinion, for a tacit consent. He was therefore of advice that the Duke should acquaint the Cardinal with it; but it was impossible to persuade him to that resolution, whilst he was in disgrace. He always profess'd that he would never consent to the death of an Enemy by so infamous a way: but that withal he would not give him that advantage, to persuade himself that he had invented this Artifice (he not being able to produce the Author) by that pitiful way to seek his Favour. The business then rested in this posture, till after the Duke's return to Bordeaux, that he was restor'd to his Government; when the same person, persisting in the same wicked design, and importuning the Duke to accept his offer, without securely sleeping (which were his own words) under the dissembled shew of a counterfeit Reconciliation, he then yielded to the advice of the Duke de la Valette his Son, who was now with him, and at his persuasion resolv'd in the end to send his Letters to the Cardinal de la Valette, to communicate them to Cardinal Richelieu. And they could not have been sent in a better time, for the same proposals that had been made to the Duke, having also been tender'd to the Dutchess of Lorain, she had discover'd

cover'd them to the Cardinal, who, being alarm'd with the conformity of these Intelligences, set spies upon the actions of him that propos'd them. He was therefore Arrested upon the marks he had given of himself in his Letters; neither was there any thing, how daring soever, that might not be expected from the temerity of this man. He was known to have been formerly a Servant to the Duke *de la Valette*, and for one of the most resolute fellows of his time; of which at his being taken he gave notable proof, having kill'd two men of seven that came to apprehend him, and dangerously wounded two more; but in the end, gor'd with Wounds, he was taken, and had life enough left to end his days upon a Gibbet.

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Some of these things having hapned before the overtures of Agreement, we are now to continue the third of our Discourse, where it was broke off before. The Cardinal *de la Valette* therefore pursu'd the conclusion of this Treaty with great vigour, and so as that he had concluded the Marriage of the Duke *de la Valette* his Brother, with the eldest Daughter of the Marquis *de Pont-Charsteau*, a match that was to be the main tye of this Accommodation. This Lady, who was Niece to the Cardinal, and one of the best Families in *Britany*, equally considerable, both for the rare Endowments of her Person, and the advantages of her Condition, was sought after by all the great men of the Court; but the Cardinal her Uncle, having long had a design to engage the Duke, and his, in the Interests of his own Fortune, and Greatness, prefer'd the Duke *de la Valette* above all other persons that pretended to her.

The Alliance concluded with the Duke *de la Valette*.

So soon as this Affair, which put an end to all the rest with Honour, and cut off all difficulties whatever, was agreed upon, the Duke *de la Valette*, who had been sent for to Court to conclude it, return'd back again to the Duke his Father, to ask his consent. The Duke gave it him 'tis true, but that also was all: and although this Match had been made for no other end, than merely to disengage him from those troubles wherewith he was involv'd, he would notwithstanding grant no more, than his complacency only, nothing more being to be obtain'd of his severe, and untractable humour, but a generous denial. He said, "That he had esteem'd enough for the person, who was to enter into his Alliance, to gratifie her with a good share of his Estate, which in due time he would also do; but that he had much rather continue in the posture he then was all the days of his life, than that it should be said he had redeem'd himself by his money, or by Bribes been restored to his Command.

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The Duke's  
Absolution  
resolved upon.

What offense soever the Cardinal took at this disobliging carriage of the Duke, he proceeded notwithstanding to the accomplishment of the intended Match; which being done, he dispatch'd away the Abbot *de Coursan*, one of the Ecclesiasticks in his dependence, with Orders from the King to end all Differences. Wherein the Archbishop had order to give the Duke his Absolution, as the Duke also had his, about what he was to observe in the receiving of it. The Cardinal had a desire that the Ceremony might have been perform'd in the Chappel of his Castle of *Coutras*, that his House might have been rendred famous by so memorable an action: but the Archbishop would never consent to have it done there; on the contrary obstinately insisting, that he would have it at the Gates of the Parish Church of that place, and in the face of all the people; wherein although *Caspian* at that time Bishop of *Nantes*, and *de Espruets* now Bishop of *Saint Papoul*, who were the Mediators of the Duke's Interests with the Archbishop, endeavour'd all they could to conquer this resolution, it was all in vain. The Duke, who, for a nicity like that, would not defer the accomplishment of an Affair, which through so many difficulties had been brought on to the pass it then was, conquering his own humour, submitted in the end to all the Archbishop could desire. But it was withal an odd beginning of a Reconciliation, the two Parties before they parted from the place, being perhaps more dissatisfied with one another, than they had been before.

The day for the Absolution being appointed, the Duke of *Espernon*, attended by the Duke *de la Valette*, and several persons of quality, went to *Coutras*; where being come, the Archbishop, who was already there, accompanied with his Ecclesiasticks, went first to the Church, where the Duke following after, and presenting himself before him, kneel'd down upon a Velvet Cushion, laid ready for that purpose. In this posture, and in the presence of five Councillors of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, who were, by the King's Order to be assisting at this Ceremony, the Archbishop pronounc'd his Absolution in these words.

The Absolution.

*Et Ego Auctoritate Ecclesiæ, & eâ quâ fungor, absolvo te vinculo Excommunicationis, quam incurristi; quia immunitatem Ecclesiæ meæ Metropolitanæ perfregisti; manum armatam militum, ut me currumque meum in via sisterent, misisti; Statione dispositâ Palatium nostrum vallaisti; Jurisdictionem Ecclesiasticam violaisti, eamque tibi arrogasti; Nos, Clerumque nostrum insignibus, & indignis contumeliis affecisti: In nomine Patris, & Filij, &c.*

Though



Though the Duke was no great Latinist, he had nevertheless so much, as to understand many words of this Absolution, by which he observ'd, they were not according to the ordinary style of the Church; so that (as he afterwards said) he was once going to interrupt the Archbishop, as he was speaking: but being unwilling to do any thing that might either look like an Irreverence to the Church, or retard the satisfaction he hop'd for, both as to his Conscience and Affairs after the business was done, he permitted him to proceed, choosing rather to pass for an indifferent Clerk, than to play the Doctor out of time, and to his own prejudice. The Absolution being pass'd, there were mutual Visits to be paid, wherein the Duke in Obedience to the King's Order, began first, and went to give the Archbishop thanks for his Absolution; a civility that was soon return'd by the Archbishop: but with so much coldness on both sides, that it was easie to judg this Reconciliation was likely to beget no very good intelligence betwixt them. In plain truth the Duke could not digest the Severities the Archbishop had made him undergo, which he interpreting to be done out of a premeditated design to provoke him to something that might either hinder, or deter his Absolution, he was much more sensible of those publick Manifestations of his ill will, than of any obligation for the involuntary Grace he had imparted to him.

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There ensu'd therefore, and that immediately upon the Absolution, high complaints on both sides; of which upon the instant great Relations were made, and whereof those of the Duke were justified by the testimony of the Abbot *de Coursan*, who, by seeing how hardly he had been dealt withal, was become altogether of his Party: But whilst these Remonstrances were upon their way to Court, the Duke, to divert himself, took a turn into his Territories of *Angoumois*, beginning now to make use of that liberty, which, by his Reconciliation to the Church, was once more his own. At his return from this little Journey, by an express Courier from Court, he receiv'd his Majesties Orders to return into *Guienne*: neither could they have been couch'd in more obliging terms, there being therein not one syllable of any thing that had pass'd; and the King's Letter, without speaking of any re-establishment, which would have presuppos'd a former Suspension, containing only these words.

Cousin,

“ Having consider'd how much your presence may be necessary in my Province of *Guienne*, that you may have an eye to such Occurrences as may happen there, I have thought fit to write

your

Anno 1634. " you this Letter, to let you know, that I desire, and shall be  
 " well pleas'd that you go thither, to the end you may there con-  
 " tinue the Functions that belong to the Authority of your Com-  
 " mand, as you have formerly done; and to take care that all  
 " things be continued in the good condition they ought to be, for  
 " the safety, and conservation of the said Province in my Obe-  
 " dience. Wherein being assur'd you will acquit your self, with  
 " your accustomed vigilancy, and care, and resting secure in the  
 " absolute confidence, I have ever repos'd in your Fidelity, and  
 " good Affection, I shall say no more, but only assure you of my  
 " Affection. Praying God, &c. From Saint *Germain en Laye* this  
 first of *October*, 1634. With this there were other Dispatches  
 sent, directed, both to the first President *d' Agnesseau*, that he  
 might acquaint the Assembly with his Majesties intention, and  
 also to the Jurats of the City; which the Duke having sent away  
 some days before his departure from *Plassac*, he himself followed  
 soon after, and return'd into his Government, more honour'd,  
 and esteem'd, for having so handsomely disingag'd himself from  
 this troublesome Affair, than if it had never been. Men (as it  
 usually happens) soon forgot all the Disgraces he had undergone,  
 to consider how great his Credit must necessarily be; who of all  
 the Great Persons of the Kingdom, whose Fortunes had been so  
 rudely assaulted, alone kept himself upright, and entire, in spite  
 of all his Enemies, or all they could contrive against him. All  
 those, who had been unkind to him, sued to be reconcil'd to his  
 Favour; and the Duke *de la Valette*, who would by no means leave  
 him, till all things were absolutely settled to his own desire, be-  
 came their Mediator; by that means re-establishing matters in so  
 good a posture, that for the future there was more repose to be ex-  
 pected for the Duke his Father, than he had ever yet enjoy'd, since  
 he had first taken possession of the Government of *Guienne*.

The Duke  
 of *Espernon*  
 returns into  
*Guienne*.

*The End of the Tenth Book.*



THE  
**H I S T O R Y**  
 Of the LIFE of the  
**Duke of Espernon.**


The Eleventh Book.

**I**T was not fortunate to the Duke alone, but as much at least to the Province, and the whole Kingdom, that he was at this time restor'd to his Command; the first whereof, without his Valour, and Wisdom, had been in manifest danger, and the other embroyl'd in no contemptible disorders: but by his Prudence and generous Conduct, he brought them both so brave, and so seasonable a relief, that what we are now about to deliver, makes up no small part of the principal Actions of his Life.

Anno  
 1635.

He was no sooner arriv'd in *Guienne*, but that several Complaints were presented to him, of the Insolence some Officers who Farm'd the Crown Revenues of that Province exercis'd over the King's Subjects. The people were no longer able to support their Exactions, and their Poverty, which is ordinarily accompanied with despair, had so stir'd them up, that they were ready to rush into Arms, and to shuffe all things into confusion. The Duke could have been glad, the Court would have order'd some moderation

The Sediti-  
 ons of *Gui-  
 enne*, their  
 birth and  
 progress.

*Anno*  
 1635.  ration in these Impositions to have prevented those mischiefs, which are usually the issue of general Discontent, and the certain effects of popular fury; and to that end had made so many several Remonstrances to the Council, and urg'd them so home, that what he did for a good, that as much respected the King's Service, as the Publick Interest, was in the end so misinterpreted, as to turn to his own disgrace: Seeing therefore he could by his Prayers, and Importunities, prevail nothing with the Court, he was necessitated to make use of the Authority he had in the Province, to prevent a total Revolt, to which the generality of men were too visibly inclin'd. Wherein his conduct was guided by so admirable discretion, that what by convincing such by Reason, as were capable of it, by feeding such by Hopes, as would be satisfied with them, and threatning Punishment to those, who would be satisfied with neither, he for a long time continued all things in a pretty quiet condition.

He practis'd these gentle and easie Remedies, during the course of a very troublesome Disease he had fall'n into presently after his return from *Plassac*. His abode, and solitude in his House, together with the hard measure he had receiv'd, had not lighted upon a heart insensible of wrong; nor had committed no ordinary violence upon his generous Spirit: and although, by a wonderful Victory over his own Passions, he had suppress'd his discontent from breaking out to the discovery of those about him; it is notwithstanding to be believ'd, that the more he smothered his fire, the more it must of necessity burn him within, and discompose his natural Constitution. He suffer'd therefore by the heat of Urine so intolerable, and so unintermitted pains, as scarce gave him any truce of repose; in which Distemper, that which was most remarkable was, the Remedies they made use of for his Recovery; for of eighteen days together, that his Infirmity continued, he drank nothing but cold water, and of that so prodigious a quantity, that I do not think any stomach in the world, but his, could have digested so much crudity: He was moreover very often put into cold Baths; so that all the art, and industry of his Physicians was wholly employ'd to qualifie the ebullient Blood of a young man of fourscore and four years old.

He was scarcely deliver'd of his pain, when he was forc'd to attend the Affairs of his Government with greater diligence, and care than at any time before. The King, from the beginning of the year having taken a resolution to fall out with *Spain*, would not however engage in that War, before he had well, and particularly examin'd the condition and strength of his Kingdom; to  
 be

The Duke  
 of *Espenon*  
 falls sick.

be therefore well inform'd of the State of *Guienne*, the greatest, and best of all his other Provinces, he writ to the Duke in *March*, to send him a true account of what number of men he could for time of need draw out of his Government, and how many men of Command he might rely upon to bear Office in his Armies: to which the Duke return'd Answer, that, although within eight months time above eighteen thousand men had been sent out of the Province, as by the Muster Rolls annex'd to his Dispatch, his Majesty might perceive; there might yet be a very great number rais'd, provided the Affections of the People were discreetly manag'd by some good usage; that his Majesty would also find a great many Gentlemen of Quality, and capable of Command, (of which he sent a List of above sixscore) but that the greatest part of them were so necessitous, that (to his great grief) he durst not promise to himself from their inability, all that his Majesty might expect from their good will: by which Abstract let any one judg of the Forces of the Kingdom, and what a King of *France* may propose to himself, having the Love, and Affection of his Subjects.

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1635.

An account  
of the Forces  
of *Guienne*.

The Duke, who knew by a long experience, what strange effects the good will of the people was able to produce, never ceas'd importuning the King to husband it, by granting some redress to their Oppressions; which though he always did, after the most humble, and respective manner could be imagin'd, it notwithstanding wrought no effect, but to his own prejudice: insomuch that, without receiving any Answer to his real Remonstrances, he was often press'd by very severe dispatches, to be assisting in the execution of several Edicts.

Amongst all those that were set forth at this time, the lightest, and most inconsiderable was, that of the Excise upon the Victuallers; it brought in very little profit to the King, and was no burthen to the gros of the people; none but the Victuallers themselves were concern'd in it: this sort of men nevertheless, having not much to save, did so much the less care to hazard the losing of all. Some therefore of the most Seditious amongst them having upon the fourteenth of *May* put themselves in the Head of an unruly Rabble, gather'd together at the first of all a Body of betwixt four and five hundred men. Some persons of note endeavour'd to oppose this first Disorder; but these being too few to extinguish the flame, serv'd only to make it mount to a greater, and more formidable height. *Desaignes* a particular Servant of the Duke's, and of one of the best Families in the City, bore the first brunt of the peoples fury; he had attempted by threats to have

The Excise  
upon the  
Victuallers  
begets a Se-  
dition in  
*Bordeaux*.

The first ef-  
fects of the  
Popular  
Fury.

Anno 1635. brought them to a sence of their Duty; but these Bruits incapable of Reason, were so exasperated at the very name of Punishment, that they ran immediately to Arms, when having forc'd *l' Hostel de Ville*, whither *Desaignes* had retir'd himself, they there in the first place Massacred him; neither was he the only man that tasted of their violence, an Archer belonging to the \* *Prevoft de l' Hostel*, that the Partners had substituted, for the gathering in of this Impost, with five, or six other persons concern'd in the same Employment, had the same measure. The Jurats at the first rumour of this Tumult, had caus'd the Captains of the City to take Arms for the defence of *l' Hostel de Ville*, which the people threatned to assault, who accordingly did indeed put themselves into some posture of defence: but being presently besieg'd, and hem'd in on all sides, by the multitude, soon capitulated, and retir'd. This first success having by the easiness thereof, increas'd the insolence of these rascally people, they in a moment over-ran the whole City; so that in less than two hours time, they had got together betwixt four, and five thousand people.

\* *Prevoft de Hostel*, an Officer belonging to the King's Household, that sets rates upon Victuallers; the same I suppose with one of our Officers of the Green-cloth. A Clerk of the Market.

So soon as the Parliament saw the Sedition increase to such a formidable height, they endeavour'd to stop the progress of it, by issuing out an Act for the suppression of the Edict: but the Mutineers believing (as it was true) that nothing, but the sole terror which had possess'd all the Orders of the City, had procur'd this Arrest in their favour, raising their Impudence higher, upon the presumption of this Fear, would not so much as suffer it to be Publish'd; and the Multitude was seen to hurry up and down the Streets after that audacious and threatning manner, as very much affrighted all the well dispos'd Inhabitants of the City.

At the beginning of this uproar the Duke was at *Cadillac* in a course of Physick, for the confirmation of his health, which he had not yet perfectly recover'd; where he was very much surpriz'd to see in the close of the evening a Courier come in, that the first President *d' Agnesseau*, had caus'd to steal privately out of the City, to bring him the first news of this Insurrection, of which he writ him a Letter in these terms.

My Lord,

" I write you this Ticket in haste from the Palace (where I  
 " now am with some other Members of the Parliament, and a  
 " Jurat, and from whence I am advis'd by my Friends not to  
 " stir) to give you notice of the Sedition is rais'd in the City,  
 " about the establishment the *Sieur de la Forest* Archer to the  
 " Grand Prevoft was about to make of an Excise upon the Victu-  
 allers.

“allers. To stop the torrent of which Disorder, though the Par-  
 “liament have granted out an Arrest of Suspension, it is notwith-  
 “standing so violent, that way will do no good. So that we are  
 “here in very great danger, which makes me send you this ex-  
 “press Messenger, humbly to beseech you with all possible speed  
 “to interpose his Majesties Authority, and your own to appease  
 “this tumult. A favour that I in my own particular have some  
 “reason to hope for from you, being as I am,

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 1635.

My Lord, &c.

*Bordeaux*, May 14. 1635. at three  
 of the Clock in the afternoon.

The Duke had no sooner receiv'd this Dispatch, but that he order'd Letters to be sent forthwith to some Gentlemen thereabouts, whilst himself took order for the raising some men amongst his own Tenants to accompany him the next day to the City. In the mean time he dispatch'd away *la Roche* the Captain of his Guards the same night to the first President, to assure him of the speedy relief he was preparing for him, and to inform himself more particularly of the state of the City.

Whilst he was busie about this preparation, he had news brought, that the Rebels drunk with Wine, and tir'd with the work of the day, were in the evening retir'd every man to his own house, with a resolution to be quiet, provided no notice might be taken of what was pass'd. Had things remain'd in this condition, their offence, though very great, might have had some colour of excuse: but these people at their awaking, puff'd up with the success of their last days temerity, broke out again the next morning into new, and greater Fury than before. In which heat they drew up a List of above four hundred of the best Families of the City, under the Title of Gabeliers: In which List many of the principal Members of the Parliament were compriz'd, and the rest were all Citizens of the best quality; all which the night following they intended to Massacre, and to rife their Houses.

The Pro-  
 gress of the  
 Seditious.

The Duke had present notice of this design. The Officers of Parliament, astonish'd at the extreme danger they saw themselves expos'd unto, had dispatch'd to him in all haste *Lacheze*, and *Boucaut*, two young Counsellors whom they knew to be acceptable to him, to beseech him to make haste to the City. These Gentlemen gave him an account of the condition the Town, and the infinite peril all good men were in; declaring withal that their Lives, and Fortunes depended upon his Presence, and Protection.

The Parlia-  
 ment sends  
 to the Duke  
 to quicken  
 his haste.

*Anno* 1635. These two Deputies found the Duke just ready to set out, as they came; he therefore took them into his Coach, and his House being but five Leagues distant from the City, arriv'd there the same day, which was the 16<sup>th</sup>. in very good time.

The Duke's  
presence ap-  
peases the  
tumult.

The Authority and Power, that the esteem of an extraordinary Vertue exercises over the minds of men, is hardly any where more remarkable, than upon this occasion; there being not one, even of the most Seditious, who did not manifest shame, and repentance for his past offences. They were no more the same men, who had determin'd to cut throats, and to plunder the richest houses the ensuing night; insomuch that even the very Incendiaries themselves came, mix'd with the honestest Burgers of the Town, to meet, and receive their Governour, a great way without the Gates of the City, with Acclamations that sounded nothing but Obedience, and Submission.

With this general applause, the Duke went to alight at the *Hostel de Ville*, which was in his way, and which he found in a miserable plight, the Gates burnt down, the Inscriptions defac'd, the Windows broken, the Prisons set open, and all things as in the desolation of a City taken and sack'd by a Foreign Enemy.

After having taken the best order he could for the securing the *Hostel de Ville*, he retir'd himself to his own House; and thus far all things look'd well: but afterwards his design being to proceed about the late tumult, rather by moderate, and gentle, than by severe and exemplary ways, (the first being at this time the safest, and best, if they could succeed) the Mutineers began to gather heart from their impunity, and to believe they were fear'd. Nothing therefore being so sweet, and tempting, as Dominion, and Power, to those who are not acquainted with it, these men would by no means so soon lay down, that which they had so rebelliously taken up, and which they thought with their great numbers, they could so easily maintain. They began then to assemble themselves anew, giving out terrible threats of what strange things they would do; by which the Duke judging they would from high words, doubtless proceed to some mischievous effects; he sent the Court an account of all the evil dispositions he had observ'd, not only in the spirits of the Inhabitants of the City, but also of the whole Province; desiring withal the assistance of such Forces, as might be sufficient to remedy the evil he saw was already as good as concluded. But all his Remonstrances were neglected, they thought he only made this his pretence to Arm, and fortifie himself in his own Government; and the design of the Court being to keep him weak, and disarm'd, they rather chose



chose to expose the Province to the danger of popular Sedition, than to enable him with Honour to maintain the King's Authority, and Interest.

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1635.

The Duke seeing himself thus naked, and alone, did very well judg he should not in this posture be able to suppress the Faction; so that their insolence daily more and more increas'd, till in the end either stirr'd up with the fear of being made examples, prompted on with the avarice of booty, or allur'd with the sole appetite of ill doing, without danger of punishment (which to abject minds is no small temptation) they betook themselves openly to Arms; and after many insolent Discourses, and several Tickets scatter'd up and down the Streets, to excite the people to Sedition, they canton'd, and fortified themselves in one part of the City, whereof they possess'd themselves of the half, and, by making great Barricado's upon all the Avenues, made themselves absolute Masters of it. Within this Precinct there were five Gates, several Churches, with some Towers, and Fortifications which were joyn'd to the City; all which they had carefully provided for, and were therein so well accommodated, that it seem'd to them impossible they should be forc'd, having many more men than were necessary to defend their Works.

The people  
run into  
open Arms.

This disorder hapned the 15<sup>th</sup>. of *June*, it began about ten of the Clock in the morning, and the Duke had notice of it presently after Dinner; upon which Intelligence judging that a Sedition of this high nature, and premeditated as this was, was not to be tolerated without manifest danger both of the City, and the whole Province, and a very great diminution both of the King's Authority, and his own; he forthwith commanded those Gentlemen he had about him to mount to Horse, and *la Roche* the Captain of his Guards to put himself in the head of his Companies on Foot; with which inconsiderable number himself, without further deliberation, went out about one in the afternoon, to execute one of the boldest actions he ever undertook in his whole life.

The Duke  
almost alone  
goes out  
against  
them.

Neither would he herein so much as consider his own weakness, or the temerity, and number of those he was to encounter, that the disproportion of their Forces might not divert him from his design. He had not with him above two and twenty Horse, and six and twenty of his Guards on Foot, whereas no less than the one half of the City were already in Arms against him, and little better to be expected from the rest. For the greater part of the Inhabitants look'd upon these Mutineers, as the Champions of their Liberty; so that those of the better sort, and some few honest

Citizens

Anno  
1635. Citizens excepted, the rest were prepossess'd with so strange a blindness, that there were very few, who did not at least contribute their wishes to the prosperity of so Lewd a Cause. In fine, had not his promptitude and courage (and that beyond all probability) procur'd him the success of this Action, there had been an end of the City of *Bordeaux*, and the whole Province of *Guienne*; and an invading Enemy could not have wrought a greater desolation, than had been justly to be fear'd from the wild Fury of a people, puff'd up with the success of the least Victory they could have obtain'd. He therefore indeed hazarded a great deal to prevent so dire a mischief, and to preserve the whole: but there was also a necessity upon him, that he should do so; neither would the evil have been less, if he had rendred his Authority contemptible by his Toleration: of two extremes he therefore made choice of that, wherein, 'twas true, there was more danger; but that gave him withal opportunity, either suddenly to suppress the Commotion, or to end his Life with Honour in the Service of his Prince and Countrey.

So soon as the Duke was on Horseback, the first place he went to was the Lodgings of the Premier President, to secure his person from danger; which he did, by prevailing with him to retire himself to his House, and from thence advanc'd towards the Barricado's. The *Hôtel de Ville* was comprehended in the Circuit, the Mutineers had possess'd themselves of; but they were not Masters of the place: he would therefore, before he advanc'd any further, make some stay there to encourage the Guards, he had before there plac'd in Garrison, in their Duty. As he was upon his March thither, at the entry into the Market place, he found all the Chains up, and several of the Inhabitants in Arms, resolute to defend the pass. Whereupon *la Roche* by the Duke's Order, commanded them to make way, and retire; when perceiving them in suspence what to do, whether to obey, or stand upon their defence, *la Roche* wisely taking advantage of their irresolution, leapt upon the Barricado, disarm'd those who were more advanc'd, and forc'd the rest to retire, without any other violence to any.

Though the little respect these first opposers manifested for the Age and venerable Person of their Governour, gave him very well to understand he was to expect no better from the rest, he desisted not nevertheless to go on. He alighted therefore at the *Hôtel de Ville*, where, after he had taken the best Order he could, for the security of the place, and put it into a condition to lend him some assistance if occasion were, he commanded *la Roche* to assault

fault a Barricado that was made at the entry of the Street call'd *la Rue Saint Michel*. Those who defended this pass were too many to keep any good order; they indeed made shew of great resolution, and receiv'd the Guards with several Musket shot, but confusedly made, and at random: but how irregularly soever, before any shot was fir'd against them, they wounded one of the Duke's Guards to death, with a Musket Bullet in his Breast. The Duke had expressly commanded his people not to shoot till the last extremity, and as much as was possible to spare the Blood of the people, whose blindness he much more lamented, than he was with their temerity and insolence offended: but after this first Volly, his Guards having discharg'd theirs almost at the Muzzle of the Musket; it was soon seen how much Valour can prevail over Numbers, and what Experience, and Discipline can do against Brutality, and Disorder, They shot so right, and to so good effect, that few gave fire, who did not carry his man; insomuch that nine were kill'd out-right at this first Volley, and twelve more wounded that were in little better condition; so brisk a Charge having a little startled those who were formost, *la Roche* with his Companions fell presently to work upon the Barricado to break it down, where they yet met with some opposition, and where a Gentleman call'd *la Serre*, who would fight on foot with the Duke's Guards, amongst whom he had long born Arms, in mounting the Barricado, was by a thrust with a Halbert run quite through the shoulder, as some others were also more slightly wounded: but in the end, the Duke who seconded his Guards, himself on Horseback at the head of his Troop, breaking in at the passage they had open'd for him, forc'd the Defendants to retire.

Yet was it not nevertheless to retreat very far, the squander'd party soon recovering the other Barricades that were along the same street, and that call'd *la Rue de Faures*, leading towards the Port *de la Grave*. There were three strong Barricado's in this Quarter, which were all so obstinately defended, that at every one there were men slain on both sides. The Duke there lost a young Gentleman of the House of *Montagne*, whom he had bred up a Page, and whom but a few days before he had made to take a Callock in his Guards, which unfortunate Youth came to fall dead at his feet: Another of the same condition call'd *le Poüy* receiv'd his Deaths wound by a Musket shot that broke his shoulder, five or six more were also wounded, what with Muskets and Pikes; and the Duke had moreover a Gentleman shot behind him on Horseback; all which opposition notwithstanding,

every

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1635.

The Duke, though stoutly opposed, forces the first Barricade.

And breaks through with his Horse.

The Duke forces three other Barricado's, wherein several of his men are slain, and wounded.

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The Duke goes into another quarter of the City, which was also in mutiny, and Barricado'd.

every thing must give way to the valour of this little Party; and *la Roche*, seeing his Master engag'd in so manifest a danger of his life, so bravely expos'd both his own, and his fellows for his preservation, that nothing was able to withstand them.

The five first Barricado's being forc'd, and taken, the Duke was inform'd, that in that part of the Town towards *St. Croix*, there were several others, some perfected, and others only begun: upon which intelligence he thought it very requisite to make use of the astonishment his first successes might possibly have imprinted in the minds of the people, and to go immediately to this second occasion. He met in truth with less resistance at these, than the former, there was notwithstanding something every where to do, and he had also here some men wounded: but it is not to be believ'd what infinite hazards he ran that day in his own person; for being on Horseback at the head of his Troop, and very remarkable by his gray Beard, and Head, he seem'd to be the mark at which all the Musket-shot, Pistols, and Stones were directed. Neither was he only to apprehend those that were shot at him from the Barricado's, his greatest danger being from the Windows, and so much the more, by reason the Streets being exceeding narrow, took from him all possibility of avoiding the shot, that was pour'd perpendicular upon him. Even the women put him into no small danger, one of which fail'd but little of braining him with a Flower-pot, which came so near as to fall upon his Horses Crupper; and a man through a Casement, with his Musket couch'd at his Cheek, was about to let fly at him, at no more than ten paces distance, had he not been prevented by one of the Duke's Guard call'd *Caudere*, who espied, and kill'd him. A greater resolution, than this day appear'd in the people, has hardly at any time been observ'd; which was such, that even when the Duke's followers had made themselves Masters of the Barricades, they had much ado to make them retire; and when either they had taken their Arms from them, or that themselves in despair had thrown them away, they cry'd out, and intreated, rather to be dispatch'd than permitted to live to see the Gabelle impos'd upon them: So hard a thing is it to cure the minds of the people, when prepossess'd with false impressions.

The Duke's danger.

The Duke's Clemency.

They could not nevertheless either by their obstinacy, or the ill will they had so violently manifested to the Duke's person, provoke him to consent to more Blood, or greater Slaughter, than what had inevitably pass'd in the heat of the action: he continually calling out to save the lives of the people; neither was there above five and twenty, or thirty persons kill'd upon the place, and some

Some few wounded: one of which did a thing worthy a better Cause, and a more conspicuous Theatre. A Cooper that had put himself in the head of a crew of Rakels of his own profession, of which there are very many in this City, having at the defence of a Barricade receiv'd a Musket shot that broke his Arm, being a strong lusty fellow, without being daunted at the shatter'd limb, that hung down only by a little piece of skin, he went to the next Chirurgion's; where having caus'd it to be totally cut off, and a Plaster to be apply'd to it, he return'd immediately to another Barricade, which he again defended with great bravery, and resolution, till in the end being taken, and presented to the Duke, with an account of his action, he commanded him to be carried back to his own house, and that care should be taken for his cure: but his life was not to be saved; for this unlucky fellow, by his obstinacy opposing the Grace the Duke had shew'd him, a new Sedition a few days after arising (for this was not the last) he start out of his Bed at the first noise of it, to put himself again in the head of his Comrades; which second agitation having put him into a continued Fever, he dy'd a few days after.

The Duke having scour'd this great quarter of the City, and forc'd above three thousand persons to lay down their Arms, who had taken them up in this Commotion, carrying off with him his dead, and wounded, return'd back to the *Hofiel de Ville*, to give his men a little breath, who were almost tired out, and spent with the heat, and continuation of the Fight: But it was only to take a very short repose; for he was scarce alighted from his Horse, when he was advertis'd, that near to the *Port de Saint Julien*, which is one of the principal Gates of the City, eight or nine hundred men were intrench'd, within five great Barricades, that shut up all the Avenues, by which there was any way to come to them. These Mutineers had a design to make themselves Masters of this Gate, which had been no hard matter for them to do, by that means to have let in the Country people thereabouts to their assistance; which they from without the Walls mainly cry'd out for, that they might share in the Plunder of the City, which they had already swallow'd in their imagination, and look'd upon it as a certain, and infallible Prey. The Duke was a little surpriz'd to find he was to enter into new engagements, before he was well clear of the former: he knew very well that the small number of men he had left, would be too few to undertake this second Enterprize; yet would he not leave an action imperfect, which unless it was carried on to an absolute, and total Victory, he must of necessity lose the fruits of what he had already perform'd with so much Bravery

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1635.

The Duke prepares to go to a new occasion, which he effects without fighting.

Anno 1635. and success. He resolv'd therefore to draw fifty men out of the Garrison of *Chasteau-Irompette*, all that could possibly be spar'd from thence, and some small Field-pieces to force those Entrenchments with less danger, than he had done the other Barricado's before. He had no sooner made his preparation, and was ready to go against these people, when either a panick terror, or the consideration of their Duty, or the Respect to their Governours person, whom they saw so freely to expose himself for the publick Safety, touch'd the hearts of some honest Burgers of that part of the City; who had, it should seem, so much credit with the Seditious, as to make them capable of Reason, and sensible of their Duty, so far as to prevail with them, without staying to be compell'd unto it, to send the Duke a Protestation that they would return to their Obedience; which they accordingly did, at the same time falling to work to open their Barricado's: So that the Duke, presently advancing to see what condition they were in, caus'd them to be totally beaten down in his own presence.

The whole City upon the point to run into Sedition,

But are with-held by the Duke's success.

Whilst on this side of the Town the Duke went on at this prosperous rate, there was new work cutting out for him in the other part of the City, had he been less successful here: For although that Quarter call'd *du Chapeau Rouge*, was inhabited with a great many persons of very good quality, who were heartily concern'd at these disorders; there were also very many who had been so prepossess'd with false opinions, that they were much more inclin'd to joyn with the Seditious, than any ways to help to suppress them. These were doubtless the greater party, and these had been put into Arms under the Captains of the City, if occasion had been to have gone to the Duke's succour: but by good fortune he stood in no need of so dangerous a Relief; it being almost certain that they would have turn'd to the other side, and, had never so little misfortune befall'n him, their Captains would have had very much ado to have with-held them; but his success prevented their evil purpose: So that seeing him return Victorious with so few Forces, their Fury was turn'd into admiration; and they for that time satisfied themselves with muttering some discontent at their Companions defeat, without farther manifesting their malevolent designs by any considerable effects.

Though this Action, that had had so violent a beginning, and so miraculous a conclusion, had made the Duke's generosity, and good conduct admir'd by all; it had nevertheless withal made the people sensible of his weakness, by the few that came into his defence, in a time of so great, and manifest danger. The Seditious there-

therefore taking from thence a truer measure of their own Forces, and comparing their numbers with his, doubted not, should they come to a second Tryal, to do their work with greater facility: So that prepossess'd with the hope of their cursed advantages, they highly, and publickly threatned what they would do; and doubtless, had not the sole respect to the Duke's person with-held them, they had again betaken themselves to Arms, and he would have been in very great danger to have perish'd by the hands of the people, and to have suffer'd the most unfortunate death could possibly have arriv'd to any person of his condition.

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Press'd therefore by the hourly intelligence he receiv'd of the evil disposition that still continued in the minds of the people, he resolv'd to dispatch away *Magnas* in all speed to Court, to let the King understand the estate of the City, and Province, and to beseech his Majesty to provide for the present evils, and against those that were reasonably to be fear'd for the time to come. In this Dispatch he, above all things, was importunate that the Duke *de la Valette* his Son might be sent away to him, that he might be assisted by a second self in occasions where the whole burthen of Affairs were to depend upon his Fidelity, and care. In the mean time he writ to some Gentlemen of the Country to come speedily in to him, and moreover gave order for the raising some Forces in such of his own Territories, as lay nearest to the City. He had from thence often drawn out to the number of above two thousand good men, by which he had been exceedingly well serv'd upon several important occasions: but at this time (which will appear very strange, and at which I observ'd him to be more astonish'd, than at any thing that had hapned during the whole disorder) he could not get so much as one man: so great was either their terror, or their correspondence with the Mutineers. There came in indeed some Gentlemen, but with much ado, and with very great danger, occasion'd by the new disorder, which we shall now see; for *Magnas* was no sooner departed from him, but that most of the most considerable Cities of the Province, by the example of their Metropolis revolted; insomuch that there was scarce any, save *Montauban* only, that contain'd it self within the limits of its Duty, the rest breaking out into open Arms, and committing every where all the barbarous acts of an inhumane fury. Amongst all these horrid Riots, those which were committed at *Agen* were the most extreme. \* *La Cour des Aides* was at this time establish'd in this City; and it was upon the Officers of this Court, that they exercis'd the most notable violence, all that the people could meet withal being miserably burnt, or Massacred

The Duke sends the King an Account of the late Insurrection.

The whole Province of *Guienne*, except *Montauban*, break into Sedition. \* A Sovereign Court wherein all causes that concern the Aids, or Tailles, that is Taxes, or Subsidies are hear'd, and determin'd.

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\* *Eleus*, Affessors, or Collectors of the Kings Subsidies. President *du Bernet* opposes the Sedition of *Agen*. And *Monsieur de Vertamont* that of *Perigueux*.

(for in popular furies we seldom read of ordinary executions) the \* *Eleus* were handled after the same manner, many honest Burgers were by their Enemies put into the number of Gabellers, and had the same measure: So that had not President *du Bernet* (who was President of the *Chambre del' Edict*, that had its seat in the same City) oppos'd this Torrent of popular fury, with greater vigour than was to be expected from a man of his profession, it is certainly believ'd, that not one man of condition would have been left alive, in the whole City. Neither had the disorder been less at *Perigueux*, had it not been for the presence of *Vertamont*, *Intendant de la Justice*; for the Duke knowing the humour of this people, inclin'd to Licence, had entreated *Vertamont* to go thither, under colour of some Commission of his Intendancy; where he was scarcely arriv'd, when the people rose in Commotion, as in other places, falling upon some Officers of the Election, and other innocent persons, to make a horrid Massacre: And then it was, that *Vertamont*, abandoning the care of his own person, encourag'd the Magistrates boldly to oppose the popular Fury, and putting himself in the head of them, made no difficulty to rescue some poor people, who were going to be sacrific'd to their barbarous cruelty, out of the hands of the insolent rabble: So that with an extraordinary fortune, the effect of his generous resolution, he contain'd this City in its Obedience, giving in himself at the same time, a great Example of Justice, and Moderation in so dangerous an occurrence.

The Duke sends his Orders into all parts of the Province,

Which a little calms the Sedition.

Though the Duke had enough to do in the City of *Bordeaux*, yet did he not fail however, even in the midst of these confusions, with incredible diligence, and care, to disperse his Orders throughout all parts of the Province; in the remotest parts whereof, the report being spread, that all things continued quiet at *Bordeaux* by the respect to the Dukes Authority, and Person; the other Cities that had taken Arms by the example of this, quieted themselves also by the same consideration; by which means the Licence of the people was kept within some moderate bounds; a moderation nevertheless that hung by so slender a thred, that upon the least occasion worse, and more dangerous Commotions were to be expected. The Duke had no Forces, neither was any to be hop'd for out of any part of the Province; and it was a matter of extraordinary difficulty to send him any from any other place; so that he was constrain'd in so great an exigency, to have recourse to other means, and to cause some of the promoters of this Sedition to be treated withal, for the bringing about of that, which he saw no other possible way to effect: Wherein he also succeeded so



so well, that these people allur'd by promises of Indemnity, and some hopes of reward, gave themselves up absolutely to his dispose; so that it was by this politick way of proceeding he in the end totally secur'd both the City of *Bordeaux*, and the whole Province of *Guienne*. The disorder had continued so long, and with so much noise, that there was few of the Incendiaries, who were not in every quarter particularly known, of which there were very many who had formerly born Arms in the King's Regiments of Foot; and who, being grown weary of that profession, were return'd again to their old Trades. These men wrought upon by the Duke's Exhortations, and the greatest part of them moreover touch'd with the sence of the moderation he had exercis'd towards them, notwithstanding the greatness of their offences, promis'd him, that nothing should pass amongst the people, of which he should not have continual notice; and they were as good as their words, giving him by their constant intelligence, means and opportunity to prevent those evils, which otherwise would infallibly have given the last blow to the publick Peace.

The Commotions of the City were no sooner in some measure appeas'd, but that the madness diffus'd it self into the Villages of the adjacent Country. These people having in the time of one of the foremention'd Mutinies, taken occasion to rifle some Houses of the City, were return'd with their Booty to their own homes; by whose ill example, their Neighbours were so excited to Rapine, that in a moment all the Boors threw away the instruments of their labour, and betook themselves to Arms. In this posture they rob'd the Country houses, they assembled themselves in great numbers in all the Suburbs of *Bordeaux*, and would attempt to make their way into the City it self; where they were so much desired by the basest of the people, that they did their endeavours also to let them in. The greatest appearance of them was in the Suburb *de Saint Surin*, to which place the Duke's house was near enough for him to hear their clamours, and hideous yells, and from his Chamber Window that look'd into the Fields to see the Fire they had kindled in several houses, of which the greatest part were miserably consum'd. At the sight of these barbarous Riots, it was impossible to detain him; but, although he was at last fall'n into an almost unintermitted indisposition, he got out of his bed, mounted to Horse by night, and with forty or fifty Gentlemen, his Guards, and some of the Town Companies, went out towards these Mutineers. They had fortified themselves in several places of the Suburb, had Barricado'd the Church, and made a countenance of resolution to defend themselves;

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The Boors  
Mutiny,

The Duke  
of *Espernon*  
goes out  
against  
them,

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And disper-  
ses them.

From  
whence a  
calm ensues.

The Duke  
aspers'd af-  
ter all his  
brave Ser-  
vice.

selves; nevertheless at the Duke's arrival, they almost all disbanded, and ran away, none saving those in the Church making any resistance, who also at the first Volley was discharg'd upon them, fled after their fellows; when the Cavalry putting themselves in pursuit of those who had recover'd the Fields, some forty or fifty of them were miserably slain. It is not to be imagin'd how strangely the Duke was afflicted at the death of these wretched people: This little evil nevertheless conduc'd very much to a far greater good; for the report of this Execution dispersing it self in a moment, throughout the whole Province, the other Country people who sate, expecting the good, or evil success of their fellows, made themselves, for this year, wise by the example of their misfortune; and without engaging in the folly of the greater Cities, were content to sit spectators of their Tumults, and Disorders. There were indeed hardly any more after this action; for the Duke *de la Valette* coming presently after to the Duke his Father, they bent their joynt endeavours to the healing of some secret discontents that yet remain'd in the minds of the people; when having, by gentle and obliging ways, made them sensible of their late miscarriages, and of their Duty, and Obedience for the time to come, they soon after, by the King's Order, publish'd an Act of Oblivion for all things that were pass'd; a Grace his Majesty had been pleas'd to grant to their intercession, and at their humble request.

Who could have imagin'd that so many brave Actions of the Duke's (whether consider'd in the dangers to which he was so often oblig'd to expose his Person; the great conduct wherewith they were carried on, or the utility that deriv'd from them to the publick repose) that those Actions I say ought to have serv'd for a pretence to the blackest, and most hateful calumny, that could possibly have been invented to the prejudice of his Honour? It was nevertheless the fruit, and reward of his brave Service, after which no man certainly is ever again to repine at Detraction, or complain of Envy. *Briet*, a Counsellor in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, openly profess'd himself to be no friend to the Duke, and secretly nourish'd in his bosom an implacable hatred, both to his Person and Name; instigated therefore with this accursed passion, he writ to the Archbishop of *Bordeaux* (who was no better inclin'd to the Duke) that it was to be prov'd, the Duke himself had been the Author of all these Commotions; that it was he who had so long fomented them, and that he would again revive them whenever he thought it convenient so to do, for the promoting of his own Authority in the Province, and to get himself a Reputation

tation at Court. He had not always writ after this manner, but on the contrary, after the action of the Barricades, the 15<sup>th</sup> of June, compell'd to it by the vertue of Truth, which will dart her Rays through the darkeſt Clouds of Malevolence and Envy, he had writ to *Monsieur de la Trilliere*, Secretary of State, with whom he had a particular Familiarity and Correspondence, a Letter that was ſent to the Duke, containing theſe words.

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S I R,

“ If you be curious to know what paſs'd here upon Friday laſt, I ſend you this ſhort, and true Account of it, as I could inform my ſelf from the beſt hands. This Action of our Governour was very great, and perform'd with great Bravery, Judgment, and Fortune: had any ſiniſter Action befallen him, we had all been loſt, and for my part I cannot but highly eſteem him. I have nothing more at preſent, but that, &c. From *Bordeaux* the 18<sup>th</sup> of June 1635. But if he had in the beginning ſo highly applauded this Action, he had with no leſs malignity cenſur'd the ſequel of it, and the ſiniſter interpretation he put upon the Duke's good intentions, wrought ſo much the greater effect, by how much they fell upon a ſpirit diſpos'd of old, and of it ſelf to convert to ill, what good ſoever could come from the Duke's ſide. The Archbiſhop therefore with open Arms embrac'd this new occaſion of doing him a new miſchief; he ſpoke of it to Cardinal *Richelieu*, of whom he eaſily obtain'd order to write to *Briet*, as he alſo did, that he might promiſe both impunity, and reward to ſuch as ſhould prove the Duke of *Eſpernon* to be the Author of theſe Diſorders. The Archbiſhop's Letters to *Briet*, which were intercepted, ſpoke in theſe terms, and in others far more odious than theſe. *Briet* having receiv'd this Order, cauſ'd the *Hoſt* of the *Petit More*, the firſt, and one of the chiefeſt Ring-leaders, that had appear'd in this Sedition, to be tamper'd withal, cauſing him to be often ſpoken to, and tempted by one of his own Domeſticks, who was very familiar with him: but the Fellow, what promiſes ſoever they could make him, would never be corrupted into ſo foul a practice; and the Duke's good Fortune would have it, that there was honeſty enough in this man to ſecure him from thoſe dangers, wherein perſons of a much more eminent condition would otherwiſe have involv'd him.

The honeſty of one of the Muſtineers.

The Duke as yet knew nothing of the Miſchief that was brewing againſt him; but on the contrary; relying upon the merit of his Services, and the acknowledgment the King had made him hope for in all his diſpatches, he had never liv'd at greater eaſe in his

Anno his Government, than he thought he might expect to do for the  
 1635: time to come. In his Majesties Dispatch of the last of June, he  
 writ to the Duke these words.

Cousin,

“I understand by your Letters of the 17<sup>th</sup> and nineteenth in-  
 “stant, and by the Relation annex’d unto them, besides the Ac-  
 “count I receiv’d from the *Sieur de Magnas*, the Disorders that  
 “have hapned in my City of *Bordeaux*; whose ill example has  
 “also produc’d the like Insurrections in several other Cities, and  
 “places of my Province of *Guienne*: which I conceive to be of so  
 “high importance, that, had not powerful and speedy Remedies  
 “been seasonably applyed, worse and more dangerous Conse-  
 “quences were yet to be fear’d; as it had doubtless fall’n out in my  
 “said City of *Bordeaux*, if by your wonted Bravery, and Wisdom,  
 “you had not oppos’d the Torrent of that Mutinous People. And  
 “as all the Accounts have been given me of that business; as well  
 “by the Principal Officers of my said City, as other my Servants  
 “agree in this, That your Valour, together with your Zeal and  
 “Affection to my Service, have been equally eminent upon this  
 “occasion; so can I not omit to assure you, that I am so highly sa-  
 “tisfied with your behaviour, that no opportunity shall ever pre-  
 “sent it self, wherein I may manifest my sence of your good Ser-  
 “vice in this Affair, by the effects of my Favour and Affection, but  
 “you shall find me very ready to embrace it: which the *Sieur de*  
 “*Magnas* shall the more expressly confirm to you on my behalf,  
 “&c. The Duke’s other performances upon this occasion receiv’d  
 from his Majesty the same Approbation; and Applause, and in all  
 apparence he ought to rest very well satisfied with the Acknow-  
 ledgment his Majesty was pleas’d to profess; when on a sudden,  
 and without dreaming in the least of any such matter, he saw him-  
 self reduc’d to the necessity of a Justification. He did not how-  
 ever do it after the submiss and abject manner of a guilty man;  
 but on the contrary, confident in the security of a good Consci-  
 ence, he had no sooner notice of the aspersion had been cast upon  
 him; but that he sent away immediately to the King, to demand  
 his Majesties Justice, and writ to the Cardinal himself, complain-  
 ing, that some persons had made use of his name to suborn false  
 Witnesses, to the prejudice of him, and his Honour. The King  
 granted him his desire, permitting him to prosecute his satisfacti-  
 on in the Parliament of *Paris*; and the Cardinal, after having  
 utterly deny’d the giving of any Order to the prejudice of the  
 Duke’s Interests, or that he ever doubted of his Candour, and  
 the

the sincerity of his intentions, writ him an answer in these words.

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My Lord,

“ I have receiv'd the Letter you was pleas'd to send me, and  
 “ conferr'd with *Mounfieur de Magnas*, about the occasion of his  
 “ Journey; in answer whereunto I have nothing to return, but  
 “ this, that neither the King, nor any of his Servants, have ever  
 “ doubted in the least of the sincerity of your affection to his  
 “ Service, or of your passion to the prosperity of his Affairs; or  
 “ that you had in the late business of *Guienne*, any other, than the  
 “ same desires with his Majesty, and his Council; for which I  
 “ shall ever very willingly be your Caution. If any persons have  
 “ reported otherwise, they must have done it meerly out of design  
 “ to vex you, and not that they could themselves believe it; it be-  
 “ ing not to be imagin'd, that any one can be so senseless, who  
 “ knowing what has hapned at *Bordeaux*, and how you have be-  
 “ hav'd your self in those disorders, can possibly doubt, that you  
 “ did not upon that occasion contribute all that in you lay, or  
 “ that could be expected from your Vigilancy, and Valour to  
 “ the security of the Province. I do therefore conjure you to set  
 “ your heart at rest, for any thing of that kind; and to believe that  
 “ neither the King, nor any of his Servants, who have the honour  
 “ to be about him, can possibly either upon this, or any other oc-  
 “ casion, entertain the least thought to your prejudice. His Ma-  
 “ jesty has caus'd the *Sieur de Briet* to be sent unto to come speedi-  
 “ ly hither, &c.

Cardinal  
*Richelieu's*  
 civil Letter  
 to the  
 Duke of  
*Espernon.*

The Cardinal could not in truth have writ to the Duke after a more obliging manner, or have carried himself more civilly to him, than he did at the beginning of this Affair; permitting Justice to be executed upon the fellow *Briet* had employ'd to corrupt the *Petit More*, who by Sentence of Parliament was condemn'd to make the Duke honourable satisfaction, and with a Torch in his hand, and a Halter about his Neck in his Shirt, to be Carted through the City of *Bordeaux*, and to serve ten years in the Gallies, which was accordingly executed upon him: but when it came to the business of *Briet* himself, who had reason to apprehend the issue of his cause, since he who had only been the Instrument of the Mischief, whereof he had been the Contriver, had been so roughly handled, the Cardinal interpos'd his Interest with the Parliament in his behalf; who having once appear'd in his favour, his Power had so great an Ascendant over all other Powers, how great soever in the Kingdom, that it was im-

The Duke  
 receives  
 some satisfac-  
 tion.

Anno

1635.

But not full.

possible upon this occasion to obtain Justice contrary to his will and pleasure; so that the Duke notwithstanding all the Impor- tunities he could after use, could never obtain from *Briet* the least Reparation.

If the Duke was wounded to have this Justice deny'd him, in so publick and so sensible a wrong, he was no less afflicted at the Order he soon after receiv'd, to permit that *Briet* might come, and execute the Functions of his Office in Parliament, in all security and freedom: He had expected at least that he should be detain'd at *Paris*, and that his Majesty would have had that complacency to his just indignation, as to have remov'd so hateful an object from his sight. But he saw very plainly, that the Cardinal was the Author of this Command: He knew also very well, how dangerous a thing it was, either to contradict, or provoke him. But how great soever his Credit might be, the violent effects whereof he had already felt, he would notwithstanding never submit to his will, nor lay down the Animosity he had justly taken up against a person from whom he had receiv'd so irreparable an Offence.

The Cardinal de la *Valette* sent at the head of a great Army into *Germany*.

Whilst the Duke was perplex'd with these troublesome Affairs, both in his own Government, and at Court, the Cardinal de la *Valette* his Son had been employ'd in the conduct of the greatest Army his Majesty had at that time on foot; the Command whereof was equally divided betwixt Duke *Veimar* and him. And if the Jealousie of our Confederates (who had oblig'd our two Generals to enter a good way into *Germany* to their Succour) had not bounded their Conquests, it is most certain they had made a very considerable progress into this mighty Empire. But those who had implor'd their assistance, choosing rather to be left weak, as they were, than to see the *French* Name rais'd to a greater height of Glory, and Reputation, by the Victories they would infallibly have obtain'd over those of their own Nation, it was impossible to perswade them to joyn their Forces with ours. By which tergiversation, if (as they did) they depriv'd our Generals of the advantages they might reasonably expect, it was also to make them acquire the honour of so brave a Retreat, as might justly be rank'd with the most famous Victories. Our Army, being advanc'd a great way into *Germany*, had all the Forces of the Emperour pour'd upon them; in which condition they had not only the *Rhine*, but several other Rivers also, and difficult passes to go over, and break through, before they could return into their own Countrey. Which notwithstanding they did, with their Swords in their hands; neither the incommodities of the ways,

nor

A brave Retreat of the Cardinal de la *Valette*.

nor the interposition of the Enemy, being able to stop them: so that they fought eight days together almost without intermission, leaving the ways, by which they made their retreat, much more remarkable by the blood of their Enemies, than by that of their own Souldiers.

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Though the mouths of all men were full of the praise of this Action, that the Court appear'd to be infinitely satisfied with it, and that the Duke himself from all parts receiv'd congratulatory applauses of so great an exploit in the person of his Son; he had notwithstanding much rather this Son, advanc'd into the Church by his Learning, Birth, and Fortune to so eminent a degree of Dignity, and Reputation, should wholly have apply'd himself to her Service, than that he should expose so dear a Life to so dangerous a Profession. He ever apprehended it would be fatal to him, and therefore had done all he could to dissuade him from it, employing to that end the endeavours of several his most intimate Friends and Servants: but all in vain, either the humour of the Time, the inclination of his Son, the necessity of his Destiny, or all together still prevailing with him, above the fears or foresight of so affectionate a Father.

The Duke  
dissatisfied  
that the  
Cardinal ..  
la Valette his  
Son should  
follow the  
profession  
of Arms.

The Duke arriv'd now at an extreme old Age, worn out, and spent with the labours he had undergone during these Commotions, and the Vexations that had succeeded, was again in the beginning of Winter seiz'd by a very troublesome, and very violent Disease. This season, for several years, had never pass'd over, without producing strange alterations in his health; insomuch that he would often say, he perceiv'd in the end it would do his business, and that he could not long defend himself against two Winters at once, that of Age, and that of the Season; as it indeed fell out. At this time every one despair'd of his Lite, and the report of his Death, that was spread in all parts, follow'd a few days after with the certain news of his Recovery; having astonish'd all the world, that now scarce pass'd any longer for raillery, which had so pleasantly been said, *That he had out-liv'd the Age of dying.* In truth all Forein Parts, having for the space of threescore and eight, or threescore and ten years been continually full of the great Name of *Espernon*, finding him still in their Gazetts, one while taking Towns, another in the head of Armies; now Triumphant, and again in Disgrace: but ever in some great and illustrious Occasion; Strangers conceiv'd of him, that this must be the Grand-child of that Duke of *Espernon*, who had been the Favourite of *Henry the III. of France*, and could not perswade themselves that the lives of two men could furnish this History with so many important Actions.

The Duke  
of *Espernon*  
falls danger-  
ously sick.

Anno  
1636.

The Spaniard makes preparation to invade Guienne.

The Court neglects the Duke's Intelligence,

The Duke, whilst he was yet sick, and even in the worst of his Sickness, had an inckling of some designs the Spaniard had upon several Frontiers of this Kingdom, and particularly upon those of his own Government; of which to be better assur'd, he was careful to send thither such persons, as were capable of discovery, and as he durst trust, to bring him true intelligence of what pass'd amongst our Neighbours abroad. By these Spies he understood that all the Frontiers of Arragon, Biscay, Guipuscoa, and other finitimus Provinces of Spain, had order to make Preparation of Arms, and were to set out a certain number of Souldiers by an appointed day: That to these Provincial Forces they would moreover adde several standing Regiments, and of both together to make up a considerable Body. Of all which the Duke was so precisely inform'd, that he did not only know the number of men, but even the names of all the Captains who were to Command them. Neither did he fail to send the King an Account of the Intelligence he had receiv'd: but our great Ministers were so taken up with other nearer, and more immediate Affairs, that they were not much concern'd at a danger two hundred Leagues from Paris. They therefore contented themselves with writing to the Duke, that he should cause Bayonne (the place that was principally threatned) to be fortified at the Charge of the Inhabitants; and as to the rest, that he was by his Wisdom, and Interest, to provide for all things within the Precincts of his Command. These Orders so general, and of so vast a Latitude, had formerly been the fullest Commissions the Romans were wont to give their Generals in the greatest necessities of Publick Danger: but they were in our times the narrowest, and the most limited that could possibly be granted, who had the King's Interest committed to their Trust. There were already others establish'd by Law, which no one without being Criminal was to exceed, and those were, *That no one should make Leavies, either of Men, or Mony, without Order by Letters Patents from the Council: That no one should mount Artillery, or take necessary Arms out of the Arsenals, without special Order so to do.* So that all the Power of the Kingdom, residing in the persons of the Prime Ministers, no Governour could make use of his own, without incurring the danger of Censure. The Duke knowing, that in the evil disposition the Court then was as towards him, this was only a device to make him run into some error, that might draw the King's Indignation upon him, wisely fear'd to be involv'd in those Calamities, under which, for Causes light enough in themselves, he had seen men of great Quality, and Merit to perish, was not easie to be trap'd that way. He therefore



therefore again writ to the King for more precise Orders in occurrences that might happen, and in those dangers he had humbly represented to him; and in the end, with much importunity, obtain'd Order to send an Engineer to *Bayonne*, to see it fortified as far as forty thousand Livres would extend; the one half whereof was to be rais'd out of his Majesties Revenue, and the other upon the Inhabitants of the place. The Duke, seeing he could obtain no more, did as he was commanded, and began some Fortifications, which the want of money caus'd to be left imperfect, and by that means the Town left in a weaker condition, than if nothing had been done at all.

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1636.  
And provides very slenderly for the defence of the Frontiers.

This Affair, which at this time was the only one of moment in the Province, being put into this forwardness, the Duke conceiv'd he had now leisure to look a little after the recovery of his own health; which that he might do at better convenience, and greater vacancy, from the perpetual distraction of the Affairs of the Province, he humbly intreated the King to give him leave for a few days to retire himself to *Plassac*, to the end he might at greater liberty make use of those remedies, that were proper for his Disease. The King without any difficulty, and in very favourable terms, granted his so just request: whereupon he accordingly in the beginning of *May* came to his House of *Plassac*, but it was to make a very short stay, he being scarcely there arriv'd, but that he receiv'd Order to return speedily into *Guienne*, to look after the Affairs, that very much requir'd his Presence there. The great Preparations that were every where making by the Enemies of *France*, to invade it, obliging him to provide also for his defence; as he did, and that so well, as in the end turn'd all their designs to their own confusion. There never perhaps in this Kingdom had been more to do for the great men of it, than at this time; and as the Government of *Guienne* by its vast extent, made up one of the most important, and considerable Members of the State; so did it consequently produce for its Governour, so many, and so various Affairs, that it is to be wondred at, a man of so extreme an Age could undergo so many, and so continual labours.

The first thing the Duke did after his return into the Province (which was in the latter end of *May*) was to execute an Express Commission had been directed to him from the King, for the enrolling the \* *Edict de Crüe*, newly pass'd by his Majesty, for the addition of one President, and twelve Counsellors to the Parliament of *Bordeaux*. This Affair could not pass without encountering several Difficulties, all the other Parliaments of *France* were charg'd with the same Augmentations proportionably to the extent

\* A Statute of Augmentation.

of

*Anno* of their several Jurisdictions ; this being therefore a common interest amongst so many men of condition, it begat also a great  
 1636. correspondency amongst them to oppose it. The King having foreseen, and expected all these obstacles from the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, thought fit to invest the Duke with as much Authority, as he could himself desire to overcome them ; wherein his Majesty, and those of his Council doubted not, but that he would with great alacrity put all his Orders into severe Execution : they knew very well that there had been perpetual feuds betwixt him, and that Assembly, and, as it usually falls out, design'd to make their own advantage of those Divisions : but the Duke taking a quite contrary course in this Affair, than what they had expected at Court, satisfied himself with only giving the Parliament to understand what, should it come to the push, he had power to do, in case the King should not be obey'd ; exhorting them withal by their Wisdoms to prevent, what he for his part would avoid, as far as was consistent with his Duty ; and remonstrating to them, that in a concern of this kind, they should not find him any ways to act by his own particular passion ; neither would he either use, or abuse the King's Name to satisfy his own Resentments. This discreet, and moderate way of proceeding, having in time wrought upon some spirits, that a more violent course might perhaps have provok'd into more untoward resolutions, succeeded so well, that by this means he procur'd a very considerable assistance to the advancement of his Majesties Affairs ; and that even with the good will, and free consent of the Company, whose interests in return he husbanded, upon this occasion, with the same tenderness, and care, as if they had effectually been his own.

At the same time that these Affairs were in agitation in *Guienne*, the Enemy, who had been long preparing for some notable Enterprize, was now ready on all sides to invade the Kingdom ; to provide therefore for the necessary expence in so critical an occasion (all ordinary, and extraordinary ways besides having been found to fall short) the King was constrain'd to lock up his Treasure from all other Expences, which did not directly respect the War : so that all the great men of the Kingdom saw themselves excluded from all possibility of extracting from thence their Entertainments, Pensions, or other Assignments of right belonging, and annex'd unto their several Offices, and Commands. To supply which defect, part of these expences were thrown upon the people ; they began at least to impose upon them the Entertainments of the Governours of Provinces to be Levied upon them,  
 by

by Commissions of the \* *Taille*. Bullion, *Sur-Intendant* of the *Finances*, who profess'd a particular Friendship to the Duke of *Espernon*, and pretended to be very solicitous of his Interests, offer'd him one of these Impositions for the payment of his Salary; advising him moreover, that out of this stock he should pay himself several Arrears that were due to him: but the Duke rejected the proposition, with a generosity never enough to be commended; sending him word, "That having for above threescore years serv'd the Kings of *France*, without ever touching peny of the Assignations they had pleas'd to think him worthy of, excepting what came immediately out of the Exchequer, he would not begin towards his latter end, to extract a subsistence out of the poor and miserable people, he saw every day perish before his eyes for want of Bread: That being plac'd in his Government to serve the King, and to govern his People, it was from the Master he serv'd, and not from those he commanded, that he was to expect his Reward: That he had much rather be reduc'd to the bare Revenue of his own Estate, than to see his Name in the Excise Office, or his Table furnish'd out at the price of the Poor. Such as solicited his business for him at Court, to render him more facile to their persuasions, represented to him the example of all the other great men of the Kingdom, as well Princes as others, who they said received now not one farthing any other way: But all would not prevail; he returning answer, "That he did not take upon him to condemn any one for so doing, but that he did not nevertheless conceive himself oblig'd to follow the examples of any whomsoever; and that he had much rather undergo the imputation of Singularity, in doing a thing he thought to be just, than to do the contrary in imitation of all the world besides. And indeed he continued to the last so constant in this noble, and generous Resolution, that he never after receiv'd one peny of any of his Assignments, not so much as of those that were due for the year before: So that at his Death he had near upon seven years Arrears due to him, amounting to above five hundred thousand Livers: By which it may be judg'd how much his strongest inclinations (for I cannot deny but that he was exceedingly close handed in very many things) gave place to Interests, wherein his Honour was concern'd,

If in this particular he was so solicitous of easing the King's Subjects that were under his Government, even to the prejudice of his own Interests; he was no less careful to keep them within the just limits of their Obedience, and Duty. The gathering in of the *Tailles* was at this time a matter of so great difficulty, that in several

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\* Taxes, or  
Imposts.

A rare ex-  
ample of the  
Duke's love  
to the peo-  
ple.

*Anno* 1636. *several neighbouring Provinces, as in Poictou, Xaintonge, and in Angoumois, the people were in manifest Rebellion. The Duke determinately oppos'd himself against this ill example, and would never tolerate the least Disobedience to his Majesties Royal Pleasure; a strictness that being for their licencious Constitutions, or at least in their Opinions too severe, made the people no less murmur at him, for being too rough, than he was censur'd at Court for being too indulgent: But he was no more mov'd with Complaints of the one, than the Jealousie of the other; and his own satisfaction being his only Object, he did not much regard any other, than what he found in his own Conscience.*

The Duke for all the injuries he had receiv'd of *Briet*, would take no other revenge, but only to put him into a fright.

Though the Duke's mind was taken up with so many Affairs of great difficulty, and trouble, he had yet so much room left there, as to allow something to his own particular resentments, which would ever upon occasion crowd in for a place with the Publick Concerns. The impunity of *Briet*, and the liberty had been granted to him again to execute his Office in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, before his face, and as it were in defiance of him, was insupportable to such a spirit, as that he was possess'd withal; so that, what command soever the King had been pleas'd to lay upon him, to permit him so to do, it was impossible for him to pay his Majesty that chearful Obedience in this, he did in all other occasions. To which indigestive humour of his, his Animosity (but too just in it self) being every day exasperated more, and more by new Provocations; he, in the end, was no longer able so to conquer his passion; but that his patience, being wounded to the last degree, must of necessity overflow all bounds of moderation, and proceed to some effects of Revenge; so disproportionate nevertheless to the Injuries he had receiv'd, that if on the one side he was frugal of his own Conscience in sparing the Blood of an Enemy, he was not however excus'd from the blame of undertaking, and that with great bustle and noise, a thing of little, or no moment, and that notwithstanding had like to have turn'd very much to his own prejudice. After therefore the Duke had rejected the proposal of one of his own Souldiers, who offer'd to stab *Briet*, and to do it after such a manner, that he could never be suspected for the Murther; he commanded four of his Foot-men to kill his Coach-Horses in the open Street. This Command was executed one day, that *Briet* was returning out of the City to his own House; when his Coach-man being assaulted by these four Foot-men, they first pull'd him out of his Coach-box, and afterwards thrust their Swords into the Flanks of the Horses; whereupon the poor Beasts enrag'd with the smart of their

their Wounds, ran away full speed, hurrying the Coach, and their Master in it three or four hundred paces along the Streets, till at last, at one and the same instant, upon the pavement they fell down, and dy'd. *Briet*, who had at first been terribly frighted with the sight of the Swords, was not much less afraid of his Horses precipitous Career, which was also all the harm he receiv'd; the Coach stop'd, and overturn'd at the death of the Horses, giving him time to come out, half dead with Fear, and to retire to his own House. The Relation of this business was immediately carried to the Duke, which shadow of Revenge was to him matter of entertainment, and laughter for an hour after: But the Parliament took it after a quite contrary manner, who offended to the height at the Injury done to one of their Robe, the next day assembled their several Chambers, to enquire into the Fact: There was none of them who were not very well satisfied with the Justice of the Duke's resentment, and who would not have approv'd of his Revenge, had it proceeded a great deal further: but there was also hardly any one of them, who did not interest himself in the offence offer'd after so publick a manner to the Dignity, and Honour of the Assembly. Without doubt the business would have gone very ill with the Duke, had matters continued upon these terms, and those of the Parliament after having declar'd themselves Parties, remaining still Judges, would neither have spar'd the Duke's Footmen, nor any other could have been prov'd concern'd in the Action; they had already preposess'd the Cardinal, by representing to him, that neither the King's Authority, nor that of his Eminency, had been sufficient to protect an Officer in the Execution of his Duty, in the most honourable Body of the Province: but besides that the Cardinal (ever very ill satisfied with the Duke, who on his part also did not much study to please him) was of himself sufficiently dispos'd to do him a mischief, had not the occurrences of the time involv'd the Court in the greatest disorder, wherein perhaps it had ever been.

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1636.  
*The Parliament of Bordeaux interest themselves in the affront offer'd to Brit.*

The Enemy, after having long threatned the Kingdom, was in the end with a powerful Army entred into *Picardy*; and at their first coming had carried *la Capelle*, and *le Catelet*, assaulted *Corbie*, which they also took, and alarm'd *Paris* it self to such a degree, as is sufficiently known to all. They were likewise enter'd into *Burgundy*, and were preparing for the like attempt upon *Languedoc*: and *Guienne* was not to be spar'd; neither was it a little while after: So that the great Minister, wholly taken up with concerns of so high importance, had no leisure to look after the Duke's Af-

Anno 1636. *fairs*; neither did he think it convenient to nettle him, in a time when his services were so necessary to the Kingdom; and the Chancellor who still retain'd his old affection to the Duke's Interests, seeing himself absolute Master of this business, concealing it from the Parliaments knowledge, refer'd it to the ordinary Justice, where being animated with very little passion, it soon fell of it self.

The great Employments of the Duke of *Espernon*'s Family.

At this time of all others the Greatness of the Duke of *Espernon* seems especially to appear, by the important Employments, and Commands wherewith his whole Family were invested. The Duke de *Candale* his eldest Son was *Generalissimo* to the Armies of the Republick of *Venice*, an Ally to this Crown. The Duke de *la Valette* his second Son, was in the Army of *Picardy*, wherein though he had not in truth the Principal Command (the *Count de Soissons* being General there) yet had he the honour to be chosen out by the King, to infuse life, and vigour into that Army, the Souldiers, whereof, by some ill successes had befall'n them, being exceedingly dejected, which were the exprefs terms wherewith his Majesty allur'd him to that Service. The Cardinal de *la Valette* was also employ'd against *Galas* in *Burgundy*, into which Province the Enemy being entred with a formidable Army, had already made some Conquests before his arrival there. *Mirebeau* had been taken, *Saint Jean de Laonne* was besieg'd, and the best Cities of the Country were highly threatned; the fear there was exceeding great, and the danger had been no less, if the Cardinal de *la Valette*, by opposing himself to their designs, had not stop'd the progress of their Arms. He fought them with advantage in five or six several Engagements, and without ever being able to tempt them to a Battel, with all the provocation he could use, forc'd them in the end to retire, with the ruine, and dissolution of their whole Army, that unprofitably mouldred away to nothing. As for the Father, his business lay in *Guienne*, a Province, that as it made up a principal part of the Kingdom, of how great utility must the Service necessarily be, that preserv'd it from disorder in so critical a time? A thing nevertheless fortunately effected, by his Wisdom so moderating the discontents of the people, as to keep them in so dangerous a Juncture of Affairs, from lashing into those extremes, whereinto by their former behaviour, it might reasonably be apprehended, should they find an opportunity of this nature, they would precipitously run.

The Spanish enters *Guienne*.

This was indeed one of the most important, but not the only Service he did the King upon this occasion. The *Spanish* Council having (as has been said) determin'd to invade the Kingdom in several

several places at once, principally hasted to enter into *Guienne*; to come to which Province, they were to pass through the Country of *Labourt* (which is that of *Biscaye*) and by the way highly threatened the City of *Bayonne*. They knew very well the Duke of *Espernon* had no Forces to send into that Country; neither had he had them, durst he indeed have done it, without the consent of the Inhabitants; lest, being a cholerick, and impatient people, as they naturally are, any thing he should do of that kind, out of care to preserve them, should put them upon desperate resolutions, and make them wilfully lose themselves. They had before they came so despis'd the Enemies Forces, that they would not endure any one should think of contributing to their preservation; a security that did not a little afflict the Duke, who had been of old acquainted with the humour of this people, and knew them to be as timorous, and dejected when any danger was near at hand, as they were stout and haughty, when it was remote, and out of the prospect of their fear. Not daring therefore to rely upon the valour, and Fidelity of such a people in an Affair of so high importance, and moreover importun'd by the intelligence he receiv'd from all parts, that the Enemy was ready to enter the Country, he departed from *Bordeaux* the 6<sup>th</sup>. of *October*, arriv'd the tenth at *Nerac*, and the sixteenth at *Bayonne*; with a diligence so much above the strength of a man of his Age, that at his arrival there he was surpriz'd with a sharp, and a dolorous distemper, so violent a Fever accompanying his pain, that for some days his Friends, and Servants knew not, what to hope would be the issue of his Disease. Though the Duke had with him no other Forces, save only his Company of *Gens d'Armes*, his Guards, and an hundred or sixscore Gentlemen Volunteers, he notwithstanding stuck not, boldly to expose his Person, for the security of that Frontier, in the preservation whereof consisted the safety of the whole Country.

He was scarcely there arriv'd, when the people came running in crowds with news that the Enemy was upon the point to enter; who also on their part follow'd the intelligence so close, that there was scarce any interval betwixt the report of their coming, and their being come. The Duke, though exceedingly ill, would by no means, that in an Affair of this Consequence they should conceal any thing from his knowledge; neither did he upon the first intimation fail to take order for all things with as much diligence, and care, as if he had been in the greatest vigour of health: wherein his instructions were also such, as had they been duly executed, and observ'd, the Enemy would have met with greater

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The Duke  
of *Espernon*  
falls sick at  
*Bayonne*.

The Spanish  
Army enters  
into  
*Biscay*.

Anno  
1636.



The Duke  
de la Valette  
comes to his  
Father to  
Bayonne.

difficulties than they did; and their Entry into this little Country, though open on all sides, would have cost them, both more time, and more blood, than they laid out upon this occasion. But what he had order'd with so much prudence, and foresight, was very ill obey'd; and the people of the Country no sooner saw the Enemy appear, than they fled before them, none of their Leaders being able to prevail with them to stand, or so much as once to face about in any place of what advantage soever.

The Duke sometime before he advanc'd towards this Frontier, foreseeing what work and trouble the invasion of a Foreign Army was likely to create him, had intreated the King to send the Duke de la Valette his Son, who also had the Government of *Guienne* setled upon him in reversion, to his assistance; who accordingly came to him to *Bayonne*, the same day the Enemy entred the Country, and who having, as he pass'd by *Bordeaux*, heard of the Sickness of the Duke his Father, was by that ill news oblig'd to take Post, and was but newly alighted when intelligence was brought, that the Enemy was entring, and that thereupon had followed a great confusion amongst our own people. The Duke at this news was not a little distracted, betwixt two contrary Passions, by which he was at one, and the same time assaulted, either of paying the assistance to which he was in Nature, and Duty bound, to a good and languishing Father, or of pursuing what his Honour, and Bravery exacted from him, for the Service of his Prince, and Master: But that debate betwixt his Piety, and Honour was soon determin'd by the Father himself; and the mutual tenderneſs they had for one another was soon overcome, by the Affection they both had to their common duty. It was in the close of the Evening when the Duke de la Valette arriv'd at *Bayonne*, and the night was no sooner pass'd, when mounting on Horseback with some persons of on Condition, who had there waited in expectation of his coming, he went out to discover the Countenance of the Enemy: but neither his Presence, Exhortations, nor Example could work any effect upon the common people; whose Spirits had by the first days fright been so strangely subdu'd, that it was impossible to raise them the next, to any tolerable degree of resolution: so that in this general Consternation, all he could possibly do was to retreat without disorder, which also was not to be done without a very great deal of danger. The Duke de la Valette engag'd his Person so far to make good this Retreat, and to preserve the little Honour he had to manage in this Encounter, that he very often ran a very great hazard of his life, and certainly expos'd himself more, than he was any way oblig'd



oblig'd to do, when being in the end retir'd (himself always the last man) he commanded *la Roche* Captain of the Duke his Fathers Guards, and also of his own, to make good the Bridge (which separates the *Bourg* of *Siboure*, from that of *Saint Jean de Luz*) against the Enemy that follow'd very close in his Rear. This Order was not to be executed without infinite danger, but the Duke *de la Valette* well enough knew, that he, to whom it was given, would not bely his former Actions; neither did *la Roche* deceive his expectation, who with forty Musketeers only which he had under his Command, stop'd the torrent of a Victorious Army, and after having kill'd two hundred of their men upon the place, amongst whom were eight or ten of their best Officers, and having by that means given our Foot time to put themselves into a place of safety, after he had sufficiently manifested his own Conduct, with the Valour and Dexterity of his Souldiers, he drew up the Draw-Bridge that lay over the middle of the River, and with very little loss retir'd to the Duke *de la Valette's* Troop, who staid to make good his Retreat.

After this manner the *Spanish* Forces possess'd themselves of the Country of *Labourt*, and our men were no sooner retir'd on this side *Saint Jean de Luz*, but that the Enemy seiz'd it, and the same day presented themselves before *Socoa*. This *Socoa* was a little point of Land, jetting out into the Sea, convenient, and proper enough for Fortification; but those of the Country would never consent to have it fortified. Which notwithstanding the place of it self was of so advantageous a situation, that they had ventur'd to put into it two hundred Souldiers; who having had leisure to cast up some Works, made a countenance before the arrival of the *Spanish* Army, there bravely to defend themselves: but their Resolution was of no long continuance, the fear of the people soon infected the Souldier; and some Gentlemen who upon other occasions had given testimony of their Valour, having been appointed to command them, were so unhappy as not to preserve the same Reputation here. So that to be short, contrary to the opinion of the two Dukes, the Father, and the Son, and of all the men of Command about them, the place was deliver'd up without the least resistance, and the Enemy at the same instant there fortified themselves.

It is not to be believ'd what a terror the entry of the *Spaniards*, and the taking of *Socoa*, it being but three Leagues distant from their City, strook into the Inhabitants of *Bayonne*; and, as all the Passions of the Populacy are extreme, they in a moment converted the absolute assurance, wherewith they had hitherto flatter'd themselves,

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The *Spaniards* make themselves Masters of the Country of *Labourt*, and take the Fort of *Socoa* without resistance.

A panick fear in the City of *Bayonne*.

*Anno* selves into a most infamous, and immoderate Fear; insomuch  
 1636. that had not the Duke been present in the City, it had doubtless  
 been in very great danger to be lost: wherein nevertheless, if the  
 Kingdom of *France* stood highly indebted to him for working by  
 by his presence so good an effect; they stood little less oblig'd to  
 the *Spanish* Gravity, and Circumspection, whose deliberate way  
 of proceeding made them run into an error, usually committed  
 by such, as perswade themselves their Enemies are provided  
 against all sorts of Accidents. For his cautious Enemy, forbear-  
 ing out of this belief to present themselves before *Bayonne*, un-  
 furnish'd of all things necessary for its defence, gave the Duke  
 time by that means to make the Inhabitants reassume their for-  
 mer courage; and that to such a degree, as from the despair of be-  
 ing able to defend themselves, being grown to a confidence of  
 doing it with honour, and advantage, they were soon in a condi-  
 tion to repel any thing the Enemy could attempt against them.  
 The Duke seeing them in this good disposition, caus'd a Review  
 to be made of all such as were able to bear Arms, which upon  
 examination were found to be nine hundred only; and which not-  
 withstanding he so encourag'd, what by the consideration of their  
 Duty, and their own Interest (an Argument as prevalent at least  
 as any whatever in the minds of men) that they all unanimously  
 swore to him, to live and dye in the defence of their City. Such  
 as were not capable of bearing Arms, were employ'd at the For-  
 tifications which were yet imperfect; a labour wherein the more  
 delicate Sex would no more be spar'd than the men; by which  
 means the work was follow'd on all hands with so unwearied a  
 Diligence, that what remain'd to be done, was perfected in fewer  
 days, than months would have been requir'd before the Enemies  
 approach. This being thus provided for, they proceeded in the  
 next place to examine what Grain was in the City; of which  
 search *Vertamont*, *Intendant de la Justice* had the charge committed  
 to his care: and in this they found the greatest defect, which was  
 such, that in three days the place must infallibly have been lost,  
 had the Enemy presently clap'd down before it; for there was ve-  
 ry little Corn to be found, and no Flower at all, all the Mills  
 were without the City, and the nearest of them a League distant.  
 This defect was therefore of all things to be supply'd, which alone  
 renders all sorts of Provision, how great soever the Store, alto-  
 gether useless: that therefore in a few days was accordingly done;  
 and being the City, which is divided from the rest of the King-  
 dom by the *Doux*, a great and deep River, was not to be reliev'd  
 but on that side: The Duke was especially solicitous to secure  
 the

They are  
 encourag'd  
 by the  
 Duke of  
*Espenon*.

The order  
 taken by the  
 Duke of *Ef-*  
*pernon* for  
 the confer-  
 vation of  
 the place.

the wodden Bridge that affords the City communication with the Suburb *du St. Esprit*, and from thence with the rest of *France*, by the County of *Lannes*. To that end therefore he caus'd two good Forts to be trac'd out in his own presence upon two Eminences that commanded that Bridge; and made the Work to be so diligently follow'd, that they were in a few days put into a condition of defence. They also by his order hastened the Leavies for some Recruits that were raising in *Guienne*, that they might be put into those two Forts, by which means they were sufficiently man'd. He moreover put three months Provision into the City, gave order for the perfecting of the Fortifications, wholly reassur'd the Inhabitants, and put the place into so good a condition, that nothing for the future, but by a regular Siege, was to be effected against it. After having thus provided for the safety of this City, he prepar'd himself to go take order for the defence of the other Cities, that were upon this Frontier, which were also in no little danger; yet was it not before he had further supply'd the necessities of the Inhabitants of *Bayonne*, who complaining to him that their Corporation was reduc'd to so great poverty, that it would be impossible for them to provide against a thousand little Accidents that might happen to them, mov'd at their entreaties, he left with them all the money he had left of the Expence of his House, arising to four and twenty thousand Livres, which was owing to him at his Death, and was the only money he ever lent upon Security, and at Interest in the whole time of his Life.

The *Spaniards* knew nothing of the ill condition of this place, till after it was fortifi'd, and supply'd in such manner, as you have heard; and then they saw the error they had committed, but it was then too late. They declar'd however, to the Duke's Glory, and in their own Vindication, *That they did not repent them of their wary manner of proceeding; but that if it were to do again, they should do the same, and that they could never think a place ill Fortified, that had a Duke of Espernon to defend it.* The Duke, what testimonies soever they so highly, and publicly gave, of the esteem they had of his Vertue, was not notwithstanding so to be charm'd with the Harmony of their Praises: but that being inform'd the Enemy, despairing for the future of being able to effect any thing upon *Bayonne* by force, was determin'd to pass the River *Doux*, to fall upon *Dacqs*, by that means to cut off all Relief that could be put into *Bayonne*; to the end, that of it self, and without the expence of a Siege, it might fall into their hands; he departed thence with the Duke *de la Valette* his Son, his faithful Companion in all the cares and troubles of this Expedition, to take order

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1636.

A remarkable oversight in the *Spaniard*.

The Duke of *Espernon* goes from *Bayonne* to *Dacqs*.

for

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1636.

And from  
thence sends  
a Dispatch  
to the King.

for the defence of this little place, which they also in six days that they made their abode there, what by their Vivacity, and good Conduct, and partly at their own expence, put into so good a posture of safety, that it was out of all danger of Surprize. Having thus provided for the security of the most Important Places, they dispatch'd away a Gentleman to the King, to give his Majesty an Account of what they had done for his Service, and to receive his Commands, what they were to do for the time to come.

From *Dacs* they went to *Mont de Marfan*, where they yet made some stay, as well in reference to the securing that place, as also to be better satisfied concerning an intimation had been given them, that the *Spanish* Army was resolv'd to pass the River in order to some notable Attempt. To this end Captain *la Roche* was sent to discover nearer hand the depth of the Enemies Designs; who soon perceiv'd by the Works they had begun at *Socoa*, that they had no thoughts of making any further progress into the Country that Winter. Having therefore at his return given his Masters this assurance, upon his Report, which they found afterwards to be very true, they continued on their way towards *Bordeaux*. The *Spaniards* on the other side applying themselves to their Fortifications, labour'd more successfully, than they imagin'd, to the Glory which was reserv'd for the Duke *de la Valette* in their Defeat the ensuing year; and having in the mean time lost all hopes of advancing further into the Country by force of Arms, fell to Caballs, and practises to seduce the Inhabitants of *Labourt* over to their side. They promis'd them Peace, freedom, Security, and all other advantages they could desire, if they would cohabit with them; they offer'd Protection to all such as would continue Neuters in their own Houses: but they threatned no little punishments to those, who should retire into *France*. All which Artifice nevertheless prevail'd nothing with the *Biscains*, there being not so much as any one Family, that did not prefer a voluntary Exile, before any Benefit, or Immunity that could derive from the bounty of invading Neighbours: So that if they were in the beginning condemn'd by some, for having manifested too little heat at the Enemies first coming in, every one in the end applauded their Fidelity, who would rather choose to abandon their Country, and Fortunes, than to enjoy them in the greatest quiet, and security, under the usurpation of a Forein and invasive Power.

An exem-  
plary Fide-  
lity in the  
Inhabitants  
of *Biscay*.

Anno  
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As it was evident enough both by the number of the Enemy, and the good condition wherein they had had the leisure to fortifie themselves, that it was impossible to attempt any thing against them,

them, but by means proportionable to the greatnes of their Forces; the Duke sate still at *Bordeaux* in expectation of Orders from Court for their future proceeding. But they waited not long, *Hau- mont*, which was the Gentleman they had dispatch'd thither, returning to *Bordeaux* almost as soon as they, furnish'd with several very favourable Dispatches; wherein after the King had highly magnified the Duke of *Espernon's* Conduct, who by so little means had preserv'd that Frontier, his Majesty proceeded to let him know, he infinitely desir'd the Enemy might be disoblig'd from the places they had already possess'd; promising in order thereunto Men, Provisions, Ammunition, a Train of Artillery, and what was necessary to the execution of so great a design: All this notwithstanding remain'd in terms of a bare promise only, without ever coming to the least effect; nay, there was not so much money to be had, as would serve for the raising of two Regiments of Foot, and four Troops of Horse; though the Duke had not so much as one Souldier in the Province: a Summe, which though it amounted not to above fifty thousand Livers, yet the Exchequers of the several Provinces, and the King's other Bancks being totally exhausted, there was a necessity for the Duke to advance it, out of his own private Stock, which he also was willing to do; and though it went something hard with him, had much rather in this urgency of his Majesties Affairs, lay out the money of his own private Revenue (for of two years he had not touch'd one peny of the King's) than that the Country the Enemy had invaded should be left unto them, which also was not to be preserv'd, but by the opposition of some considerable Forces.

While the Frontier of *Bayonne* found work enough for the two Dukes, the Royal Arms were employ'd for the recovery of *Corbie*; that being almost the only place of importance, the Enemy had made a Conquest of, with all their long, and mighty preparation. In the beginning of this Siege, there was scarce any who did not believe the Fortune of the Cardinal depended upon the event of that Enterprize, and that, should the King happen to be baffled before it, his Majesty weary of maintaining the Quarrels of his Minister (for such were all the Wars of Europe at that time reputed) at so vast an expence of Treasure, and with so much disquiet to his Kingdom, would infallibly sacrifice him to the Animosities of Strangers, and the Discontents of the Great Ones of his own people, who equally desir'd his Ruine: But the success of this Leaguer, more speedy, and fortunate than was to be expected, having reconcil'd the Cardinal to the Kings opinion, and astonish'd all those who had prophesied an alteration in his

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The Duke  
of *Espernon*  
raises For-  
ces with his  
own moeay.

*Anno* 1637. Fortune, every one was strook with admiration at a prosperity so beyond all example, insomuch that even those who had most thirsted after his Ruine, were the first to congratulate him for the good success. 'Tis said that of those there were some, who, that they might with greater Elegancy shrowd themselves from any jealousye the Cardinal might entertain against them, made no difficulty to prostitute their own Fidelity, and Honour, in discovering the Secrets either of their Masters, or Friends, to him who was their common Enemy. It was by that sort of people (as is believ'd) that the Cardinal had intelligence of a Plot, wherein the *Monsieur*, and the *Count de Soissons* had conspir'd against him, with whom the *Duke de la Valette* was also deliver'd to<sup>2</sup> him for one, who had a great hand in this Affair; and it is most certain that from thence the Cardinal laid the design to persecute his Families and his own particular Fortune to the last extreme; so that from that time forward, there was neither bound, nor moderation in the implacable Hatred he conceiv'd against him upon this very account. How far the *Duke de la Valette's* Resentments might transport him towards the Cardinal, I cannot tell; but I am well enough inform'd in the ill usage he receiv'd from him, as well in the person of the Duke his Father, as his own, to be bold to say, that he had all the reason in the world to be offended to a very high degree: but this Affair having been (as has been said) either the occasion, or at least the pretence of all the great Persecutions of this Family, it will not perhaps be impertinent to take things from the beginning, that they may be the better understood.

The first cause of the *Duke de la Valette's* Disgrace.

The *Duke de la Valette* being (as we have observ'd) entred into the Alliance of Cardinal *Richelieu*, had examples enough of several persons of very great Quality before his eyes, to make him stoop to extraordinary Applications, and respects towards him: but nothing could ever induce him to bend below the terms of decency, and his own condition; so that he only paid him what respect was due, and nothing more: a way of living that by no means satisfied the Cardinal, who would exact from all conditions of men, a Reverence without all reserve. A vanity of his, that although the *Duke de la Valette* was very perfect in, yet did not that knowledge make him alter his resolution, choosing rather to live with him in a less degree of Favour, than to beg Offices and Employments at the price of his own Honour. Many secret discontents arising from this first cause, it must of necessity follow, that these two Spirits having been so long dissatisfied with one another, and so equally dispos'd to a final Rupture, would at one time or another produce their ordinary effect. An occasion

The manner of the *Duke de la Valette's* Conduct after he entred into Cardinal *Richelieu's* Alliance.

Discontents arise betwixt them.

occasion presented it self at the Enemies entring into *Picardy*, and about the taking of *la Capelle*. The *Baron du Bec* was Governour of this place, which this Gentleman very well known to, and entirely belov'd by the *Duke de la Valette*, had surrendred sooner, than the Cardinal could have wish'd, for want (as he pretended) of Provision. The Cardinal, who by an example of high severity, would oblige the Governours of other places to hold out to the last extremities; or perhaps by that means to justifie himself to the King, from any censure he might undergo, as Prime Minister of State, in not having sufficiently provided for the necessities of so important a place, caus'd an Honourable Council immediately to be Assembled. This Council consisted of all the Officers of the Crown, who werethen to be found in *Paris*, together with some Counsellors of State, whose business it must be to condemn the *Baron du Bec*, as convict of Cowardise, and Treachery, to a privation of his Life and Honour. The *Duke de la Valette* was amongst the rest summon'd to this Assembly, wherein as he saw he was not call'd to it to deliver his free Opinion, that the Gentleman was beforehand mark'd out for Ruine, and that Sentence of Death must consequently ensue; so did he endeavour with all the art he had to decline having any thing to do in that business: but it was altogether in vain. The Cardinal would admit of no excuses, but after having sent three times to his House to seek him, *Chavigni*, Secretary of State, went the fourth time to tell him plainly, he must either satisfie, or absolutely break with the Cardinal. This express, and positive Declaration prevail'd in the end with the *Duke de la Valette* to go to the Council; but it was not nevertheless to comply in the least with the animosities of others. The *Baron du Bec's* Affair was laid open in the Presence of the King, and the Cardinal, and the greater part of the Judges concluded the Crimes laid to his charge, sufficient to condemn the party accus'd: but the *Duke de la Valette* did not think himself oblig'd to be of that opinion, and consequently could not consent to his Condemnation. If the Cardinal had manifested something of vehemency, in importuning the Duke to come to the Council, he express'd yet a far greater indignation to find him of a judgment so far dissenting from his own, insomuch that at his coming out of the Council, taking the *Duke de la Valette* aside, he could not contain himself from breaking into very unhandsome Language, proceeding to so bitter, and so injurious expressions, that the Duke was not able to forbear giving a very smart Reply, the Reverence due to the place where they then were permitting him at that time to do no more; though such as

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Anno 1637. were acquainted with his temper, will easily judge, that he would omit no occasion of manifesting a higher resentment. In the heat of this Discontent he receiv'd the Command of which I have already spoken, to go joyn himself with the *Count de Soissons* in *Picardy*; and then the Cardinal could find some expressions of Civility, and Complement, to smooth him withal, at his departure; but an Offence being much harder to be repair'd, than committed, the Wound the Duke carried along with him in his Bosom, was not to be clos'd by so slender a Remedy. It was presently after this that the Cardinal was inform'd, the Duke *de la Valette* had hearkened to the Propositions had been made to him by the *Count de Soissons*, for the Revenge of their common Injuries, and that the *Monsieur* was also consenting with them.

The *Monsieur*, and the *Count de Soissons* retire from Court,

And send to the Duke of *Espernon* to engage him in their Quarrel.


At the time the Cardinal receiv'd this intimation, the Duke *de la Valette*, to his good Fortune, was as far off as *Bayonne*; but the *Monsieur*, and the *Count de Soissons*, being both at *Paris*, escap'd but a very few hours of being both Arrested, having nevertheless time enough to withdraw themselves, they departed suddenly from *Paris*: when, though they scarce knew which way to fly for refuge from the power of their Enemy; yet hoping that either the danger the Duke *de la Valette* ran equally with them; or that the Generosity of the Duke of *Espernon* (who on the other side was himself not very well satisfied with the Court) might induce him to receive them into *Guienne*: they dispatch'd away thither first the *Count de Bourdeille*, and after him the *Count de Montresor* his Brother; of which both the one and the other had instructions to address themselves to the Duke *de la Valette*, that by his perswasions the Father might be rendred more favourable to their desires: But this Duke, who had much rather be alone expos'd to the Cardinal's whole stock of hatred, than to disquiet the old Age of the Duke his Father, by interressing him in his Quarrels, freely told them, "That the *Monsieur*, and the *Count* were to expect nothing from his Mediation in this Affair: That he was indeed resolv'd "to follow his Fathers Resolutions; but that he would never "prompt him to any thing that might trouble his repose. *Montresor*, who came last, and who would not depart without a positive resolution, finding no hopes of concurrence in the Duke *de la Valette*, desir'd to talk in private with the Duke of *Espernon*. He was accordingly admitted into his Chamber, at ten of the Clock at night, after all his Servants were retir'd, where he represented to him, "The immediate danger wherein two great "Princes of the Blood were at this time engag'd by the violence of Cardinal *Richelieu*, their, and his particular Enemy: That  
in



“ in securing their lives he might also establish his own Fortune,  
 “ and that of his Family : That he knew very well how great was  
 “ the number of discontented persons , how violent the de-  
 “ spair of the people, and how intolerable the oppression of all  
 “ the several Orders of the Kingdom : That all these favourable  
 “ dispositions wanted only some considerable heads , to work  
 “ their common safety by the ruine of the Cardinals Affairs :  
 “ That there was not a person in the Kingdom, who would not  
 “ be ready speedily to joyn with these Princes , seeing their good  
 “ intention for the Redress of the Publick, should their cause be  
 “ supported by his prudent Conduct : “ That this Act would  
 “ crown all the other actions of his life, for ever establish the For-  
 “ tune of his own Family, and render oblig’d to him for their  
 “ Lives, and Honour, two Princes, the one the Son , and Bro-  
 “ ther of the King his Master’s, his own Nephew , and Friend ;  
 “ and the other so passionately enamour’d of his Vertue , that he  
 “ would with all his heart lay aside his condition , to obey his  
 “ Orders in the conduct of those things they were to pursue for  
 “ their common safety. All these Reasons, how plausible soever  
 in themselves, and how handsomly soever laid before him, were  
 not yet of force to shake a man so firm, and so confirm’d in his  
 Duty, as the Duke of *Espernon* ; who , although he very well  
 knew, and that it was no hard matter for him to judg by the Ex-  
 ample of these Princes , and of most of the great men of the  
 Kingdom , that the Cardinal would not long hold his hand  
 from striking at his Fortune, which was the only one almost that  
 remain’d unshaken, would nevertheless rather choose to lie ex-  
 pos’d to this danger, than to secure himself, by being the promo-  
 ter of a Civil War. He therefore answer’d *Montresor*, “ That he  
 “ was the *Monsieur’s* most humble Servant, that he was the *Count’s*  
 “ also : That they did a great deal of Honour in reposing so  
 “ great a confidence in him, as to communicate so much of their  
 “ Interests, and Designs : That they could not do it to one that  
 “ was a more faithful Servant both to the King, and to them , or  
 “ more passionate for their good : That the greatest testimony he  
 “ could possibly give them of that passion, was, humbly to be-  
 “ seech, and (if he durst be so bold ) to advise them , to have  
 “ speedy recourse to his Majesties Bounty, and Royal Favour :  
 “ That for what concern’d himself, he was very sensible of all the  
 “ ill usage he receiv’d from Court ; but that he did by no means  
 “ impute it to the King : That seeing also he could not do him-  
 “ self right, without offending him , he rather chose still to sup-  
 “ port the oppression under which he now suffer’d, than to revenge  
 him-

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Who excu-  
ses himself.

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“ the Kingdom, and by adding the mischief of a Civil War to  
“ those miseries wherewith the poor people were already afflicted :  
“ That he did most humbly conjure these Princes by the name,  
“ and quality they bore, and by the Interest they had in the Good  
“ of the Kingdom, to do the same, and to surrender all their  
“ Animosities, and Discontents to the Publick, leaving to Hea-  
“ ven, which was just, the Revenge of their Wrongs: That as  
“ to the rest, they might assure themselves the Secret they had  
“ been pleas’d to entrust him withal, should be faithfully lock’d  
“ up in his heart, and that he would suffer all sorts of Extremi-  
“ ties, rather than reveal it. *Montresor* being able to obtain no-  
thing more of the Duke, return’d with this answer back to the  
*Monsieur* his Master; who either prevail’d upon by the Duke’s  
advice, or obeying the natural affection he had to the good of the  
Kingdom, very readily embrac’d the first overtures of Accommo-  
dation that were from the Court presented to him : But the  
*Count de Soissons*, not thinking it convenient to trust the Cardinal,  
what faithful, and sincere reconciliation soever could be promis’d  
to him, retir’d himself to *Sedan*, from whence he never more re-  
turn’d.

As there is no secret that time does not in the end discover, the  
advice the Duke had given the *Monsieur*, upon the Propositions he  
had sent him, was not long conceal’d from the knowledge of the  
Court. I am certain the discovery was neither made by the Duke,  
nor by any of his, the Fidelity, and Secresie he observ’d towards  
these Princes, giving on the contrary the Chancellour *Seguier* oc-  
casion to complain of him. This true Friend of his having un-  
derstood his Prudent, and Loyal Conduct, in this so important  
Affair, writ to him, after other things, in these terms, “ Give  
“ me leave to assure you that the King is infinitely satisfied with  
“ your Behaviour: I was ever confident, and have ever said, that  
“ the Princes solicitations would never prevail with you, who can  
“ entertain no overture, nor embrace no Proposition inconsistent  
“ with your Masters Service. I have learn’d this excellent Maxim  
“ from your self, and your Actions have ever been so pure from  
“ any blemish of that kind, that your Fidelity, which will stand  
“ for a President to succeeding Ages, was never in any possibility  
“ of being suspected; and did you stand in need of any one to  
“ undertake for you in this case, I should offer my self to be the  
“ man. I hope the Answer you sent this great Prince will  
“ make him see his own good, and consider that of the Kingdom :  
“ We here expect his Resolution, which we doubt not but will be  
very

“ very good ; forasmuch as all things he has desir’d of his Maje-  
 “ sties Bounty are granted to him, &c. The Duke, who little ex-  
 “ pected such a Complement as this, and that had not given the  
*Monfieur* this counsel with any intent to obtain thereby a thanks  
 from the King, return’d the Chancellour a vety civil Answer ;  
 but sent him word withal, “ That if he had observ’d him in those  
 “ times wherein they had serv’d the King together wholly intent  
 “ upon his Majesties Interests, he was so far from having lost any  
 “ thing of that Zeal, and Affection, that on the contrary those  
 “ years which had pass’d over his head, had only serv’d to confirm  
 “ him in his Duty ; but that he was infinitely surpriz’d to hear  
 “ the Court should be inform’d that he should have us’d any Ar-  
 “ guments to the *Monfieur* concerning the present Affairs, of force  
 “ to make him consider what he did owe to the Service of the  
 “ King, the good of the Kingdom, or his own preservation :  
 “ That he could assure him since his Highness departed last from  
 “ Court he had not seen him, nor any one employ’d by him ; nei-  
 “ ther had he directly, or indirectly heard from him at all : That  
 “ the discourse therefore which had done him this good Office  
 “ with the King, must be something he might perhaps have said  
 “ in publick without other design, than the vanity he had upon all  
 “ occasions to manifest his passion to his Majesties Service, and to  
 “ exhort all men to continue firm in that Duty, &c. The Chan-  
 cellour was by no means satisfied with this Answer, it seeming to  
 him that the Duke was therein more reserv’d, than became their  
 old acquaintance, or the entire confidence he might safely repose  
 in his Friendship : but the Duke, who would by no means do the  
*Monfieur* the least ill office, or fail in his Fidelity to him, chose ra-  
 ther to give his friend this little discontent, which he also knew  
 would soon be forgot, than to fail in his Faith, which would be  
 an eternal blemish to him, and so great a forfeit to Honour, as he  
 could never have forgiven himself, as it had been impossible for  
 him ever to repair.

Although the Cardinal prepossess’d with the ill Offices had  
 been done by the Duke *de le Valette* had conceiv’d that high distaste  
 against him, he usually manifested in such cases ; he nevertheless  
 made shift to smother it upon this occasion. He had at this time  
 great use both of the Father, and the Son, in the Affairs of *Gui-*  
*enne*, upon their shoulders (he being sufficiently taken up with  
 troubles nearer home) to lay the burthen of the care of that Pro-  
 vince ; so that he treated with them in terms of greater confi-  
 dence, than ever, writing to the Duke of *Espernon* after this  
 manner,

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The Cardi-  
nal dissem-  
bles his dis-  
satisfaction  
with the  
Dukes of  
*Espernon*,  
and *de la Va-*  
*lette*.

My

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My Lord,

“ You will find by the King’s Dispatches, that his Majesty is  
“ unmindful of nothing he conceives necessary for the driving  
“ his Enemies out of your Government, and does assure himself  
“ you will upon this occasion give him a testimony of your Va-  
“ lour and Experience, equally advantageous to the Reputation  
“ of his Majesties Arms, and your own particular Glory. This  
“ Action will crown all the rest of your Life, which makes me  
“ confident you will undertake it, with the ardour both the King  
“ himself has reason to expect from your zeal to his Service, and  
“ amongst other his Majesties most passionate Servants, one who  
“ honours you at the rate I do, who am, &c.

And puts  
them joynt-  
ly in Com-  
mission for  
the Affairs  
of *Guienne*.

The like Complement was also sent to the Duke *de la Valette*, which is a little too long to be inserted here, and wherein his Majesty sent a List, or form of a gallant Army, wherein were to be three Companies of *Gens-d’Armes*, twelve Troops of Light Horse, seven Regiments of Foot consisting of twenty Companies each, and three of ten, with Equipage for the Artillery, and other things necessary for the execution of a great Design. Had any part of these large promises been perform’d, the two Governours would have needed little persuasion to undertake the Enemy in what posture soever they had been: but the whole Winter almost being laps’d in vain expectation, the Duke *de la Valette* conceiving, that, if he did not do something of himself, the Enemy might be so establish’d upon the Frontier, that it would be afterwards a matter of extraordinary difficulty to dislodge him, advanc’d with the sole Regiments of *Guienne*, and of *Mun*, compos’d of the Duke his Father’s Servants, and his own, and rais’d at their own charge. He found upon the place their Company of *Gens-d’Armes*, and two Troops of Light-Horse, with which small Forces he undertook to oppose the progress of an Enemy three times as strong as himself in number of men; he forc’d them from some posts of Advantage they had fortified in the Country; and so straitned their Quarters, and constrain’d them to lie so close in their Trenches, that he thenceforwards made them begin to feel necessities, which in succession of time gave him a Victory beyond all humane hope or expectation.

Whilst he was taken up with this Employment, which of itself was but too great for the small means he had wherewith to effect so great a Design; the Discontents that had so long lain hatching in the minds of the people, produc’d at this time the Mischief had so long been fear’d, and foreseen, and on a sudden disclos’d

clos'd one of the most formidable Revolts, that ever perhaps appear'd in the Kingdom. This disorder began first in *Perigort*, from whence it suddenly crept into *Quercy*, and thence in a moment diffus'd it self into *Agenois*, and *Bourdelois*; nay, even the Provinces of *Angoumois*, *Xaintonge*, and *Poictou* also, which but a little before had been quieted by the Wisdom of *Villemontée Intendant de la Justice* in that Country, being not yet well settled in their Obedience, stirr'd up by the ill example of their Neighbours, ran into new, and more dangerous Commotions, than before: so that these joyning in the common mischief with the rest before mentioned, the Contagion spread it self almost as far as the River *Loire*. That which render'd the Sedition of *Guienne* the more considerable was, that those who ran into Arms were not unhandy Peasants, but old Souldiers of the most Warlike Provinces of the Kingdom, who having long follow'd the Profession of Arms, and not being able so soon to reduce themselves to their former condition, would in the disorders of popular Insurrection seek out that licence, the sweets whereof they had sometime tasted, when their Riots had been in some measure justified by their Arms. Most Commotions of this nature have been observ'd to proceed by certain degrees, and the forming of the design has usually been discover'd, before the clap of Thunder has been heard; they commonly advance step by step, and proceed from one gradation to another, to their determinate end: but this at its very birth appear'd in that excessive and formidable height, that like great Conflagrations which have long been smothering before they have broken out, it cast out flames in a moment, which were hardly possibly to be extinguish'd. The first Intelligence the Duke of *Espernon* receiv'd of this accident, was, that there were already above thirty thousand men in Arms, and it was true: amongst whom many Gentlemen of good Quality were so indiscreet as to engage; who though none of them was able to govern so unruly, and so confus'd a rabble, they nevertheless made choice of a Gentleman a Borderer of *Perigues*, call'd *la Mothe-la-Forest* to be their General, enforcing him to accept of that unhappy Command. This poor Gentleman finding himself the first day oppress'd with so great a burthen, after having in vain try'd all ways to disengage himself, was fain in the end to undertake to Head them; wherein the most prudent thing he did, was to reduce this great multitude to a regular number, by choosing out of the best Souldiers, and such as were best Arm'd, ten thousand good men, and dismissing the rest home to their own houses with order to be ready to March upon the first Summons. This crew of Rakehells, made indeed

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A formidable Rebellion breaks out in several Provinces of France.

The number of the Rebels,

And their progress

*Anno* in a few days a very considerable progress; but it was without  
 1637. any manner of opposition; the people generally having so great  
 a kindness for the Rebellion, that there was scarce a City in the  
 Province, which they might not conclude to be their own. They  
 were receiv'd into *Bergerac*, and had possess'd themselves of the  
 Stone-Bridge which is upon the River *Dordogne*; they were  
 moreover so confident as to fall upon *Saint Foy*, and had not the  
 Duke fortified the honest Inhabitants, against the licence of the  
 baser sort of people, by sending first *Coderé* a Souldier of his  
 Guards, a brave, and understanding fellow, and after him one  
 of his Gentlemen call'd *Frige*, with an hundred and fifty Foot,  
 rais'd amongst his own Vassals, the place had infallibly been lost.  
 It was a Town of no little importance at this time; for beside the  
 advantage of its situation, all the Arms the *Mareschal de St. Luc*,  
 the King's Lieutenant of the Province, and particular Governour  
 of this place, had formerly taken away from *Broüage* when he  
 left that Government, were in the *Cittadel*, as also some pieces of  
 Cannon, which would have supply'd the Rebels with such a con-  
 veniency, as would have encourag'd, and enabled them to attempt  
 the best Cities of the Province.

The Duke of *Espernon* having in this extremity no more, than  
 three very weak Regiments, which had been lately reform'd,  
 and that by little and little, were drawing together in the Pro-  
 vince, to go towards the Frontier, the Service to which they were  
 design'd; writ to *St. Torse Aide de Camp*, who commanded them, to  
 draw them out against the Mutineers: but that Gentleman, more  
 discreet, and circumspect, than the Duke could have wish'd up-  
 on so urgent an occasion, chose rather betimes to abandon his  
 Quarters to the Rebels, than to do them the honour to dispute  
 them by any the least opposition.

The Duke after this seeing no means left to suppress this dan-  
 gerous Faction, which every day increas'd to a more formidable  
 height, and startled with the news he receiv'd from all parts, that  
 some of the best Cities were ready to revolt, and only expected  
 the approach of the Rebels to receive them; writ in all haste to  
 the Duke *de la Valette* to come speedily to the Relief of the Pro-  
 vince with some of those Forces he had with him upon the Fron-  
 tier, since those in the Lower *Gascony* were not able to make head  
 against the mischief already grown too great to be withstood. The  
 Duke at this Summons, without deliberating upon the Duke his  
 Father's Command, immediately put himself upon his March;  
 but yet so that the Foreign Enemy still continued shut up within  
 their Trenches by the Marquis *de Poganne Mareschal de Camp*, with  
 whom

whom during his absence he left the Command of the Army, whilst himself came to do the King, the Kingdom, and particularly the Province, one of the most important Services, could possibly be desir'd in so dangerous a time. Anno  
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Being come to *Cadillac*, where his Father expected him sick (for he was at last constrain'd to faint under the Burthen of Affairs, and the affliction wherewith these untoward occurrences had overcome his Spirits) and having from him receiv'd such Instructions, as he was at that time in a condition to give, he early the next morning took Horse to go in all haste to *Marmanda*. The Duke his Father had already there caus'd some Troops to be gather'd together under the Command of the Marquis de *Monferrant* *Mareschal de Camp*, and Lieutenant of his own Company of *Gens-d'Armes*; where the Duke was no sooner arriv'd, but he understood that at *la Sauvetat*, a little Town about four Leagues off, there was a considerable Body of the Rebels, who had there fortified themselves, and made shew of a resolute Defence; an information that made him immediately March his Forces that way to go to assault them. All the strength he had with him were no more than two thousand five hundred Foot; but the Enemy were very many more, which notwithstanding he made no difficulty himself to go view the place. At the first sight he apprehended the danger of assaulting them without Cannon, fortified as they were on every side either with Walls, or strong Barricado's; and many of the Officers about him were of opinion, he should stay for some Field-Pieces, he had order'd to follow after: but having consider'd, that to dally with these kind of people only, were to give them greater encouragement, and to augment their Insolence; he gave order upon the instant to go on to the Assault. I have heard several who were present at, and had a share in this Action, say, that the Assault was as vigorously given, and as obstinately sustain'd, as any they had ever seen, though they had been in many very memorable occasions, and that they should eternally lament, that what was there on both sides perform'd, had not been done against the Enemies of the Crown; since doubtless whatever they had undertaken must have succeeded to their immortal Glory. The Duke's men fir'd no further off than at the Muzzle of the Musket, and the other party did the same; so that on either side a great many men, with some Officers of the Duke's Regiments were slain: and the slaughter had questionless been much greater, had the besieg'd been furnish'd with Pikes, to their Fire Arms; but being destitute of that sort of Defence, they were constrain'd, after they had discharg'd their Muskets, to abandon their Barri-

The Rebels  
suppres'd  
by the  
Duke de la  
*Valette*.

Anno 1637. *cado's, and to retire. Madaillan who commanded the Rebels gave the first example of a cowardly, and shameful flight, whom they pursu'd as far as Quercy, to which place he fled for refuge: but having escap'd the hands of the pursuers, he sav'd himself out of the Kingdom, from whence he return'd not but to execute one of the most detestable Villanies against the Duke of Espernon that could ever have entred into the imagination of an accursed Villain. The fatal and unhappy circumstances whereof, we shall soon present before you, wherein this wicked, and abominable wretch will appear to be both the instrument, and the cause of the Duke's approaching Death, and Ruine.*

The forcing of this place was presently follow'd by the Surrender of *Bergerac*; the Mutineers had there made a countenance of defending themselves: but the example of their Complices being taken by Assault, render'd them more facile to the persuasions of their General, who was otherwise averse to War, than as he was compell'd to it by the unbridled Fury of some of the more violent Spirits, who as they prompted their fellows to greater mischief, would also urge him on to the greatest extremes. These two places being thus reduc'd to their Obedience, secur'd all the other Cities of the Province; so that although some few of the people continued still on foot, they were rather thought fit to be undertaken by the ordinary \* Officers of Justice, than worth the pains, or notice of men of Arms.

\* Des Prevosts.

The report of this Defeat soon spread it self into *Angoumois, Xaintonge, and Poictou*, whither the Duke *de Palette* also sent some few Forces, of those which were now supernumerary after this success, and where the people, through fear of punishment, remain'd in a posture of Obedience; by that means delivering the Court of one of the greatest, and most troublesome apprehensions wherewith the minds of the great Ministers could possibly be possess'd.

The Court receives the news of the Duke *de la Valet's* Victory, very coldly.

This Victory was by the Marquis *de Duras* judg'd of importance enough to deserve the pains of a Journey to Court, to carry news of it to the King; who as he had by his own Valour contributed very much to the good success, the Duke of *Espernon*, who had him in very great esteem, was also very willing that he should give his Majesty an account of the Action. Being therefore there arriv'd, he omitted nothing that might any ways recommend the merit of the Service: but he did not find the Court dispos'd to receive things that came from the Duke's at so favourable a rate, as in themselves they did justly deserve; they looking upon all that had been perform'd as good as nothing, and



and imposing upon them the assault of the Forts the Spaniards had erected upon the Frontier upon pain of his Majesties Indignation, which was the first recompence of their Service.

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Already the Duke *de la Valette* had taken the way to his ordinary Post, and was arriv'd at his Quarters, which he had fortified opposite to the *Spanish* Trenches; when the Duke his Father receiv'd his Dispatches from Court, wherein he had order, and express power to serve himself with the King's money, and strength of the Province; and moreover to lay what Impositions they should together think fit upon the people, for the execution of his Majesties Designs. The Duke of *Espernon* very well judg'd what was to be expected from these kind of Leavies, he knew with what difficulties, and delays the King's own Revenue was gather'd in: He was also not ignorant of the little kindness they had for him at Court: He knew very well that his Obedience herein might be converted to a Crime, all Leavies of money being expressly forbidden, excepting such Taxes as should be impos'd by the King himself: all which being duly consider'd by him, made him resolve to write to his Majesty, "That both himself, and his Son  
"were very ready frankly to expose their Lives for the execution of his  
"Majesties Commands, provided something of what was necessary might  
"be added to their Endeavours, that they might attempt to execute his  
"Orders with some possibility of success: but that he should ever im-  
"pose a Tax upon his Majesties Subjects, he most humbly beg'd to be  
"dispens'd from any such Employment, and that his Majesty would be  
"pleas'd, since hitherto he had kept his hands clean from any thing of that  
"kind, he might still preserve his Reputation without exposing it to the  
"Clamour of his miserable Subjects, whose Necessities were to him al-  
"ready too well known. These last words wrought the most dangerous effect imaginable against him, the Court perswading themselves that he affected Popularity, and sought this way to ingratiate himself with the people, to the end that he might by their assistance be able to maintain himself in his Government, and was in effect the principal Cause, if not the only Motive; that caus'd him to be remov'd from thence the ensuing year,

The Duke  
of *Espernon*  
refuses to  
raise money  
by Impositi-  
ons upon  
the people:

Whilst the Duke of *Espernon* was engag'd in these troublesome Disputes with the Court, the Duke *de la Valette* continued the War with the Enemy, after the same manner he had begun, keeping them close mew'd up in their Trenches, without permitting them to receive any relief from the Country, or so much as to taste of the Air of the Field, where they never presented themselves without some notable disadvantage. This way of making War having continued for two whole months together, had  
reduc'd

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reduc'd the *Spaniard* to Necessities were no longer to be endur'd; they were necessitated to have all their Provisions out of their own Country, and those to be brought to them by Sea, with infinite hazard, and inconvenience, and at an intolerable expence. The Duke *de la Valette* was very well inform'd of the ill condition to which they were reduc'd, their Necessities had bred an infinite number of Diseases in their Camp, and the number of six thousand men which they were at first, was diminish'd to that degree, that not above half of them were left alive. In this condition he prepar'd to make some attempt upon them; and to that end caus'd those Forces, which by reason of the late Commotions, he had been oblig'd to leave in the *Lower Gascony*, to advance toward the Frontier; not doubting but at this time to effect that, which they would have had him some time before have attempted with almost certain, and apparent ruine: but the Enemy inform'd of his resolution, by a shameful, and precipitous flight (which was the highest acknowledgment of their weakness he could possibly desire) prevented his design. They embark'd therefore all their Artillery, their Equipage, and their Sick by night; the Port of *Socoa* (which they were Masters of) affording them conveniency so to do, by the same way, and with so little noise drawing off the rest of their Forces, that their design was not discover'd, till they were all aboard. The Duke *de la Valette* was no sooner inform'd of their flight, but that he drew up to the Fort, which was surrendered to him without resistance: But it is not to be imagin'd how many several Objects of Misery were to be seen in their Camp; nor to what extremities, by his long perseverance, they had been reduc'd. They then quitted him their Forts, giving him thereby the most absolute, and most happy Victory could possibly be desir'd; so that he had the good fortune almost without men (at least with Forces not half so great as the Enemies) without money (having never touch'd a penny of the King's) almost without Victuals (having had none save what by the industry, and providence of *Vertamont Intendant de la Justice* had been convey'd to the Frontier) and without the loss of any one man of note, to ruine an entire Army of an invading Enemy, to make them spend ten months time in vain, to consume Provisions sufficient for the plentiful subsistence of the greatest Army, and to leave three thousand of their men behind them, for a testimony of their Defeat. Yet how great, and of what utility soever this Victory might be, to the Kingdoms Honour, and Safety, the Court was notwithstanding dissatisfied with the success; who seeing he had done more, than any one durst propose to himself, and outstrip'd

The Duke  
*de la Valette*  
defeats the  
*Spanish Ar-*  
*my without*  
Fighting.

the

the hopes, and expectation of those who were emulous of his Vertue, and would have been glad some disaster had befall'n him, were by no means satisfied with this performance; as if he had not done enough in doing so much with so little means, and with so great safety, and reputation to his own Person, and Name. Had he been at this time in a state of Favour, what recompence might he not reasonably have expected for two Services of so high importance, and both perform'd in one Campaign? Which though he fail'd of through the ill Offices of some, that blinded by Animosity could not discern his Merit; yet such as will make a right Judgment of things, must maugre the ingratitude, and injustice of the Age, set a right Value upon them. I know very well (without mentioning the Defeat of the Spanish Army, which speaks sufficiently for it self) that the other exploit has been highly magnified by disinterested persons, that had at that time the principal Command of *Poitou*, and *Xaintonge*; who have declar'd that all the Provinces on this side the River *Loire*, had run an extreme danger, had the general disorder, to which the people were apparently, and absolutely enclin'd, not been suppress'd by the vigour and celerity, wherewith the Duke acted upon this occasion.

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Which nevertheless is but coldly receiv'd at Court.

If the King's Affairs had the good success you have heard, under the Conduct of the Duke *de la Valette* in *Guienne*, they succeeded no less fortunately upon the Frontier of *Picardy*, under the command of the Duke *de Candale*, and the Cardinal *de la Valette* his Brothers. These two Generals joyntly commanded the King's Army in those parts, and so well, that they had in a short time retaken the Castle of *Cambresis*, *Maugbeuge*, and *Lendrecies* in the end. That which was most remarkable in the Siege of this last place, was, that they employ'd fewer days to take it, than the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth had formerly squander'd away months to go without it; who after a six months Leaguer, had been constrain'd ingloriously to quit the Siege: And all these things were done in the very face of the Cardinal *Infanta*, who having been baffled in two signal Engagements, durst no more make trial of our Generals Arms. The Duke of *Espernon* victorious in two extremities of the Kingdom, by the Valour of his three Sons, and hoping that the utility of these important Services for the Crown, would at least secure the repose of his old Age, thought of nothing more, than by a gentle hand to compose the Affairs of his own Government, and so to order all things by his Moderation, and Justice, that the people committed to his Charge, might enjoy the sweets of Peace, even in the greatest tumults of War. To this end therefore he with great generosity, and constancy, rejected the offer

The Duke de Candale, and the Cardinal de la Valette command the Army in Picardy.

that

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that was made to him, of the Command of a great Army wherewithal to invade the Enemies Country, proposing to himself a greater glory in maintaining that little part of the Kingdom entrusted to his care, in security, and peace, than in all the Pomp that was laid before his eyes to allure him. How great a happiness had it been if he could have effected this good design, and by that means have spun out the remainder of his exceeding old Age in the calms of Vacancy, and repose? neither was the fault his, that he did not bring this vertuous intention to the desired end: but some ambitious, and interested Spirits, having infatuated the Court with propositions of vain and imaginary Conquests, prevail'd so far with the great Minister, that it was determinately resolv'd, the Scene of the War should be transferr'd into *Spain*, and that by the Siege of *Fontarabie* it should be begun. The Enterprize was of no small difficulty, as it has since been prov'd; which the Cardinal also was very perfect in, as having long before caus'd the place to be consider'd by the Duke *de la Valette* himself, who had then diverted him from that design: upon this occasion however he would no more remember the reasons by which he had sometimes suffer'd himself to be over-rul'd; but having premeditated to engage both the Father, and the Son in an Enterprize, wherein he resolv'd they should both perish, he sent them positive word, that they must either absolutely undertake this War, and advance so much money, as was necessary to begin it, or that the King would send the Prince of *Condé* to command his Arms in *Guenne*. The Duke of *Epernon*, accustomed of old to the ill usage of the Court, was nothing surpriz'd with these Threats; but on the contrary what was laid before him in the nature of a Penalty, being conformable to his own desire, he gave the Court to understand, that he should ever esteem it a great Honour, to have this Prince a Judg of his Actions; and that he should be very glad the King would please to give him a Command in his Government. He wanted not Servants about him, to dissuade him from sending such a Message, and to represent to him the danger of inviting a greater person than himself into a place where his Authority was absolute, and where he had no rival to dispute it with him; laying before him withal many more examples of such as had repented the having submitted their Power to a Superiour, than of such as in so doing had found their expectation answer'd by the event: But the Duke was so confident in the Affection the Prince of *Condé* had manifested to him in these latter times, that he could not possibly entertain the least distrust, and moreover seeing it was absolutely determin'd, that the

Province

Province of *Guienne* should bear the burthen of the War with *Spain*, he had much rather the Expences of the War should be stated by a great Prince, who by his Quality was priviledg'd from all Forms, than that he by imposing them should be constrain'd to submit to the severity of an Inquisition, and be brought by his Enemies to an Account. But that which most of all confirm'd him in this Resolution, was the advantage that would thereby accrue to the Duke *de la Valette* his Son, who having nothing to do in Military Affairs, but to execute the Prince's Orders only, would by that means be nothing accountable for any event of the War; and as to any thing else, he was very well assur'd, that what Employment soever should be conferr'd upon him, he would ever so behave himself, as to deserve no other, than the greatest honour and applause.

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Upon these prudent Considerations it was that the Duke resolv'd to write to the Prince of *Condé*, to entreat he would please to accept the Command that was offer'd him in *Guienne*, assuring him (as it was very true) that nothing could be a greater satisfaction to him, than to have the Honour to kiss his Hands in a place where he might have opportunity to give him some testimonies of the passionate affection he had for his Service. Neither was he satisfied with sending him this Complement from himself alone, he would moreover make the Duke *de la Valette* do the same; so that the Prince, who before would never consent to take upon him any Employment in the Duke's Governments, made thenceforward no difficulty to accept it: However, things not succeeding according to the Duke's desire, men took hence an occasion to censure his Discretion, and to condemn his Conduct, (as it usually falls out) because he prov'd unhappy in the end.

*The End of the Eleventh Book.*





THE  
 HISTORY  
 Of the LIFE of the  
 Duke of Espernon.

The Twelfth Book.



HE Prince of *Condé* had no sooner accepted the Employment, but that a very ample Commission was forthwith drawn up for him, by virtue whereof he was to Command, not only in *Guienne*, but also in *Languedoc*, *Navarre*, *Bearne*, and *Foix*. His Letters Patents were dispatch'd at *St. Germain's en Laye* the Tenth of *March*; a Copy of which the Prince took care to send to the Duke of *Espernon* the one and twentieth, by the *Sieur Bonneau* his Secretary, together with a Letter that contained these words.

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Monfieur,

“ It is with great reluctancy, that by his Majesties Order I must go to Command his Forces in your Government, knowing as I do, that to have his Majesties Service there well perform'd, there had been no need of any other person than your self, and *Monsieur de la Valette* your Son; notwithstanding such being his Royal Pleasure I must of necessity obey. Of my Commis-

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sion

Anno 1638. *W*“ sion I have here sent you a Copy, assuring you withal, that in  
 “ the exercise of it, I shall take all occasions to manifest to you  
 “ my entire affection; and that I will be so long as I live,

Monseur,  
 Your Affectionate Cousin,  
 and Humble Servant

*Henry of Bourbon.*

The Duke  
 asks leave  
 to retire  
 himself  
 to *Plassac*.

To this Letter the Duke return'd a very civil Answer, but, before he receiv'd it, had sent to desire leave to retire himself to his House *Plassac*; of which Request though the pretence was to enter into a course of Physick for the recovery of his Health; yet the true reason was, that he might be out of the way of having any Disputes with the Prince about the Affairs of his Government, which he could not, without great grief, have seen afflicted with those miseries wherewith it was threatned; nor perhaps without expressing such a dislike of that harsh way of proceeding, as might have given him Offence. A thing which all the Friends and Servants he had at Court having foreseen, they had advis'd him to this course; his Sons, who were best acquainted with his tickle, and impatient humour, were of this advice: but there is great apparence that the first thoughts of retiring were inspir'd by the Prince himself, who having in other Employments, where the Duke and he had serv'd together, had tryal enough of his difficult humour, would no more be subject to those contrarieties he had formerly endur'd, and had therefore doubtless prompted him with that resolution. The Duke's Request therefore being so conformable to the Princes desires, and to the sence of the Court, it was no hard matter for him to obtain that in the quality of a favour, which had doubtless been enjoin'd him as a punishment, had he not by speaking first prevented a Command from the King to the same effect; for it had been from that time forward (as it has been evident since) been resolv'd upon to withdraw him from his Government, and to suspend him from all the Functions of his Command. Nevertheless having lighted so pat upon the humour of the great Ministers, by the advice of his Friends, he was very civilly treated in his Majesties Answer, which was couch'd in these terms.

Cousin,  
 “ Having found by your Letter of the eighteenth instant, and  
 “ moreover understood by the mouth of the *Sieur de Lavrilliere*  
 the



“the \* Secretary of my Dispatches, that in order to your Health,  
 “by the change of Air, and the use of some Remedies have been  
 “prescrib’d you by your Physicians, you desire, for some time, to  
 “retire your self to your House of *Plussac*: I send you this to let  
 “you know, that any thing which may either concern your health,  
 “or satisfaction being very pleasing to me, I do willingly grant  
 “you the liberty you desire, to go to your said House; assuring  
 “my self, that even from thence you will have a vigilant eye to  
 “whatsoever may concern the good of my Service within the  
 “precincts of your Government. In the mean time I shall pray  
 “to God, Cousin, to have you in his Holy Protection. From  
 “*St. Germain en Laye* the 28<sup>th</sup>. day of *March* 1638. The Duke  
 very well satisfied with this answer, began to make himself ready  
 to begin his Journey, so soon as the Prince should be arriv’d in  
*Guienne*; where, whilst he waited in expectation of his coming,  
 he pass’d away the time with the Duke *de Candale* his eldest Son,  
 entertaining him with greater familiarity, and freedom, than  
 till that time he had ever done; whose complacency, and fine  
 Behaviour made at this time so great an impression upon the  
 Duke his Father, that certainly this Son had never been so dear to  
 him, as when he was upon the point to lose him; in somuch that  
 his present joy was no little disposition to augment the approach-  
 ing grief soon after occasion’d by his unexpected Death.

The Duke *de la Valette* had in the interim of these Dispatches  
 from the King, and the Prince of *Condé*, been oblig’d to make a  
 Journey to Court, to which he had been engag’d contrary both  
 to his Majesties express Order, and also his own resolution. He  
 knew very well the ill Offices had been done him to the Cardinal  
 since the business of *Corbie*, glanc’d at in the preceding Discourse,  
 he was moreover very well acquainted with the implacable nature  
 of the person, who conceiv’d himself so highly offended by him,  
 to which his power was no less known to him, than his malice;  
 considerations that altogether had made him positively determine  
 not to put himself into his hands, that he might not add to the  
 number of those who had already tasted the utmost effects of his  
 Indignation; choosing rather to live in his Government in safety,  
 though in disgrace, than to expose himself to the almost inevitable  
 dangers he was to wade through to a faint, and dissembled Recon-  
 ciliation. But how determinate soever he had been in that reso-  
 lution, it was impossible for him to keep it; for those who had  
 imprudently engag’d his Majesty in a War with *Spain*, as malici-  
 ously made the Cardinal some overtures of Accommodation, as  
 a thing solicited by the Duke *de la Valette* himself, who desir’d

nothing

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\* *Secrétaire*  
*de Commans,*  
*ou d’*  
*Etat.* The  
 four Princi-  
 pal Secre-  
 taries, who  
 in the Court  
 of *France*  
 sign Letters  
 Patents, and  
 Dispatches  
 of *States*

The Duke  
*de la Valette*  
 .. constrain-  
 ed to make  
 a journey to  
 Court,

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But with infinite danger.

nothing less, exposing him by that means to the greatest hazard he perhaps ever ran in the whole time of his Life. The Treaty however being thus set on Foot, the Duke seeing himself reduc'd to a necessity, either of breaking openly with the Cardinal, or of going immediately to him, chose in truth the most dangerous course; but withal that by which he could at that time alone secure the Fortune of his Family, and the repose of the Duke his Father, which he ever preferr'd before his own particular safety. This last consideration therefore prevail'd with him to undertake this Journey, so that he went to Court, and had some Conference with the Cardinal; who, because he would make all the use of him he could before he would destroy him, thinking fit to spare him at that time, with a dissimulation peculiar to himself; receiv'd him at the greatest rate of kindness, and freedom could possibly be put on; protesting an absolute Oblivion of all former discontents, and making the King to give him the same assurance; which being done, he dismiss'd him, much more satisfied that he had escap'd the present danger, than any ways secure of his good intention for the time to come

The Prince of Condé arrives in Guienne.

At his return from this Voyage, he found the Prince of *Condé* already arriv'd in *Guienne*. The Duke his Father had receiv'd him at *Bordeaux* with all imaginable Honours; wherein, though doubtless there was a great deal due to his Quality, as being a Prince of the Blood; yet it is most certain, that in this unusual complacency the Duke had an equal regard to his Person. His respect proceeded so far, that not content to pay him all the deference, and submission he was capable of in his own person, he would moreover extend his civility further, by employing his Authority, and interest with the Parliament of that City for his full satisfaction. The Prince would that at their coming to visit him, they should Complement him by the title of *Monseigneur*, and the Company insisted upon the contrary, as a term at that time not in use: but the Duke interposing thereupon, the Interest he had in the Deputies of that Assembly, prevail'd with them so far, that the Ceremony pass'd in the end according to the Princes desire.

All these Civilities paid by way of advance, met not however with that acknowledgment the Duke had reason to expect; he was not ignorant, that although the Prince us'd him with respect enough in outward shew, he nevertheless did him underhand all the ill Offices he could; he knew that scarce any, but such as were his known, and declared Enemies, were admitted to his presence: That he made himself merry with Stories they reported

ted of his behaviour, and was very attentive to, if not inquisitive after the Informations of such as were discontented with him: all which notwithstanding, the Duke very secure in the Conscience of his own Conduct, did not much concern himself at this unfriendly way of proceeding, but continued to live with the Prince at the same respective rate, paying him all imaginable Honours; and the inclination he had for his Service making him slight, or give little credit to those flying rumours that daily came to his ear, he could not be jealous in the least of an Affection he had by so many Titles so highly deserv'd. It is also true that the Prince on the other side shew'd him in publick the best countenance he could possibly put on, would do him the honour to dine with him at his House, and to that purpose invited himself, where the Duke entertain'd him after his accustomed manner, and with a splendour natural to him upon such eminent occasions. To this Entertainment the Prince brought some of his particular Servants, as the Duke also invited some of his own Friends; so that the Company consisted of eighteen persons. It has been thought by some, that this was an appointment purposely contriv'd by the Prince, and those about him, to make themselves merry with the good old man, and with an intent to put him upon an extravagant recital of his old actions, full of Honour, and Glory, to turn afterwards his *Gascon* humour into Mirth, and Laughter. Neither did they fail to tempt him to it, by falling into discourse of his Favour, Wars, Mistresses, and other things, which vain and ambitious men are commonly well enough pleas'd withal, that they may have an occasion to vent their vainglory, by speaking loud in their own praises; but the wise old Duke deceiv'd their expectation; answering to all that was propounded with so great modesty, and discretion, and therein so highly satisfying all the Company, as gave the Prince impressions much contrary to those wherewith he had perhaps been prepossess'd, confirming him more than ever in the opinion of his vertue, which to him was already well known, and that to such a degree, that rising from the Table, full of admiration, at so prudent, and so happy an old Age, I myself heard him say to some of his Confidants, who perhaps had been brought thither to have their share of the sport, that certainly (speaking of the Duke) he was the greatest man in the world.

But how great soever he might be, he was not, it seems, so happy to please him now, as he had been at other times; and either the Prince had chang'd his inclination with the face of Affairs, or if he yet retain'd a kindness for him, the strict Orders he had receiv'd

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ceiv'd from Court, would not give him leave to discover it; so that he grew impatient of his stay at *Bordeaux*, from whence also the Duke was resolv'd not to depart, till some Assignments were first paid him, lest after his back should be once turn'd, that money might be converted to other use.

The delays therefore growing insupportable to the Prince, he resolv'd to complain of them to the Court, from whence that he might the more speedily obtain the thing he desir'd (which was a positive command for the Duke to depart the Province) he accompanied his Complaint with a very ill Office, which though deriv'd from a very light occasion, yet in the evil aspect of the ruling Planets of that time, the least pretext was but too powerful an argument to prejudice a man already proscrib'd for ruine. It was then no hard matter for the Prince to obtain his desire of the Court, and that in terms of the greatest severity, it being said that he had Orders for the Duke to depart from *Bordeaux* without further delay, and to retire himself to his House *Plassac*, according to the leave he had desir'd, and obtain'd, with an Injunction moreover not to stir from thence till his Majesties further Pleasure.

It should seem that the Prince would retain so much respect for the Duke upon this occasion, as not to afflict him before his departure with the knowledge of this severe Command, contenting himself with communicating the Dispatch to some few only of the Duke's Friends, and Enemies, without delivering it to himself: but not one of his Friends would take upon him to be the bearer of so unwelcome news, all of them generally apprehending lest the Duke, after so ill usage, and so contrary from what he had reason to expect at the Princes hands, might lash out into some passionate expressions, that would beget ill blood betwixt them. At last he departed from *Bordeaux* in *May*, when not conceiving himself to be so ill us'd either by the Prince or the Court, as he really was, before he began his Journey, he would go to receive his Commands; where after some expressions of Complement, and Respect, he told him, "That he was going to undertake a War, wherein he  
" would infallibly meet with greater difficulties than had been re-  
" presented to him: That it was not likely the King of *Spain*,  
" whose Power throughout all Europe was sufficiently known,  
" would suffer one of the best places of his Dominions to be lost,  
" without attempting to relieve it: That he did therefore  
" humbly beseech his Highness, if any occasion should hap-  
" pen wherein he might be serviceable, either to the King, or  
" to himself, he would be pleas'd to honour him with his Com-  
" mands; that in case he would do him that favour, he would  
engage

“engage within fifteen days after he should receive his Summons, to bring him a thousand Gentlemen to the Frontier, at the head of whom he should take it for a great glory to die, thereby to acquire his Highness the Honour of a signal Victory. The Duke might without all doubt have been a great deal better than his word, had he been made use of upon this occasion, and have rendered by that means the Battel of *Fontarabie* as illustrious, and successful, as it prov'd cloudy, and malevolent to the *French* Renown.

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The Duke was no sooner gone, but that the Prince began to prepare all things for the War. The Land Army by the exceeding diligence he used was quickly set on foot: but the Sea Forces were so long in making ready, that the Prince impatient of their delays, by which he was likely to lose the season, and opportunity of doing the Service the King expected from him, advanc'd to the Frontier, invested the place, and began the Siege. The Enemy alarm'd at the Vigour, and Celerity, wherewith the Prince made his Approaches by Land in order to the taking of the place, having the Sea open to them, two several times convey'd Relief into the Forts in the very face of our Land Army, and at one of those put a Governour into it; a Relief of so infinite importance, as that it was first the cause of the places preservation, and afterwards of the disaster that befel the Royal Arms.

The Royal  
Army baffled  
before  
*Fontarabie*

I shall not trouble my Reader with a long Narrative of the manner of this Siege, I could on the contrary wish it were in my power to extinguish the memory of it for ever; not that the Enemy however obtain'd any so signal reputation by it, they only making use of a kind of Lethargy, of which our whole Army was at that time sick; so that although they made shift to kill a few people, that lay without motion, and consequently incapable of any resistance; yet had they no other advantage by it, than what their Fortune, and our mischance combin'd together put into their hands, even beyond their own aim, or expectation. And this is all I should have said of this business, had not some endeavour'd to have engag'd the Duke *de la Valette's* Honour in the miscarriage: but his interests being not to be separated from those of the Duke his Father, and the concern here being the vindication of Truth, and the defence of both their Honours, from Calumny, and the malice of malevolent men, I conceive I may here be permitted to say (always retaining the respect due to those who were not very favourable to them) that it is not to be deny'd, but that the Duke *de la Valette* was the first man, who going over on foot, and up to the middle in water, at the head of the Army open'd the way into the Enemies Country, beating them from

For which  
the Duke  
*de la Valette*  
is unjustly  
blam'd.

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1638.  
Reasons for  
his Justifi-  
cation.

the Trenches they had cast up upon the Banks of the River, to defend that Pass: That at the Quarter where he commanded in the Siege, he had very much advanc'd his Approaches, and so as had infallibly reduc'd the place to a necessity of being taken on that side, had it not been reliev'd: neither is it to be contradicted, but that he gave advice to Fight the Relief so soon as ever it began to appear. They know moreover very well, that he had nothing at all to do in the Siege, at the time it was rais'd, he having resign'd his Post to the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, by express Order from the Prince, and under his own hand; that he was above a League distant from the Battel, when it was fought, and that being totally ignorant of the disorder, till he had it from the Run-aways, who brought the Alarm into his Quarters; he thereupon immediately put himself into the head of those men he had with him: That he rallied as many as he could of those that were squandered, and that with these, and his own men having staid the pursuit of the Conquerours, he by that means preserved all those, who had escap'd from the Defeat. These truths, though sufficiently known to all the world, were not nevertheless of force to hinder his Enemies from laying the whole miscarriage of this business at his door, and from charging him, who was certainly innocent, with the fault of ten thousand who were guilty. He was not so much as permitted without a Crime, to set a manly countenance upon this disaster, or to manifest his Courage, and Assurance upon so dangerous an occasion; even his Valour, and constancy (an unheard of injustice) were the main things in his Accusation, it being objected against him that he was glad of the mischance, and was observ'd to laugh at the Defeat; because he did not appear dejected, and shew'd a countenance, void of fear, and confusion. He was not however so unjust to them, but has ever commended (as there was just cause) both the Actions, and Intentions of those who commanded at this Siege, never doubting in the least of their Sincerity, and passionate desire to serve the King effectually, and well; and ever believing, that had their Valour been seconded, as it ought to have been, they would have obtain'd those advantages over the Enemy, was reasonably to be expected from their Bravery, and good Conduct: But if the chance of Arms was contrary to them, if the panick Terror that seiz'd the Souldier, would not permit them to follow the example of their Leaders; and if his Counsels which would have procur'd safety to the Army were not follow'd, or approv'd, why should he be rendred criminal, for not having been able to prevail upon the humours, or opinions of other men?

Some

Some days before this Disgrace hapned, the Duke of *Espernon* had return'd without Order into his Government, after having continued some months at his House *Plassac*, wherein his design in truth was to have pass'd away his time in repose at his other House *Cadillac*, without intermedling at all with the trouble of Affairs: neither would he so much as go to *Bordeaux*, to the end that what accident soever should happen, nothing might reflect upon him; nor that he might any ways appear responsible for the event of things, which he ever apprehended would be sinister enough; and seeing the Orders had been left in the Province, deposited in the hands of men of very little Experience, and Authority, and who had scarce any other argument to recommend them to that trust, save only the hatred they openly bare to him; he very well judg'd by the apparence (which prov'd also in the end but too certain) that from these Orders ill executed (as they were like to be) nothing but disaster, and confusion could ensue.

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The Duke  
of *Espernon*  
returns  
without Or-  
der from  
the King in-  
his Govern-  
ment of  
*Guienne*.

Whilst the Duke liv'd in apprehension of this mishap, he receiv'd the joyfullest news that could possibly arrive, which was, that of the Birth of *Monsieur the Dolphin*, the same whom we now see reigning, with so much Glory, and Happiness in the Throne of *France*, that there is not that prosperity can fall within the limits of Humane Expectation, we may not reasonably promise to our selves from so auspicious a beginning. By a Dispatch from the King, dated the fifth of *September* (the precise day of this illustrious Birth) the Duke was to order a publick Thanksgiving, and to cause Bonfires to be made for Joy of this Blessing to his Majesty, and the whole Kingdom. The Courier, who had been expressly dispatch'd away to the Duke, having found him at *Cadillac* (willing (without all doubt) to flatter his credulity) told him, "That it was his Majesties desire he should himself in person be assisting at the Ceremonies which were to be perform'd in the City of *Bordeaux*, to render the Solemnity the more Illustrious by his Presence; a deceit that gave a strange addition of joy to the good old Duke, who could not in himself but hug and applaud his own foresight, by which he had so seasonably prevented the King's desire; and in that pleasing error he departed from *Cadillac* the 29<sup>th</sup> of the same month to go to *Bordeaux*, where being arriv'd, he began the very same Evening by Bonfires, thundering of Cannon, and by infinite numbers of Lights, set up in all the Windows of the City, to manifest no less his own, than the publick contentment; and for a final testimony of the high satisfaction he had receiv'd by this good news, he rewarded the Courier with a Chain of Gold,

The Duke  
of *Espernon*  
receives  
news of the  
Birth of the  
*Dolphin*.

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The Duke  
receives  
news of the  
Defeat of  
*Fontarabie*.

to the value of 500. Crowns, which he gave him at the time he dismiss'd him back with his answer to the King.

But the inundation of this Joy, than which nothing could be greater, was (as it commonly falls out) only a fore-runner of the worst tidings could almost arrive, which was the disaster of *Fontarabie*, a private and uncertain murmur of the defeat of our Army arising even in the height of these publick Solemnities, and Acclamations; and as ill News does for the most part prove too true; so this which for the space of two, or three hours was a rumour only, pass'd on a sudden for certain, and met so little contradiction, that the truth of it was no longer to be doubted. The Duke of *Espernon*, though infinitely surpriz'd, at this evil success; yet not believing the Duke *de la Palette* could be any ways accomptable for the miscarriage, he was at present no further afflicted at it, than for what concern'd the prejudice he saw must thence of necessity derive to the prosperity of his Majesties Affairs, and the reputation of his Arms: but understanding soon after that their common Enemies endeavour'd to lay the blame of this baffle upon the Duke his Son, he then began prudently to apprehend, that in the evil dispositions of the Court against them at that time, such as were emulous of their Vertue, or that had particular animosities to the person either of the one, or the other, would with great eagerness embrace this occasion, though infinitely remote, to work their desired ruine.

The Duke  
of *Espernon*  
returns to  
*Plassac*.

As if therefore he had at a distance discover'd the Cloud that was gather'd to break upon him, he withdrew himself insensibly from *Bordeaux*, under colour of going to visit his Territories in *Medoc*, where he receiv'd the first Command by the ordinary way of the Post to return to *Plassac*, and from thence not to stir, till his Majesties further pleasure; and presently after had another brought him by *Milleres* one of the Gentlemen in ordinary to the King. This Gentleman had been expressly dispatch'd to the Duke *de la Palette*, to summon him from the King, to come render his Majesty an account of his actions; whom he also found very ready to obey the Order, and to begin his Journey so soon as he should receive permission so to do, by the return of a Gentleman, he had dispatch'd away to his Majesty for that purpose, upon the intimation he had receiv'd of the ill Offices had been done him at Court. As for the Duke of *Espernon* having prevented this second Order, by his early retiring, *Milleres* found him already at *Plassac*; from whence he also never after departed till three, or four years after, that he went to end his days at *Loches*.

Though it be no part of my design to anticipate the minds of  
men



men by extraordinary accidents, or to forge, and obtrude upon their belief Predictions, and Prodigies, to render the person of whom I speak more venerable, and esteem'd; I ought not, I conceive, nevertheless to omit such memorable accidents, as sometimes hapned during the progress of this long and illustrious Life. I shall therefore tell you, that when the Duke parted from *Bordeaux* to go this Journey into *Medoc*, of which I was now speaking, he commanded me to stay behind in the City, there to expect his return. According to which Order I remain'd in the Town, when hapning one afternoon to be in a House opposite to the Duke's Palace of *Puipaulin*, about three, or four of the Clock, on a sudden, though the day was exceeding clear, and bright, there arose so violent a Storm, that after two, or three Claps of Thunder, a Bolt falling upon the highest Tower of his Lodgings, first carried away part of the covering, and from thence piercing through the roof of the main Body of the House, set fire on some Furniture of considerable value, that were bestow'd in the Garret, from whence descending lower into the Duke's own Chamber, it made a great Breach in the Chimney, and thence piercing further still into the Chamber underneath the same, wherein his Sons were us'd to lie, it left its mark there also in the Transom of a Window, which it brake in two pieces, and proceeded thence to lose it self in the Foundations of the Fabrick. Who is it that would not have been strook at this ill Omen? I must confess that at that time I was rather willing to rank this accident amongst things of chance, than thence to derive conjectures of any misadventure to come; considering the Portent (if such it were) threatned him, in whose Honour, and good Fortune, I was my self so nearly concern'd: So that all I made of it was to run to the Lodgings with a Kinsman of mine, who had been spectator with me of this Tempest, to look if the flash of Lightning we had seen to dart upon the Tower, had not fir'd the House; which prov'd to be no unseasonable precaution, we finding the Furniture already flaming, so as to threaten the whole Pile with a total ruine: but we made shift to get it suddenly quench'd, which was also the only fruit of our Care, and all that could be done upon that occasion.

The Duke was no sooner arriv'd at his House *Plassac*, but that he understood by *Haumont*, whom he had a few days before dispatch'd to Court, to what a degree the King had been incens'd against the Duke *de la Valette* his Son; the Cardinal having declar'd so highly against him, as to protest in publick, *That he would in this case execute the Office of the King's Attorney General*

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A very extraordinary accident by Lightning.

Passionate expressions of the Cardinal against the Duke *de la Valette*.

in

Anno 1638. *in his prosecution (which were his exprefs words) and that his Majesty had not forgot the business of Corbie; nor as yet granted him an Indemnity concerning that Affair. To be short, he appear'd so immeasurably animated against him, that no one doubted of the Duke de la Valett's manifest ruine, should he in this juncture of Affairs adventure to go to Court. He had notwithstanding put himself upon his way in order to that Journey, when being arriv'd near Bordeaux, he there receiv'd information of the evil dispositions of the Court towards him, and above all, that the business of Corbie was still upon Record (for as touching that of Fontarabie, he was not much concern'd) which made him send an exprefs Dispatch to the Duke his Father, to entreat him, that by some one of his Servants, in whom they might equally confide, he would send him his opinion concerning his Journey to the King. This Servant accordingly arriv'd at Bordeaux the same day that the Duke de la Valette himself came thither, where he told him from the Duke his Father, " That in an Affair of the importance of that which was now in agitation, he ought not to expect advice from a Father, who was much more solicitous of his safety than he himself could be: That herein his tenderness and affection ought to stand equally suspected to them both: That as he durst not give him counsel to go to Court, knowing as he did, to what a dangerous degree it was animated against him; so could he not advise him to depart the Kingdom, perhaps never to see his face again: That therefore he was himself to clear all those doubts, and thereupon to form his own determination; wherein if he should resolve upon withdrawing himself out of France, he was by no means of opinion that he ought to engage his Safety on this side so many Rivers, to come to take his leave of him, lest his Enemies might take that opportunity to attempt something upon his Person: That so short a Visit would only serve to augment their mutual Affliction: That he was therefore to have patience, and to reserve himself for better times: And that he might assure himself of his Affection, which should never be wanting to him, whatever could possibly arrive.*

By which he is diverted from going to Court.

The Duke of Espernon's Disgraces.

We are now come to the time of the Duke of *Espernon's* greatest Disgraces, which from henceforward also were continual, and unintermitted to the hour of his Death; and Fortune, who had hitherto made a shew of going hand in hand with Vertue, and Prudence in the conduct of his Life, by a volubility, by so much the more dangerous and unseasonable, as it was the less suspected, and unforeseen, now totally forsook his Interests to leave him

him in the Arms, and to the protection of his own single Vertue. The first, and the rudest shock his constancy could possibly receive, was the absence of the Duke *de la Valette* his beloved Son; which after he had a few days lamented, with the tenderness, and compassion of an excellent, and passionately affectionate Father, he had news brought him of a rumour, that was already spread at *Bordeaux*, that the Prince of *Condé* was to be made sole Governour of *Guienne*, and had already receiv'd Orders to dispossess him of *Chasteau-Trompette*, therein to place one of the King's Domestick Servants. The Duke had all his best Furniture, besides other Riches, laid up in this place; who having not so much as once dream'd of being so suddenly divested of his Command, had not consequently at his departure out of the Province, remov'd any thing from thence: Sudden order was therefore to be taken in an Affair of this importance, and even the very moments of time to be husbanded, which also were not many more, than was necessary for the effecting his purpose. Those to whose fidelity and care he entrusted the management of this business were so diligent, and so faithful, that in one night, they secur'd to the value of above a million of Livers, what in Money, Jewels, and Plate; of which the Money, and Jewels were carried to *Plassac*, and there safe deliver'd into his own hands, and the Plate was convey'd to *Cadillac*, and all done with so great secrefie, that those to whom the Government of the place was a few days after committed, expected to have found all this Treasure there; which if they had, it would have been in great danger of being put into the King's hands, as the Arms, and other of the Duke's own peculiar Goods were, which he could never again recover, to the hour of his Death.


So soon as they had thus stript the Duke of his Command, and wrested those places he held in *Guienne* out of his hands, their common Enemies began openly to labour the persecution not only of the Duke *de la Valette*, but of the Duke his Father also; wherein the Father being no ways questionable for the disaster of *Fontarabie*, as having had nothing at all to do in that Affair, he was blemish'd with all the ignominy that malice could invent, or the tongue of Calumny utter, against a man of Fidelity, and Honour; and his Son, who by his absence lay expos'd to all the mischief was intended against him, was proceeded against as a Criminal, and a Traytor. In order to the Duke *de la Valett's* Tryal, Accusers, and Witnesses were found out, some whereof were frighted by menaces, and others suborn'd by money (for nothing was spar'd upon this occasion) into these excellent

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He is depos'd of his Government.

The Duke of Espernon calumniated

*Anno* 1638.  lent Offices; and out of this kind of Evidence an Information was suddenly drawn up, sufficient to darken, and overwhelm the clearest, and most unspotted innocence in the world. The Intercessions, and Services of the Duke *de Candale*, and the Cardinal *de la Valette*, who commanded the Army of *Italy* were fruitless, and invalid upon this occasion; nay, they had much ado to prevail for a little Truce, and cessation from those persecutions, wherewith the Ruling Powers were resolv'd to disquiet the old Age of the Duke their Father; and that was granted to them in the quality of an extraordinary Grace, and Favour, which was hardly to be excus'd without Shame: With so unjust a return were they rewarded for the expence of their Fortunes, the hazard of their Lives, and their continual vigilancy and care, with an Army unfurnish'd of all necessaries of War, to withstand the greatest power of the most dangerous Enemies to the Crown, and Kingdom.

*Anno* 1639. The Duke of *Espernon* falls dangerously sick. All these Afflictions, how great soever, were yet but the forerunners of those, which by the Divine Justice, or Bounty were prepar'd, wherewith to exercise the Duke's Vertue. They soon shifted from outward things, to wound him more sensibly in his own person; and whether it were the unkindness he took at the ill usage he daily suffer'd, or the infirmities of his very great Age only, that occasion'd his distemper, so it was that he fell into the most acute, and most dangerous Disease, he had ever before sustain'd, during the whole course of his Life. He was for four months together seiz'd with a defluxion of Rhume, by which all his Members were strangely benumm'd, and that numbness accompanied with excessive dolours in all his parts: from which pain he no sooner began to find some ease the *March* following, but that the joy of his Amendment was soon quash'd with the sad news of the Death of the Duke *de Candale* his eldest Son. This Son, become infinitely dear to the Duke his Father since his last Visit, lay at *Cazal* with part of the Army he had in charge jointly with the Cardinal *de la Valette* his Brother; where the tenth day of *March*, falling ill of a Tertian Ague, and that growing to a double Tertian at the third Fit, and afterwards to an unintermitted Fever, it prov'd in the end mortal the eleventh day of his Sickness. The Cardinal his Brother immediately upon this accident dispatch'd away a Courier to the Duke their Father to acquaint him with it; but some days pass'd over before any one durst tell him the news, for fear lest the grief, which could not but be exceeding great, might cause him to relapse into his former disposition, from which also he was yet but upon the mending hand.

The Death; of the Duke *de Candale*.

At

At last his Servants apprehending it might by some, or other be indiscreetly and unseasonably blurted out, they conceiv'd it better with some preparatory arguments, to sweeten the bitterness of his loss, to make him acquainted with it, than to detain him still in ignorance of a thing, which could not always, nor very long be conceal'd from him. The Duke had kept about him during all the time of his last Sickness, a Father Capuchin, in whom he repos'd a singular Confidence: This good Father therefore as he was one day talking with him, having fall'n into a Discourse of the inconstancy of Humane Life, and the necessity of dying, and therein slip'd in some mention of the Duke de Candale's Sickness, the Duke presently understood the rest, and thereupon spar'd the good man the pains of any further preparation. When his countenance, wherein before this part of their Discourse something of cheerfulness had appear'd, suddenly changing into a more severe Gravity (though only so as to compose it to his constancy) he said, "Father, I have ever been dispos'd to submit my self, and all my concerns to the good pleasure of God; and I beseech him of his goodness to give me Fortitude enough to conform my self also to it upon this occasion: My Son is dead, I am certain of it; and if he died in the fear of God, he is happier than we, at least out of the reach of those persecutions Fortune is preparing for us who are left behind. After which they presented him the Letters that contain'd the Relation of his Death; by which the Duke being satisfied, it had been very constant, and Christian, he said again, "That he praised God from the bottom of his heart, that in depriving him of one of his chiefest comforts, he had yet left him the hope in a short time to see his Son in a better Life. He afterwards entertain'd himself some time in pious Discourses with that Holy Man; after which being again laid in bed, that he yet quitted not, but by intervals, he was heard in that privacy, a great while to weep those tears, and vent those sighs, which with extraordinary violence upon himself he had suppress'd whilst there was any witness by: But after having paid what was due to the impulse of Nature, he summon'd his wonred constancy to encounter this Accident; the bitterness whereof, though he could by no art banish from his remembrance; yet did he ever keep himself upright from manifesting his sorrow with the least weakness. There were very few persons of condition in the Kingdom, who did not signifie to him by very civil Messages, and kind Letters, the part they shar'd with him in his grief upon this occasion; amongst whom Cardinal Richelieu himself was one, who made shift to find out some con-

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The Duke  
de la Valette  
sentenc'd to  
Death, with  
Confiscati-  
on of Offi-  
ces, Ho-  
nors, and  
Estate.

solatory Complements for a man he at the same instarrt persecu-  
ted with the most bloody effects he could possibly inflict upon  
him, he at the same time prosecuting the Duke *de la Valette* to the  
last extreme : For the information that had been drawn up against  
him, having been laid open in the presence of his Majesty the  
25<sup>th</sup>. day of *May*, the greater part of the Judges had concluded  
him worthy of Death, the forfeiture of his Offices, and the con-  
fiscation of his Estate ; yet were they not all of that opinion, Pre-  
sident *Believre* , amongst the rest , taking upon him the honest  
boldness, to defend the innocence of the accus'd, and by an Ora-  
tion no less Judicious, and Eloquent, than hardy and equitable,  
acquitting his own Conscience , and confirming himself in the  
high esteem already conceiv'd of the great Worth , and Integrity  
which for so many happy years have been eminent in his Name,  
and Race.

It would not become me in this place to inlarge my self upon  
the words of this Sentence, it having been pronounc'd by per-  
sons, to whom too great a respect is due , for any one to dare to  
complain : neither in truth is it to them , that the severity of it  
ought to be imputed : for in criminal matters the Evidence are  
the chief Judges, and consequently they at whose doors all that  
was extraordinary or severe in his proceeding ought of right to  
be laid. It has since appear'd by the high and publick justification  
of the party accus'd, and that in the face of the most August Tri-  
bunal of Justice in all Europe , what has been thought of the  
Depositions that were preferr'd against him , the Parliament of  
*Paris* having restor'd him to his Honour, Life, Offices, and Estate,  
which had been all taken from him by the Arrest of the Council :  
And he has this Obligation to his Enemies, not only by their means  
to have had an occasion wherein to vindicate his Innocency , and  
Honour : but moreover to have receiv'd the Eulogies for his  
brave Services, which his modesty would not have permitted him  
to have endur'd, had his Vertue never been disputed.

The Duke  
de la Valette  
solemnly  
justified.

The Duke  
of *Espenon*  
still perse-  
cuted by the  
privation of  
a good part  
of his  
Estate.

But this last good not arriving in time to serve for any consola-  
tion to the Duke of *Espenon*, and that all his misfortunes suc-  
ceeded in the neck of one another, without any the least shadow  
of Prosperity intervening to sweeten his Affliction , is not the  
stability of his mind, and the constancy of his Courage highly  
to be commended, and admir'd, that could continue so firm in  
all the shocks of Fortune ? A Fortitude that will discover it self,  
much better to our observation, if we separately consider the va-  
rious occasions he had at this time wherein to exercise that He-  
roick Vertue. Disgrace knock'd at his Door from the first arrival  
of

of the Prince in *Guienne*, as you may have already observ'd, and his Afflictions began to unveil themselves in the ill usage he at that time receiv'd by Order from the Court, very much contrary to what he had all the reason in the world to hope for, and expect; they were continued to him by the Command he receiv'd to withdraw himself out of his Government, which seem'd to blast him with some kind of Ignominy and reproach: But what an overplus of vexation must it needs be, when by the ill success of *Fontarabie*, he saw all the miscarriage of that Expedition cast upon his Son? what a grief to see him prosecuted for a Criminal, and himself at the same time look'd upon as a guilty man? They were both of them divested of their Offices, and Commands, and those transferr'd into the hands of their mortal, and most implacable Enemies: So that the Duke *de la Valette* was constrain'd to give way to their Power, and through infinite dangers to fly for Sanctuary into *England*, a Kingdom at that time agitated with Mutinous Factions, and Civil Discords of their own; whilst the Father in a Country House, expos'd to their discretion, saw himself strip'd of all his Employments, and his venerable old Age, so highly reverenc'd, and esteem'd throughout the whole Kingdom, become an Object of Scorn to such as a few days before had truckled under his Authority, and trembled at his Name. If he was touch'd to the quick by these Afflictions, he was no less sensible of the privation of all his Priviledges, Appointments, Pensions, and other Emoluments, that were the lawful Perquisites of his several Offices, and Commands; whereby they cut him off at one blow above fifty thousand Crowns of yearly Revenue, and by which means he found himself reduc'd to the bare Revenue of his own Estate, wherein he also suffer'd a very considerable diminution. These Affronts, and injuries were succeeded by long, and painful Diseases, and those by the death of his eldest Son, together with the Condemnation of the second, by which Sentence he also was dead in Law. Yet was not this all, and Almighty God, who upon so great, and illustrious a Subject would please to manifest the strength of his Arm, left him nothing entire, upon which He did not evidently make it appear. There remain'd to him in all these mishaps one refuge, that might still afford some stay, and support to his Affairs, and cherish him with some hope one day to restore them to their primitive condition: The Cardinal *de la Valette* his Son, was in a great Employment, he had formerly oblig'd Cardinal *Richelieu* to the highest degree, he was believ'd to be in great favour, and consideration with him; he had at least obtain'd a promise from him, that the old Age of the

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The Death  
of the Car-  
dinal de la  
Valette.

Duke his Father should not be molested; this Son was also ravish'd from him with the rest, and nothing left him to which he could in his greatest extremities have any visible recourse. We have often heard mention of the several afflictions and chastisements wherewith Almighty God hath sometimes been pleas'd to visit sinful men: but let us consider whether amongst all the examples of his Justice, there be many more eminent, than these in the case of the Duke of *Espernon*. It had now been threescore and two years since the Duke first tasted the sweets of Favour, from which time Fortune, together with his own Vertue had rais'd him to all the degrees of Greatness, that render men considerable upon earth: There had scarce a year pass'd over his head, which had not added something to his Prosperity, he had acquir'd as great Riches, as many Offices, and Titles, as much Respect, Reputation, and Authority, as any other whoever of his time: but above all, his Greatness seem'd to be establish'd, and secure in the support of his three Sons; any of which by his merit was sufficient alone to sustain the Burthen, who all three in less than six months space were ravish'd from him, and himself reduc'd to the most deplorable solitude was possibly to be seen, or conceiv'd. He acknowledg'd the Finger of God to be in all this, he submitted to his Justice, and was never observ'd more to reverence his unresisted Power, than when his hand lay most heavy upon him.

But would it not be too light a preterition, to pass over the Death of the Cardinal *de la Valette* with so little Ceremony, and to take no further notice of it, than by what has been already said? Yes doubtless, and it was of too great importance to the interests of the Duke his Father, to be slipt over with so slight a mention. I shall therefore tell you, that this Cardinal, after the Death of the Duke *de Candale* his Brother, had alone sustain'd the King's declining Affairs in *Italy*, and with a very inconsiderable Army, had at once withstood the power of our Enemies, and the infidelity of our Allies: but in the end, either worn out with the continual toil of so many Affairs, or wounded with the ill usage he saw his Family daily receive, he fell into a Melancholy, that put him at last into a desperate Disease. The beginning of this Distemper was as light, as it had been in that of the Duke *de Candale*, and the issue of it as fatal. At the first news the Duke of *Espernon* receiv'd of his indisposition, though he had an account withal, that it was without any symptome of danger, he could not nevertheless forbear crying out aloud to those who were about him, That his Son was a dead man. A saying which, though at first spoke in passion only, in a few days turn'd into a Prophecie; the  
-intel-



intelligence, that came in from time to time of his condition, still signified an encrease of his Distemper, till after having seventeen days struggled with a Disease, that at the fifth had been concluded mortal, he ended a glorious Life, by a very constant and Christian Death. The Prince of *Joinville*, eldest Son to the Duke of *Guise*, exercis'd at that time his first Arms, under the Discipline of so dear, and so generous a Kinsman; the *Mareschal de Turenne* had also an Employment of *Mareschal de Camp* in his Army; both which writ the Duke of *Espernon* the sad news of his Death, *But de Thou*, who never parted almost from his Bed-side in all the time of his Sickness, and who had his entire Confidence in all things, writ a long Relation of it to be presented to the Duke, so soon as he should be in a condition to endure the reading. Here it was that his Servants were in the greatest strait: they doubted not, but that this loss, which apparently gave the last blow to all his hopes, would afflict him to the last degree; and although Nature, and the Vertues of this Son, should have taken a less impression upon him, than all the world knew they had done; they yet fear'd, his Constancy being exhausted by preceding misfortunes, he had not a sufficient stock left wherewithal to sustain the assault of this new affliction. In this perplexity they had recourse to *d'Espruets* Bishop of *Saint Papoul*, a Prelate whom the Duke, as well for his profound Learning as his exemplary Piety, and Goodness had in great Reverence, and particular Esteem. The Bishop at the first word very readily put himself into his Coach, and in all diligence came to *Plassac*, where presenting himself before the Duke, after he had some time entertain'd him with indifferent things, falling at last into discourse of his Sons Sickness, he told him that all his Friends and Servants were in great suspence at some uncertain rumours that were spread abroad in the Country. At that word the Duke was no more in doubt, but that he was dead; yet would he not upon the instant extract the utmost truth of his unfortunate loss: but changing his Discourse, entertain'd the Bishop with Affairs of another nature, till they were both call'd to Dinner, as they soon after were. It may easily be judg'd what a Dinner this was for the Duke, who could feed on nothing save his own sad Imaginations; his restlessness all the while he sat at meat, sufficiently manifesting the anguish of his Soul: he notwithstanding contain'd himself in this violent agitation of mind, and continued at Table so long as was necessary to satisfy what was due to Decency, and Respect, without suffering himself to be transported into any action unbecoming his Gravity, and Wisdom. The Table being taken away,

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and he having retir'd himself into his Chamber sooner, than he ordinarily us'd to do, he caus'd his Secretary to be call'd in his behalf to write to *Messieurs de Joinville, de Turenne, de Thou, and de Fontravilles*, to recommend to them the care of his Sons health, to whom all humane help was already fruitless, and vain; writing moreover to him himself some few lines under his own hand. One of his Gentlemen, who had lately been sent on the same errand, was now ready to depart with this new Dispatch, when the Duke, overcome with the violent agitations of his mind, was constrain'd to cast himself upon his Bed; where calling his Secretary to him, he said to him these words: "I do not know why you should all dally with me thus long, nor to what end you should conceal from me the Death of the Cardinal my Son: is it that you imagine me so weak, I have not Fortitude enough to support the News? Do not you deceive me, as the rest have done, but tell me the naked truth, which also cannot long be conceal'd from me. At which words the poor Gentleman, who for four or five days had had the power to govern his Tongue, had not now the same command over his Eyes; so that, his Tears having whether he would or no betray'd him to be the Messenger of the ill news he had hitherto so faithfully conceal'd, he proceeded by word of mouth to interpret, what was before but too legible in his tears, and told his Master, "That what he had prophesied the first hour he heard of his Sons Sickness, was but too true: That the news of his Death had been brought four days ago, but that his people, apprehending lest so great a blow of mishap might ruine his health, had address'd themselves to *Monsieur de Saint Papoul*, to fortifie him with his Consolation, in acquainting him with the fatal News. At which words he lift up his hands to Heaven, and after a profound Sigh, cried out aloud, "O Lord, since thou hast reserv'd my old Age to survive the loss of my three Children, be pleas'd withal to give me strength wherewith to support the severity of thy Judgments. Hereupon the Bishop of *Saint Papoul* was presently call'd in to him, who, after having highly commended his resignation of himself, and his Affairs to the Will of God, made him a Learned Discourse infinitely full of such admirable Arguments, and Examples both Christian, and Moral, as were proper for his disconsolate condition: And then it was that they presented him with the relations of the Sickness, and Death of the Cardinal his Son; wherein was observ'd so many testimonies of Piety, and Resignation, so firm a confidence in the Divine Mercy, and so little concern for Humane Life, that every one concluded him infinitely

The Duke  
of *Esper-*  
*non's* con-  
stancy.

finutely happy, to have taken his leave of it in so good, and so holy a disposition; and it was also from thence that the Duke deriv'd his chiefest Consolations. After this he requested some respite from his Friends wherein to satisfy the resentments of Nature, and in private to pay some tears to his Affliction. His Curtains were therefore drawn, when his tears, which he had hitherto with so great violence to his sorrow suppress'd, having now liberty to sally out flow'd in so great abundance, that those about him began to fear his immoderate passion might endanger his health: but having remain'd two hours in this condition, he himself at last row'd up his spirits so long overcharg'd with grief, and was heard to say, "That Tears were to be left to women, and that it would be a shame a man could not allay his grief, but by so poor and effeminate a Remedy: That he would live perhaps to survive his Enemies: When starting from his Bed, he had so great a power over himself, as the same day again to appear in publick. He entreated the Bishop of *Papoul* to bear him company, where he walk'd with him above two hours on foot, entertaining him all the while, either with Discourses of Piety, or the state of his present Fortune, and that with a constancy this good Prelate could never sufficiently magnifie, and admire.

It must nevertheless be confess'd, that amongst all these afflictions which were many, and extreme; the Duke likewise receiv'd very many, and great Consolations, or at least what were intended for such, there being few persons of any eminent condition in *France*, who did not manifest the part they shar'd with him in his grief. The King did him the Honour to write very obligingly to him; he receiv'd the same Favour from the Queen, the *Monsieur*, all the Princes, Cardinal *Richelieu*; and almost all who were any ways considerable, either in Birth, or Dignity in the Kingdom, gave him testimonies, either of their Affection, or Esteem upon this sad occasion. But if out of all these Complements he did extract any real Consolation, it was chiefly from the gracious manifestations of the Queens Royal Favour to him, which took so much the deeper impression upon his mind, by how much he knew they proceeded from the heart of this excellent Princess. He had ever made her the object of all his Services; neither was there any he would not have been very ready to have perform'd for her, even in this moment of his greatest Adversity: An inclination, that as it gave him a legitimate Title to her Grace, and Favour, so was he the man of all the other Great Ones of the Kingdom, that had the highest place in her Esteem: but the condition of the time not permitting her to manifest it to that degree

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The Duke of *Espernon* receives many Consolatory Letters, both from the King, Queen, the *Monsieur*, Cardinal, and most of the Eminent persons of the Kingdom.

Anno 1639. degree her Majesty could have desir'd, she did upon this occasion all she had the liberty to do; which was to send him a very obliging Letter, written with her own hand, of which the Contents were these.

Cousin,

The Queens  
Letter to  
the Duke of  
Espenon.

“ I can here neither fully express, nor altogether conceal the  
“ sorrow I share with you for the loss you have sustain'd in the  
“ person of my Cousin the Cardinal *de la Valette* your Son; the  
“ sence whereof being too great to be express'd by words, I shall  
“ only entreat you to believe, that I partake in it equally with any  
“ person living: And since it is from God alone, that you are to  
“ hope for a true Consolation, I do from my heart beseech him of  
“ his Divine Goodness to fortifie your mind against the severity of  
“ this accident, and to pour his Blessings upon you in the abun-  
“ dance that is heartily wish'd by her, whom you know really to  
“ be,

Your very good Cousin

From *St. Germain en Laye*  
the 12<sup>th</sup> of *Octob.* 1639.

*Anne.*

Cardinal *Richelieu* also would not upon such an occasion be wanting in the Ceremony of a Complement; but it signified no more than so, and these were the words.

My Lord,

The Cardi-  
nal's Letter  
to the Duke  
of *Espenon.*

“ I cannot sufficiently manifest to you the extreme sorrow I su-  
“ stain for the Death of *Monsieur*, the Cardinal *de la Valette*, and  
“ the affliction wherewith you must of necessity resent it. So that  
“ being my self incapable of receiving any Consolation upon this  
“ sad Accident, I am so much the more unfit to administer it to  
“ you. The manner wherewith I ever liv'd with him, his Affe-  
“ ction towards me, and the singular Esteem I ever had for him,  
“ will without much difficulty perswade you to believe this truth;  
“ which is so certain, that were it possible for a man with his Blood  
“ to redeem such a Friend, I would give a great deal of mine to re-  
“ trieve him. There is none save God Almighty himself, who can  
“ allay your Grievs, I beseech you therefore to apply your self to  
“ him, and to believe that I am,

My Lord,

From *Lyons* the 19<sup>th</sup>.  
of *Octob.* 1639.

Your, &c.

It was sufficiently known to all *France*, that if one Friend can oblige another, the Cardinal *de la Valette* had oblig'd that of *Richelieu* to the highest degree : which made the Duke of *Espernon* (importun'd by his Friends to try if he yet retain'd any memory of that Friendship he in his Letter so highly profess'd) in the end to obtain so much of his own haughty humour, as to write to him this that follows.

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My Lord,

“ The Testimonies you have done me the honour to give me  
 “ in one of your Letters of the part you share with me in the grief  
 “ I sustain for the loss of my Son the Cardinal *de la Valette*, has  
 “ made me hope you will be no less sensible of the other Affli-  
 “ ctions, and Grievances wherewith I am from all parts assaulted.  
 “ I shall therefore take the liberty to represent them to you, and to  
 “ tell your Lordship, that since the time I left my Government to  
 “ retire my self to this place, there is no sort of Injury, or Out-  
 “ rage with which I have not by my Enemies been unjustly of-  
 “ fended: Who after having dissected me in publick by injuri-  
 “ ous Declarations, have since publish'd defamatory Libels against  
 “ me, therewith, as much as in them lies, to blemish the Ho-  
 “ nour I have justly acquir'd in the Service of the Kings my Ma-  
 “ sters. Neither have they been satisfied with attempting upon  
 “ my single Person, and the Persons of my Sons only; but I  
 “ have neither Friend, nor Servant, they do not most violently,  
 “ and injuriously persecute, as if it were a Crime to embrace, or  
 “ own my Interests, and Concerns. I know (my Lord) that nei-  
 “ ther the King, nor your self know any thing of this proceeding,  
 “ and that you are too just to consent, that after fourscore years  
 “ pass'd, of which the greatest part have been employ'd in the  
 “ Service of the Kings my Masters, and for the good of the King-  
 “ dom, I should be so severely us'd under your Administration.  
 “ I have now lost the Cardinal my Son, whilst serving the King in  
 “ *Italy*, his elder Brother but a few months since went before him;  
 “ which great losses I have born with patience out of the sole con-  
 “ sideration of the Service they perish'd in, which has serv'd for  
 “ some allay to my Affliction. I assure my self that their Merits,  
 “ and Services (since I my self am no more in a condition to  
 “ serve either his Majesty or you) will (my Lord) at least secure  
 “ the repose of an afflicted Father, who daily expects that benefit  
 “ from his Age, and Nature, &c.

The Duke  
 of *Espernon's* Letter  
 to Cardinal  
*Richelieu*.

From *Plassac* this first of *Decemb.* 1639.

I i i i

This

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This Letter with how great reluctancy soever the Duke had consented to write it, though it produc'd no good effect, the Duke notwithstanding who had expected no better success, reap'd this advantage by it, that he by that means deliver'd himself from the importunities of those who otherwise would upon other occasions have been pressing with him to have been still imploring the Cardinal's Favour. But after this Repulse nothing of that nature was ever more to be extorted from him; so that if he afterwards writ, it was ever either to preserve the Decorum of common civility, or upon pure necessity, or to the end his Friends might not condemn him for having by his own obstinacy pull'd upon himself the mischiefs which had long been preparing against him. Thus therefore depriv'd of all humane assistance, since the Cardinal (without whom all the rest of what Quality soever signified nothing) was opposite to his Interests, he wholly resign'd himself into the hands of God, and would no more make application to any other but to him alone. He had ever born a great Respect, and Zeal to Religion; and for above twenty years before his Death, had been observ'd to be so constant to his Beads, that not a day pass'd over his head wherein he did not spend three whole hours in Devotion. At this time, as the persecutions of malevolent men grew more violent against him, so did he redouble his Prayers to Heaven, and has ever believ'd, that it was from thence he deriv'd the strength, and fortitude to support all the accidents that besel him, and the disgraces that were hourly multiplied upon him.

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This calm and innocent way of living created either so great an esteem for his Vertue, or so great a compassion for his Adversity, in the minds of men, that there was scarce any who did not manifest some tendernes for a person of his eminent condition so unjustly oppress'd. Infomuch that the Prince of *Condé*, who had not been able (so positive his Orders were) to avoid employing his Authority to the ruine of his Fortune, could not but discover, that he also amongst the rest was touch'd with commiseration of his Wrongs, and deplorable condition; so that whether it were, that he therein glanc'd at some particular advantages to himself, or that it was meerly an act of his Generosity in order to the Duke's repose, he sent him word as he was upon his Journey to *Bordeaux*:  
 "That he had compassion on his Misfortune, and Solitude, and if  
 "he unluckily had formerly had a hand in the Disgraces had be-  
 "fall'n him, he would much more willingly employ it to his re-  
 "dress: That his Afflictions how great soever, were not altoge-  
 "ther without remedy; but that he had one Son still surviving,  
 from

The Prince  
of *Condé* of-  
fers his Ser-  
vice to the  
Duke of *Ef-*  
*pernon* upon  
some Con-  
ditions.

“ from whom he might yet derive comfort : That although the  
 “ Court was highly animated, and incens’d against him, he would  
 “ notwithstanding do his utmost endeavour, and set it hard to  
 “ obtain his return into *France* ; provided he would be content  
 “ to resign his Governments, in lieu whereof he would also pro-  
 “ cure him some reasonable recompence ; and that by this means  
 “ he might spend the remainder of his days in company, which  
 “ it self would render the worst of evils supportable to him. *Ge-  
 neste* a Counsellor in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, known of long  
 to have been a particular Friend to the Duke, was made choice  
 of by the Prince to offer this proposal to him ; but he had Instru-  
 ctions withal, not to own he did it by any express Order from the  
 Prince, unless he should first perceive the Duke very ready to em-  
 brace the motion. The Duke, unable to endure the first overture,  
 would return no answer at all, thinking by that means to disin-  
 gage himself from that displeasing Treaty : but the Prince, who  
 (as it was said) having cast his eye upon *Languedoc*, and openly  
 discovered a desire to be invested in that Government, had per-  
 haps a design to make that of *Guienne* the Price of the other. It  
 was moreover believ’d he had a mind to translate the Office of  
 Colonel into the hands of a Favourite, thereby to promote his  
 own pretence : For one, or both of these reasons therefore he  
 would not be repuls’d at the Duke’s first tacit denial : but not  
 long after having left *Bordeaux* to return to Court, his way  
 through *Xaintonge* gave him opportunity, as he pass’d by to see  
 the *Count de Jonzac*, the King’s Lieutenant in that Province, and  
 one of the most intimate Friends the Duke at that time had in the  
 Kingdom. To him therefore he gave express charge to go to the  
 Duke, and to go through with that Negotiation, he had not on-  
 ly occasionally committed to *Geneste* ; to which he also requir’d a  
 precise and positive answer. The *Count de Jonzac* could do no  
 other, than obey the Prince in this particular, though he was al-  
 ready very well assur’d, he should bring him no satisfactory re-  
 turn from the Duke concerning this Affair. This Gentleman was  
 without all doubt the depositary of the Duke’s most secret  
 thoughts, and intentions ; and I am certain in several very im-  
 portant occasions had prov’d exceeding faithful to him : So that,  
 there being scarce any thing reserv’d, which he did not freely com-  
 mit to his Secresie, and Trust, it is to be presum’d the Duke had  
 not conceal’d from him this Proposition from the Prince, toge-  
 ther with the fix’d and determinate Resolution he had put on as  
 to that business. He therefore only confirm’d to him anew, what  
 he had already sufficiently assur’d him of ; desiring him withal,

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Which are  
rejected by  
the Duke.

since the Prince would have a positive answer, to tell him on his behalf, " That he could have wish'd, having ever honour'd him as he had done, he had sooner had those considerations for him, " he was pleas'd at present to profess: That his compassion was " now out of season: That he was content alone to undergo all " his misfortunes the remaining part of his life, and that he had " much rather never more see the Duke *de la Valette* his Son, than " to see him reduc'd to the condition of a private person: That " he would accept no Recompence for his Offices, and Com- " mands, forasmuch as he was resolv'd never to part with them; " and that he had enough remaining through the favour and libe- " rality of the Kings his Masters, to spare those profits, and emo- " luments he had formerly receiv'd. And to the end that for the time to come he might secure himself from being any more importun'd with such distasteful proposols, he declar'd aloud, that should any of his Friends ever entertain him with the like discourse, he should never take that man for his Friend again: but in case any over whom he had an Authority should presume once to open his mouth to such a purpose, he would handle him so as should manifest to all the world how highly he was offended at the motion.

New perfe-  
ctions for  
the Duke  
of *Espenon*.

The Duke soon perceiv'd that the Court was by no means pleas'd with this answer, the ill usage he had hitherto receiv'd, being after this refusal evidently doubled upon him; insomuch that he had news brought the Cardinal had been importun'd by the Enemies of his Family, to remove him from *Plassac*, that being (as they pretended) too near to *Bordeaux*, where, by the convenience of so dangerous a vicinity, he might still maintain a Correspondence there, and set what practices he pleas'd on foot, to the prejudice of the Publick Peace. Thus even when confin'd to a Country House, disarm'd, and naked, as he then was, and as it were buried under his own ruines, his sole Name, and Authority was formidable to his Enemies, even in so low a condition. Such as were most violent against him, advis'd to have him shut up in Prison, and the more moderate sort would only have him confin'd to some remote places, which they had already pointed out for him in *Auvergne*. Yet did all these ill-sounding rumours at this time produce no evil effects; and it was said the Cardinal would keep his word, he had given to the Cardinal *de la Valette*, not to add to the persecution of the Duke his Father; but if he did not openly do it, and so as to own his own act, he at least gave the Duke's most implacable Enemies leave to do what he himself was either asham'd of, or had no mind to own; men who abusing that



that liberty committed out-rages against him, unworthy both of their own, and his condition; and such as the Prince, who at this time was no ways favourable to him, could not himself endure, and therefore did him a noble right: but I rather choose to omit the recital of it, than to revive the resentment of things almost, if not altogether, extinguish'd and forgot, by a relation that would otherwise perhaps, be pertinent enough to my story.

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In this violent persecution, the Duke's Servants humbly advis'd him to slacken the stiffness, he had hitherto ever maintain'd, and especially towards the Cardinal; in hopes that by a little soothing his vain humour (immeasurably greedy of Glory) with something above what he had formerly us'd to do, he might obtain some satisfaction from him. Whereupon they represented to him the examples of the Princes of the Blood, who by having a little warp'd from their degree, and parted with some small advantages in his consideration, had by so doing given the other Great Ones of the Kingdom an honourable colour, and pretext to go something less in their Quality also in the Cardinal's Favour: but these Arguments could by no means prevail upon his invincible Spirit. He made answer; "That could he ever deliberate to submit to civilities beyond what he had usually done, he should how- ever much less do it in the time of his Disgrace, than at any other: That he ought no more to consider the condition to which Fortune had now reduc'd him, than that from which he was fall'n: That what at another time would pass only for Complement, would now be interpreted an act of Fear: That if he must perish, he had much rather have the injustice of his Enemies whereof to complain, than to stand oblig'd to his own weakness for his preservation: That the example of the Princes of the Blood signified nothing to him: That their Quality was inseparably annex'd to their Birth: That therefore it could never by any demission of theirs be alienated from them: That what would be call'd Prudence in persons of that condition to accommodate themselves to the time, would be interpreted an inexcusable meanness in him"; and that they should never see him do any thing, either by example or perswasion, that should in the least prejudice, or reflect upon his Honour.

The Duke  
of *Espernon's* noble  
constancy.

Before this, and soon after the Death of the Cardinal *de la Valette*, some there were who endeavour'd to perswade him to ask of the King, and the Cardinal some of the Benefices which were become vacant by his Decease; but he with the same constancy refus'd to do that also, telling those who urg'd him so to do,

"That he would not augment the grief of his loss, by the dishonor  
of

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“ of a repulse : That being depriv'd of the person of his  
“ Son, his Estate was to him of very little consideration ; and  
“ that if his Enemies had had the pleasure of making him unhap-  
“ py, they should never have that of reproaching him, that they  
“ had made him do any mean, or unhandsome thing.

So long before this also, as from the Duke's first arrival at *Plas-*  
*fac*, some of his Servants thinking thereby to flatter his thrifty hu-  
mour, had propos'd to him, in the great diminution of his Re-  
venue, some retrenchment in his Expences also : a proposition  
in truth by the Duke well enough receiv'd, considering that in a  
private Country House, neither his Table, nor his Stables requir'd  
the same Splendour, as when he resided in his Government ; so  
that he moreover gave way an account should be stated, to see  
what they could reduce his Expences to : but when it came to  
the push, he rejected all, saying, “ That he had for above three-  
“ score years together maintain'd himself in the same Port, and  
“ Lustre, and that those who were his persecuters should never  
“ have that advantage over him, as to make him abate in the least  
“ of his ordinary way of living, and that finally in the same Splen-  
“ dor he had liv'd, he was resolv'd he would dye.

'Tis methinks a very strangething, and very well worthy our  
observation, that amongst all the Alarms were daily given him,  
in all the adversities he was made to undergo, and with all the ill  
news, which either to afflict, or forewarn him, he hourly receiv'd,  
he never lost (as he himself did profess) so much as one nights  
sleep. A thing no one can impute to his insensibility, who was  
but too tender that way, and over-sensible of the least touch of  
Offence. Who is it then, but must admire the stability, and unsha-  
ken constancy of that noble Soul, which in the fury of all these  
Tempests (sufficient to disorder the greatest resolution) remain'd  
as calm, and undisturb'd, as in the most tranquil estate of his most  
prosperous Fortune ?

Neither was he content to maintain this serenity, and Stoical  
contempt of injuries in his own person : he would moreover  
that his Servants should be inspir'd with the same Courage, and  
generous Principles, of which I have seen some incur his disgrace,  
for having only wept before him. He thought men of such mean  
Spirits unworthy of his Dependence, and would above all things  
that without disguise, or reservation, they should acquaint him  
with the true state of his Affairs, how foul soever it might be ;  
being accustomed to say, “ That it was a kind of Consola-  
“ tion to know the worst of things, and to what a degree a  
“ man was unhappy ; since Doubts, and Fears, rendering an evil  
infinite

“ infinite to the imagination, it was in that incertitude utterly  
 “ impossible, for any one to take a true measure, or to form right  
 “ resolutions, from things that were boundless, and unlimited : But  
 withal, he whose Office it was to acquaint him with any thing of  
 that nature, was also to have a care so to compose his counte-  
 nance, that he might not therein discover either sorrow, or ap-  
 prehension. Nay he would himself oftentimes antedate his own  
 Affliction, by asking such as were oblig’d to discourse his Af-  
 fairs to him, if they had heard no ill news that day ? occasion-  
 ally comforting those in whom he repos’d the greatest confi-  
 dence, and appearing himself, in all outward shew, the least con-  
 cern’d at the misfortunes befall him.

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In the greatest Confusion of things, and the most violent heat  
 of his Persecution, he was with nothing so much delighted, as  
 to hear what a fear his Enemies were in, and how much they ap-  
 prehended his Power. Unhappy as he was, he yet retain’d so much  
 vanity, as to suffer himself to be transported with that kind of  
 adulation ; a frailty, which as it soonest, and with great facili-  
 ty insinuates it self into the most generous minds, was also the  
 last thing almost that forsook him.

He was never heard in the greatest height of Adversity to com-  
 plain of Fortune ; but on the contrary, when some of his Friends  
 have sometimes put him upon that Discourse, would say, “ That  
 “ he should be very ungrateful for the benefits of Fortune, who  
 “ had for the space of threescore years been continually favour-  
 “ able to him, should he murmur, or repine, that she should for-  
 “ sake him for the small remainder of time he had now to live :  
 “ That he had rarely observ’d a whole life to be fortunate, even  
 “ of those had been much shorter than his ; and that in the incon-  
 “ stancy, and instability of Humane Affairs, it was no little ad-  
 “ vantage to have been reserv’d for the Trial of Disgrace, till a  
 - “ time when he was hardly any more capable of tasting the sweets  
 of a more prosperous Fortune.

That which ought yet further to make us admire the Constancy,  
 and Vigour he ever kept entire in all his Words, and Actions  
 is, that he was neither withheld by a morose Gravity in the one,  
 nor hurried on by an impetuous Fury in the other. He very well  
 understood that his way of living was utterly contrary to the con-  
 stitution of the time, and in speaking of his own Conduct,  
 would sometimes confess to his particular Friends, that having  
 often reflected upon his own Carriage, long before it had pull’d  
 upon him those Disgraces which now lay so heavy upon him ;  
 should he have discover’d his Sons inclin’d to follow the same  
 Maxims,

*Anno* Maxims, he would have dissuaded them from it : but that ha-  
 1640. ving himself kept up something of a steady humour throughout  
 the past Reigns, he thought it now unfit to deprave, and give the  
 lye to threescore years of life, to preserve what yet remain'd, with  
 imbecillity, and shame ; and that if he must fall he would perish  
 altogether.

But though he obstinately maintain'd this sullen , and wilful  
 humour in matters wherein he conceiv'd his Honour to be con-  
 cern'd, he wanted not nevertheless complacency, and respect  
 enough in things that only respected his Duty. This year there-  
 fore having produc'd the King two brave Conquests, namely, that  
 of *Arras*, and that of *Turin*, he would not, upon this occasion,  
 fail to manifest the interest, that, as a good *Frenchman* he pretended  
 to, in the prosperity of his Majesties Arms. A Complement that  
 was further directed to the Cardinal, who doubtless had a very  
 great share in all the successes of his Majesties Affairs. The *Count*  
*de Maillé* was the Envoy of this Dispatch, by whom this Affair,  
 and some other of the Duke's concerns, were so discreetly ma-  
 naged, that he brought back a very favourable Letter from the  
 Cardinal, together with several expressions by word of mouth of  
 far greater kindness : but the effects were very different, as we  
 shall see in the revolution of the ensuing year.

But before we take our leaves of this, I must present you with  
 the Relation of a little Accident, by which it will appear, that  
 even in the height of his Disgraces, Fortune could not so altoge-  
 ther forget the Duke, but that she must impart some of her petty  
 Favours to him ; which though not sufficient to compensate his  
 Adversity, she, at least by those trifling Obligations, made it seem  
 she could not find in her heart totally to abandon a person who  
 had formerly been so dear unto her. A young Fellow the Duke  
 had bred, and brought up from his Infancy to the age of man,  
 and by whom he had long been attended in his Chamber, so far  
 at last forgot his Duty, as to design to rob his Master. He was  
 not long before he executed that design, and with such dexterity,  
 that he purloin'd two thousand Pistols out of a Trunck in his  
 Chamber, the Duke discovering nothing of his loss till above  
 six months after. This Companion having thus perform'd his  
 Feat, was, with his Masters leave retir'd into his own Country,  
 upon the Frontiers of *Spain*, where he had either imbezzel'd, or  
 laid out a good part of the money. The Duke no sooner disco-  
 ver'd the Theft, but that he as soon guest who had been the  
 Thief, and nam'd him to those who were then waiting in his  
 Chamber : but he was at first in some suspence, whether or no  
 he

Three re-  
 markable  
 stories of  
 the Duke  
 of *Esper-*  
*non's* good  
 Fortune,  
 whereof this  
 is the first.

he should bustle in a business, that it would be no easie matter for him to prove. In the end importun'd by some of his Servants, not to tolerate an Action of so ill example, he sent away a Prevost to take him, wherein he was also so successful, as to have him forc'd away from his own Country (the most favourable to Actions of this nature in *France*) and brought before him, where he was no sooner come, but that he confess'd his fault, and restor'd the money he had taken to a \* *Teston*.

Anno  
1640.  
~~~~~  
* A piece
of money to
the value of
xviii. pence
sterling.
The second
Story.

This Story puts me in mind of two others, which I conceive ought not to be omitted, Being one day in the great Church of *Metz*, at Vespers upon a solemn Festival: he whose Office it was to Cense the Priests, came also to offer it to the Duke, who pulling off his Gloves with greater respect to receive the Honour was done him, a Diamond of very great value he wore upon his Finger, drop'd out of the Socket, and fell to ground without his taking any notice of it at all: But the Censor was soon aware of the accident, and that he might with the more cleanly conveyance gather up the Diamond, having made a Reverence so low, as with his knees to touch the ground, he with great dexterity snapt up the Stone without being observ'd by any, and retir'd. The Duke having again put on his Gloves, staid out the remainder of the Office, which being done, he return'd home to his own Lodging. Supper time being come, and the Duke being to wash before he sat down to Table, going to pull off his Ring, as he always us'd to do, when he wash'd his hands, he perceiv'd the Stone to be lost: Whereupon without further astonishment, or deliberation, he gave order to have the man that Cens'd at Vespers brought before him. He had observ'd, though without any kind of suspicion, the extraordinary low Reverence the Fellow had made him, and his quick and ready apprehension made him now jealous, that so unufal a Complement had not been paid him without some design. The man being therefore brought before him, he without more Ceremony, or Examination, positively demanded of him his Diamond, which the other at first deny'd: but being commanded the second time to produce it, and that presently, or he should be presently hang'd, the poor man, as if that word had been of as great validity, as an hundred Witnesses, and so many Judges, without making any other reply, humbly besought the Duke to let some of his people go home with him for his Diamond, which he also immediately restor'd. In this his own Wisdom was his Friend, and another less circumspect would also haue been less favour'd by Fortune.

But I shall here present you with a third accident of the same nature,

K k k k

The third
Story.

Anno nature, which was a pure effect of Chance, and of which the
1640. example may go hand in hand with those marvellous Successes,
 which are related for wonderful, even of such as have been the
 most eminently favour'd by Fortune. The Duke many years be-
 fore all this, going one time to *Paris*, had taken *Loches* in his way,
 as he ordinarily us'd to do; when being come to *la Haye* in *Tou-
 rain* at the time of year when days are at the longest, he would
 after supper go take a walk in the Meadows without the City.
 The Grass was not yet cut, but ready for the Scythe, when playing
 with some of his Followers, (for he was at this time in that wan-
 ton Age) a Pearl in the fashion of a Pear of two which he always
 wore in his Ears, fell down into the Grass, without being at pre-
 sent perceiv'd by him. Those two Pearls were noted for the fair-
 est of that time, each of them being valued at ten thousand
 Crowns. The men of the *French* Court in those days us'd to tick
 themselves with such things as these, which now even amongst
 the Ladies are scarcely any more in use. The Duke going at night
 to put off his Pendants, before he went to Bed, perceiv'd one
 of them to be lost: the night was already shut up, and in the
 clearest light of day it had been almost impossible to have found so
 little a thing, in so great a clutter of thick, and deep Grass, as
 in that place cover'd the face of the ground. He had nevertheless
 so great a confidence in his good luck, as to command one of his
Valett's de Chambre to go seek his Pearl, and to bring it to him; as
 if he had been in fee with Fortune, and that she had been oblig'd
 to second all his desires. But it so fell out, that she immediately
 put that into the hands of the *Valette de Chambre*, which he de-
 spair'd ever to find, and he brought the Pearl presently back to his
 Master: a thing that rendred all the Company no less astonish'd
 at the confidence the Duke had in his good Fortune, than at his
 good Fortune it self.

Anno After these digressions it is now high time for us to pursue our
1641. former Discourse. The *Count de Maillé* then being return'd from
 Court in the beginning of Winter, found the Duke fall'n sick of
 a very troublesome Disease. This season for some years pass'd had
 been so inauspicious to him, that he would ordinarily call it his
 Enemy; as it prov'd in the end, and that to such a degree as to
 deprive him of his Life. At this time nevertheless it contented it
 self a second time to afflict him with another defluxion of Rhume,
 which having run through all the parts of his Body with extra-
 ordinary torment, left him at last in so great a weakness, that he
 lay near six months before he could recover to any indifferent po-
 sture of health. In this tedious, and troublesome Sickness, he re-
 ceiv'd

The Duke
 of *Espernon*
 falls dang-
 erously sick.

ceiv'd very great comfort in the company of the Dutcheis *de la Valette* his Daughter-in-law, and the Marquis *de la Valette* his Grand-child, who forsook the Court to attend him in his Solitude, and Retirement. Both these arriv'd at *Plassac* sometime before the Dukes Sickness: The Marquis *de la Valette*, now Duke *de Candale*, had been there a good while before, the Duke his Grand father having resolv'd himself to take care of his Education, and to form him betimes to those great Actions, of which his Predecessors had left him so beautiful Examples. In the sweet Conversation of this innocent Family, did this Illustrious old man flatter his Grief, and deceive his Afflictions; creating to himself a kind of fruition out of that Confinement, and Privacy, his Enemies had for a punishment inflicted on him. Living in this Calm of Repose, which the Tempests of his Fortune had at last fretted themselves into, and hoping therein to spin out the remainder of his Life, he was surpriz'd with an unexpected Command from the King, to leave his House of *Plassac*, and to remove thence to *Loches*. And seeing this Affair (of it self untoward enough) was the fountain from whence several other afflictions deriv'd themselves, which also in the end occasion'd his Death, it should not methinks be impertinent to give a full Relation of a Transaction, by which we are now about to conclude his Life.

Anno
1641.

From the time that the *Count de Soissons* departed from Court to retire himself to *Sedan* (of which we have already spoken) this Prince had rested content with the enjoyment of his own Estate, and the payment of those Pensions assign'd him from the Crown; and (it has been said) that had those Pensions been continued to him, would have remain'd in the same quiet posture wherein he had liv'd ever since his departure from Court, choosing rather to languish in Sloth, and out of all Employment, than by his Ambition to discompose the Peace of his Country. But as if his Enemies had been disposers of his Destiny, they would never grant him those just, and reasonable conditions he desir'd; insomuch that they impos'd upon him a necessity of applying himself to Foreign Princes. These therefore having supplied him with some Forces, his own Interest having procur'd him some others within the Kingdom, and the Duke *de Bouillon* (who was equally interested with him in his cause) having arm'd a great number of his Friends, he of all these together made up a very considerable Army. These Forces however, how great soever they were, would notwithstanding have given the Cardinal no very great Alarm, had he not found withal, that even at home there was so formidable a Faction form'd in this Prince's favour, as that the

The estate of the Affairs of the Kingdom, from whence the Cardinal took occasion to send the Duke of *Espernon* to *Loches*.

Anno
1641.

Kingdom was universally engag'd in his designs : But when he saw that the people openly declar'd in his Quarrel , and that the whole Frontier of *Champagne* , together with the best Cities of that Province, threatned to revolt in his Favour, that *Paris* it self open'd her Arms to receive him ; and that it was to be fear'd, if some sudden course was not taken, that without a blow strook, or the least resistance, he should see himself reduc'd to his Mercy, then it was (as has been reported) that he seriously repented himself he had not been more just to him , and that he had not rendered himself more facile to his equitable demands : But having fruitlessly attempted to quiet this storm, by some overtures of Accommodation, those Propositions being rejected, there was now a necessity of coming to the decision of Arms. The Cardinal therefore endeavour'd with all imaginable expedition to oppose a good Army against him under the Command of the *Mareschal de Chastillon* ; to whom he also gave express Orders at any hand to hazard the fortune of a Battel, before the evil dispositions of the people could produce those sinister effects , he had all the reason in the world to apprehend. In this posture of Affairs, his most redoubted Enemies, being the Great Ones he had offended, he conceiv'd it in the first place necessary to secure the Duke of *Espernon*, not doubting but that a man of his known spirit , and so highly offended by him, would take hold of the first opportunity to revenge himself of those insupportable Injuries he had so continually receiv'd at his hands. But over and above this jealousy which the Cardinal had reasonably enough conceiv'd upon the foremention'd accounts, the Duke's ill Fortune would moreover at this time joyn with his Enemy to give him some colourable pretence for this new injury, and injustice. All the Kingdom believ'd that the Cardinal *de la Valette* had before his Decease, obtain'd of this great Minister an assurance of repose for his Father the remaining part of his Life ; and there had been no new occasion offer'd, that could justify the violation of this promise ; so that his private, and solitary way of living sheltring him from all the Tempests of the busie World, he thought to live quiet , and secure in that harbour whereinto even by his misfortunes he had been so fortunately thrown. In this estate a wretched Fellow, utterly unknown to the Duke, or to any of his, without any the least acquaintance with any of his Family, or any frequentation in his House, was so malicious, as in his name to go to the *Sieur du Bourg*, Governour of the little Fort the *Spaniards* had possess'd themselves of at their entry into *Biscaye*, and by me before call'd *Socoa* , offering him in the names of the Dukes of *Espernon* , and *de la Valette* (whom

(whom he had never seen) a very great recompence, if he would deliver up that Fort into their hands. *Le Bourg* easily imagin'd that this place being so well known as it was to these two Dukes, could not be so ardently coveted by them, it being of very little importance; and consequently did at the very first believe the person that made him this Proposition, must be some Impostor, who hop'd to obtain some recompence for informing against him, and afterwards to run away; but a Rope in the end was his reward. Though (as I have said) *le Bourg* well enough understood this Fellow to be a Counterfeit, he notwithstanding either to render himself more considerable at these two Dukes Expence, or more exactly to discharge his Duty than upon such an occasion he was oblig'd to do, fail'd not however to give the Court an account of the Proposition had been made to him, detaining the Impostor Prisoner in the mean time. Whereupon he soon after receiv'd Orders to deliver him into the hands of *Lauson Intendant de la Justice* in *Guienne*; by whom though he was condemn'd to die, and the Sentence accordingly executed upon him, yet at present they made use of this Imposture to colour a Command to the Duke of *Espernon*, to depart from *Plassac*, and to transfer himself to *Loches*. *Varennes* one of the Gentlemen in Ordinary to the King, was appointed to carry this Order, who the 20th. of *June*, about two of the Clock in the afternoon arriv'd with it at *Plassac*. The Duke was at that time a Bed, where he us'd to take two or three hours repose every afternoon; by reason whereof *Varennes* being necessitated to attend his waking, he ask'd to speak with the *Count de Maillé* in the mean time; which he did to anticipate the Duke by some excuses, in that he was so unhappy, as to be always sent upon unwelcome Commissions (for it was he also who in the business of the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, had been the Bearer of the Order was sent the Duke to retire out of his Government to *Plassac*.) The *Count de Maillé*, having by discoursing with him, understood *Varenne's* Errand, doubted not but that the Duke must needs be infinitely surpriz'd at the Novelty of this Command; wherefore having consulted with such of the Duke's Servants as were of most consideration about him, they concluded it most convenient, that he should by his Secretary be beforehand acquainted with it, to the end he might be prepar'd to receive it with less emotion. The business therefore being thus order'd amongst them, was accordingly executed, and the Duke was no sooner awake, but that the Secretary coming to his Bed-side, told him that a Gentleman from the King was newly arriv'd, who had brought him an Order to depart from *Plassac*, and go away

Anno

1641.

A malicious
Contri-
vance a-
gainst the
Duke of *E-
spernon*.

Anno 1640. *to Loches.* The Duke, who had of old fortified his mind against the worst of events, and not finding in this that extremity of evils it lay in his Enemies power to inflict upon him, without being at all mov'd at the suddenness of the thing; calmly reply'd, and is that all? After which words a little composing himself, he commanded his Secretary to call the Gentleman in. *Varenes* was presently brought into his Chamber, who, advancing to the Bed-side, presented him with the King's Letter, which the Duke opening, he found it to contain these words.

Cousin,

The King's
Letter to
the Duke of
Espenon.

"I am sorry that by your Sons ill carriage, together with some Intelligence I have lately receiv'd out of *Guienne*, I am constrain'd to tell you, that I desire you will at present leave your abode at *Plassac*, where you now are, and come to *Loches*. *Varenes* one of my Gentlemen, by whom you will receive this Dispatch, will inform you more particularly of my intention herein, in whom you are to repose an entire confidence, and belief. In the mean time I pray God, Cousin, to have you in his Holy Protection.

From *Abbeville* this 13th. of *June* 1641.

This Letter being read, and *Varenes* offering anew at the same excuses he had already made to the *Count de Maillé*, the Duke cut him short, by telling him, that whatever came from the King was infinitely welcome, and that excuses were not necessary where a man did nothing but what it was his Duty to do; after which he fell into a pretty long discourse, wherein he manifested so much judgment, and constancy upon so unpleasing an accident, as made every one admire that heard him: It was very near word for word in these terms, "That threescore years being now laps'd since he had first had the Honour to serve the Kings his Masters, and to teach such as their Majesties had subjected under his Authority to obey, it would be inexcusable in him, should he in that time have profited so little himself, as not to know how in his own person to practice the Precepts he had laid down to others: That he was very ready to pay the King all the Obedience his Majesty could himself desire: That had he a sufficient stock of strength, and health to perform that Journey Post, he would immediately mount to Horse, by that promptness to shew how every Subject ought to obey his Prince; not that he did not nevertheless understand himself to be very unkindly us'd,

“us’d, and look’d upon this proceeding as excessively severe to
 “him who had never fail’d in the least in his Majesties Service,
 “and to whom no one living could impute the least offence to his
 “Duty: That his Enemies made it their pretence to use him ill,
 “from the ill carriage of his Son; as if a Father could be any ways
 “responsible for the defaults of his Children, or ought to suffer for
 “their Offences. Not that I do (he presently caught himself) in
 “the least confess those wherewith they have charg’d my Son the
 “Duke *de la Valette*; he is an honest man, and innocent: and
 “had the King been rightly inform’d of his Actions, his Majesty
 “might with better reason have commended his Services, than
 “(as he is pleas’d to do) to condemn his Conduct. Upon which
 expression, excusing himself for that little escape of his resentment,
 he proceeded to say, “Is it not very hard that my Enemies will
 “expose my old Age to the scorn, and mockery of the one half
 “of the Kingdom I am to pass through to the place of my Exile?
 “Why will they not at least give me leave to finish the small re-
 “mainder of my days I have to live in the obscurity of this Soli-
 “tude? After which, asking him if there was any time limited
 for his setting out, or if he had receiv’d any Order to continue
 with him till his departure? and *Varennés* having deny’d both the
 one, and the other, he continued to say, “That since they were
 “pleas’d to proceed so favourably with him, he would be no ill
 “Husband of his time: That he would give order to have his
 “Equipage made ready with the soonest; but that he had let
 “them hang by rust, and rot for four years together, that
 “he had been in that House. In the conclusion of all, *Varennés*
 having entreated an Answer to his Letter, the Duke gave him one
 in these terms.

Anno

1641.

SIR,

“I have by the *Sieur de Varennés* receiv’d the Command your
 “Majesty has been pleas’d to send me to quit my Residence in this
 “place, and to go to *Loches*, upon some information your Ma-
 “jesty has receiv’d to the prejudice of the Duke *de la Valette* my
 “Son. If my said Son continue to follow my Counsels, and Ex-
 “ample, as I am certain he will ever do, he can never commit
 “any thing that may either offend your Majesty, or that shall be
 “unworthy of his Birth. For what concerns my self Sir, who for
 “threescore years pass’d have never ceas’d to render the Kings
 “your Royal Predecessors, and your Majesty all sorts of faithful,
 “and humble Service, and Obedience, I shall continue with all
 “possible expedition to testifie my respect to this new Command.

The Duke
 of *Espernon*
 ’s Letter
 to the King.

It

Anno
1641.

“ It is true, Sir, that I am something surpriz’d at it, and that having
 “ continued now four years together in this House, I had set up
 “ my rest, and concluded here to end my days; by which mi-
 “ stake I am at present utterly destitute of Equipage both for my
 “ self, my Daughter-in-law, and my little Children: but I
 “ shall with all possible diligence make my preparation, and
 “ though my Health be exceedingly impair’d, both by my
 “ great Age, and my late Sickness; which having detain’d me four
 “ months in Bed, has left me in a very weak condition: I shall
 “ notwithstanding chearfully expose my little remainder of Life,
 “ to this long, and troublesome Journey, in obedience to your
 “ Majesties good pleasure, and shall think my self exceeding hap-
 “ py, if I may conclude it in manifesting my Zeal, and Passion, as I
 “ have ever done my Obedience, and inviolate Fidelity, &c.

From *Plassac* this 20th. of *June*, 1641.

Neither in this answer, nor in his Discourse to *Varenes*, had he made any Reply to that part of the King’s Letter, which mention’d the intelligence his Majesty had receiv’d out of *Guienne*; forasmuch as he was as yet totally ignorant of the business of *Socoo*: but having sometime after understood that his name had been made use of in that Affair, he conceiv’d it very necessary for him to address himself to the *Mareschal de Scomberg*, to request that he would penetrate into the bottom of that Imposture, that so he might be able to inform his Majesty of the truth of the Story. This *Mareschal* had been withdrawn from his Government of *Languedoc*, as well as the Duke of *Esperton* had been out of that of *Guienne*: but being it had been done without any visible mark of Disgrace, and only out of deference to the Prince, who was impatient of the least contradiction from any of the Governours of the Provinces, where he had any thing to do, he had been dismiss’d with an honourable Commission into *Guienne*, to Command as the Kings Lieutenant in that Province. His carriage there towards the Duke of *Esperton* was very different from that of those who had preceded him in that Employment, he highly, and publickly declaring, that he shar’d in the feeling an honest man ought to have of the ill usage had been inflicted upon a man of that eminent Quality, and who had ever behav’d himself without all manner of reproach: Neither was this the only testimony of his Friendship, he proceeding from these favourable expressions, to effects of a much more obliging nature. They had propos’d to him the Government of *Guienne* in recompence of

The gener-
ous pro-
ceeding of
the *Mares-
chal de
Scomberg*.

* that

that of *Languedoc* (with the privation of which he had also been tacitly threatned) but all those offers, and menaces could never prevail upon him, he professing that he had much rather choose to be without any Employment at all, than to be invested with the spoils of two persons of that eminent condition yet living, and with whom he was not convinc'd that any fault could justly be found; exercising moreover the Commission he had there with so great tenderness and respect to them, that though he had thereby as ample Authority, as he could himself desire; he would notwithstanding never come to execute any of his Functions at *Bordeaux*, the Capital City of that Province. He would not so much as come near it, but contented himself to stay at *Agen*, which he made the seat of his residence till his return into *Languedoc*: and whereas others, who had commanded there before him, had carried themselves very rudely to the Duke's Friends, and Servants there, the *Mareschal* on the contrary took them into his especial Trust, and Favour, conceiving he could not make a better choice, than of such men, as had pass'd the tryal of his late Adversity. This noble way of proceeding had so highly oblig'd the Duke, that he made no difficulty to sollicite his Favour, a thing he had never done to any since his persecution; he writ to him therefore before he departed from *Plasfac*, intreating him to cause the Impostor by whom he had been accus'd to be thoroughly sifted, that he might be able to satisfy the Court of what could be discover'd from his Examination. The *Mareschal* upon this Letter did the Duke all the good Offices could be expected from his generous and noble Nature, and writ so favourably to the Council in his behalf, as from *des Noyers* Secretary of State to obtain this answer: a Copy whereof he sent to the Duke.

“ For what concerns the Fellow that is detain'd Prisoner at *Socoa*, I could have wish'd that *Monsieur du Bourg* had better examined the business, before he had acquainted the King with it, and brought so great an inconvenience upon persons of that condition: *Monsieur de Lauzon*, who is at *Bayonne*, will in two hours time be able to clear all doubts, observing the Order I have sent him according to your desire. In effect the business was perfectly clear'd, and the Dukes Innocence sufficiently manifest: but notwithstanding the resolutions that had been taken against him were nothing alter'd, neither indeed did he solicit any thing of that kind, nor would address himself to any other, saving the *Mareschal de Scomberg* only, his design being only to secure his Reputation, and not to receive any the least favour from his Enemies.

Anno

1641.

The Duke
of *Esper-*
non's irreso-
lution con-
cerning the
Journey of
Loches,

* One
whereof I
find in *Da-*
vila when
the Duke of
Elbeauf was
sent thither
Prisoner
presently
after the
Death of
the Duke of
Guise at
Blois.

Yet whatever he had said to *Varennes*, or whatsoever he had writ to the King concerning the diligence he would use to put himself upon his way; he did not for all that make so much haste, that three weeks at least were not laps'd before he began his Journey. He spun out the preparation of his Equipage in great length, and although he at first manifested an absolute, and franck disposition to depart, either the tenderness, and apprehension of his Friends, or his own doubts, and diffidences, had possess'd him with so great a jealousy, that he could not easily perswade himself to perform a thing he saw was nevertheless by no means to be avoided. Some, who would seem to be most solicitous of his Person, and Safety, had often represented to him, "That the Castle of *Loches* was a Prison of State: That it had already been made use of in that nature upon very considerable * occasions: That it being situate in the heart of the Kingdom, his Captivity would be the more severe, by how much there was no possibility of an escape, and that so soon as he should be come thither, it would be in the power of any one of the *Exempts-des Gardes*, to charge the Garrison, and to make himself Master of the Gate to engage his Liberty for ever. It was no hard matter to foresee, that all these inconveniences might possibly arrive: but being his forbearing to go, would inevitably convince him of the highest disobedience, the discreeter sort of men concluded it the safest for him to try if he could not avoid the utmost extremes, by an entire confidence in his Majesties Justice, and in outward shew to perform that with great alacrity, and freedom, which in effect there was a necessity upon him, he must however do. The Duke saw clearly enough into the truth of this last advice; yet could he not without great repugnancy, and unwillingness follow that Counsel; and the natural desire of the Liberty, he believ'd ready to be ravish'd from him (or that at best depended only upon his Enemies Capricio) possess'd him with so great a disquiet of mind, as fail'd little of endangering his health by a new relapse. He nevertheless by his constancy, once more overcame all his resentments, and mistrusts, and arming himself with a generous resolution, determin'd in the end to do, what must either speedily be done, or he must inevitably lose himself for ever. But forasmuch as he discover'd some little beam of hope in the *Count de Soisson's* undertaking (whose party was tacitly favour'd by all the Male-contents, and with greater reason by him, than all the rest) he observ'd such an Order in his departure from *Plassac*, and throughout the whole progress of his Journey, as on the one side to avoid the imputation of Disobedience, should the *Count's* Affairs

fairs meet with any ill success; and on the other to be in a condition suddenly to return into his Government to favour his Cause, should there be the least appearance (as there was a great deal) that this Prince could receive any advantage by his joyning with him.

Anno
1641.

The better then to fit all things for his propos'd design, he was near a month in preparing his Equipage: the most necessary things must by all means be bought at places a great way off, though they might have been had much nearer at hand; and when all things were got ready, he was advis'd to feign some incommodities in his Health, as the remains of his late Sickness: an advice he for a few days put in practice, though in the end he must of necessity set out, and it was the 12th day of July. He had been sometime in suspence, whether he should take the Dutchesse *de la Palette* and her little Children along with him this Journey, or no; he could not in the great apprehensions had been infus'd into him of the loss of his own Liberty, consent that persons so dear unto him should bear a part in so great a Disgrace; who as they were in other things the greatest Consolation he had, so were they in this none of the least causes of his Affliction: but their Piety soon cut off all deliberation, and they carried that by the violence of their importunity, which they could not otherwise obtain of so good a Father, and were at last admitted to the Voyage.

During these delays in the Duke's slender Preparation, the *Count de Soissons*, and the *Duke de Bouillon*, had made so mighty ones wherewith to oppose the Power of the King, that they were apparently the stronger Party, and in a condition to bring over the Victory to their own side. The Armies of the one, and the other party were so near, and both so animated against one another, that it was hardly possible they should avoid coming immediately to Blows; every one in his wishes favour'd the *Count's* Designs, and all the people, the Cities, and generally all France open'd their Arms to receive him: neither was the Duke of *Espernon* ignorant of these good dispositions towards him, with whom he went along in his Heart, and Judgment; so that hoping much on the one side, and fearing something nevertheless on the other, he began his Journey. From *Plassac*, his first days Journey was to *Pons*, a League and a half only distant from his own House, which although a very little one, and that he perform'd it in his Litter, he notwithstanding went to Bed presently after his arrival, and all the next day rested there. The day following he went to *Cognac*, to visit the *Count de Jonzac*, in which little Town,

The Count de
Soissons
makes great
preparation
for War.

Anno 1641. which had formerly been a member of his Government of *Angoumois*, he found a great number of Gentlemen, and Ladies of very good Quality, whom the compassion of his sinister Fortune had assembled there to pay him their last Visit, as they believ'd, and as indeed it prov'd to be. He could not upon this occasion, so govern his own humour, as to be perswaded to feign himself indispos'd, that being a part he could only play, when there was none by to see him: but in the great world his Prudence could never obtain so great an Authority over his haughty Spirit: but that he must ever make a shew of more Health and vigour, than he really had. A thing his Servants were very much afflicted at, as very much out of season; some of which having represented to him the example of the Duke of *Rhetz*, who a long time preserv'd his Life, and kept his Offices, by having with great art, and industry given hopes, that the latter, would soon become vacant by the loss of the other; he despis'd that sort of Prudence, telling them that the malignity of old Age, would soon enough, and to his great grief render him altogether useles, without that he needed to antedate that unhappy time by artifice, and dissimulation.

That which I conceive made him so resolute to despise all Counsels that carried with them any similitude of fear, was the frequent intelligence he receiv'd from a very good hand of the good posture the *Count's* Affairs were in: full of which good news he departed from *Cognac* to go to *Nenry*, a House belonging to the Baron of *Auton* his Nephew, where he intended to counterfeit the sick man, till he should have certain intelligence of the success of the *Count's* Arms: but he had no time to make a long dissimulation of it, for two days after his arrival at this place, the *Countess de Brienne* passing that way to go into *Angoumois*, came to give him a Visit, and brought him the first news of the winning of the Battel of *Sedan*, but withal of the *Count's* unhappy Death. The truth of this disaster soon cur'd the Duke of his pretended Indisposition; he very well knew that the loss of this Prince did not only take away the fruits of his Victory, but would moreover infallibly transfer it to the contrary side: And then it was that he saw how much he stood oblig'd to his own Wisdom, and how great an error he had run into, had he yielded more to the tenderness of his Friends, than to his own maturer Counsels; for had this news found him yet at *Plassac*, with what probable excuses could he have palliated the Intelligence, he was believ'd to maintain with the *Count*; or what more specious pretence could his Enemies have desir'd, to have added to the ill usage they

News brought to the Duke of *Espernon* of the Death of the *Count de Soissons*, slain at the Battel of *Sedan*.

they had so long made him undergo? Even his own delays, and some too free expressions had escap'd from him in the almost certain expectation he had been possess'd withal of a hopeful issue, did not a little afflict him; wherefore the better to conceal all that had pass'd, he immediately resolv'd upon sending away a Gentleman to Court with a Letter antedated some few days before, to the end it might not be imagin'd, he had writ since the Death of the *Count*; which Letter contain'd these words.

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1641.

SIR,

“ I send this Gentleman to acquaint your Majesty with the Obedience I have paid to the command you was pleas'd to send me to go to *Loches*; 'tis now six days since I set out to begin this Journey, which I should also Sir have done much sooner, would my health have permitted; or could I with less trouble have procur'd the Equipages necessary for my departure. From the time that I have been in a condition to move, I have been in motion, having never had the least repugnancy to your Majesty's command: I shall ever have the same inclination to obey them, and in the last moments of my Life, make it my glory to manifest to your Majesty, that I have never swerv'd from the absolute Obedience, that was vow'd to you from your birth, by

The Duke
of *Espernon's* Letter
to the King.

Sir,

Your, &c.

And being he conceiv'd it not enough to give the King this account only, unless at the same time the Cardinal was also satisfied with his Conduct, he wrote to him in like manner, and almost in the same words he had done to the King.

Whilst these Letters were posting to Court, he, by very short Journeys was still advancing towards *Loches*, where, notwithstanding all the delays he could make, having the hazard of his Liberty ever present to his imagination, he thought he should but too soon arrive. With these melancholy thoughts going on to *Poictiers*, the compassion which the principal Officers, and the people of that City manifested for his present Adversity, did much augment his Grief, and suspicion of some future mischief. He there receiv'd from all the Orders of the City the same Honours, and Respect, as if he had still stood in the highest degree of his Prosperity, and Favour, and every one making the same reflections upon his present condition, that he himself did; the people ran from all parts to see so great an example of the Injustice,
Vicif-

Anno Viciffitude, and Extravagancy of Fortune, which occasion'd fo
 1641. great a crow'd even in his own Lodgings, as put him upon a reso-
 lution to go out on foot into the Market-place of the City, which
 was also near to his Inne, to fatisfie the curiosity they had to be-
 hold him: but he was thereby in fo great danger to be stifled by
 the multitude, that he had no way to free himself, but by the fa-
 vour of his Coach, that he was of necessity constrain'd to fend
 for to difingage him. From *Poitiers* he continued his way to *la*
Tricherie; but he had made fo little hafte withal, as had given his
 Courier time to go to Court, and to return, whilst he had been
 advancing, twelve, or fifteen Leagues of his Journey only; fo
 that he found him ftill upon his way, when he brought him this
 Difpatch from the King.

Coufin,

His Maje-
 sties Letter
 to the Duke.

“ I was very well pleas'd to find by your Letter, that you had
 put your self upon your way to *Loches*, fo soon as your
 health would permit; neither did I doubt, but you would up-
 on this occasion conform your self unto my desires: and I do
 moreover assure my self you will ever do the same, whereby
 you will oblige me to continue to you the testimonies of my Af-
 fection; upon which assurance I pray God, &c.

From *Rhemes* the 21. of *July*, 1641.

That of the Cardinal was couch'd in these terms.

A Monsieur,

The Cardi-
 nals Letter
 to the Duke.

“ The King is very well fatisfied with your Obedience to his
 Commands, which he also has laid upon you in order to your
 own particular good; and I for my part have receiv'd a very
 high contentment in understanding by this Gentleman the good
 disposition wherein you now are; a continuation whereof I
 heartily wish you, as being, &c.

To add yet something more to the fatisfaction the Duke had
 receiv'd by these two kind Letters, the Gentleman that brought
 them moreover assur'd him, that he had observ'd at Court no
 other than Serene, and Auspicious Countenances; and that there
 was nothing which for the future threatned any worse usage, than
 what he had already receiv'd: Infomuch that even his best
 Friends there, and those who were most solicitous of him did be-
 lieve, that had he not already receiv'd a Command to depart from
Plassac,

Plassac, they would not now have enjoyn'd him that trouble, the Cardinal being reassur'd by the Death of the *Count de Soissons*: but seeing that Order had been already sent him, they would rather choose to have it executed, contrary to all reason, than to revoke it with any kind of Justice. These Dispatches, and this news from Court, being so much better than the Duke had expected, did a little quiet his mind; so that in the end he arriv'd at *Loches*, with much less apprehension, and far greater cheerfulness than he had parted from *Plassac*.

This satisfaction was improv'd to him by the extraordinary Acclamations wherewith all the people receiv'd him at his arrival there, which was upon the third of *August*, there being no kind of Honours, nor any evidences of Publick Joy omitted at his Reception. All the Persons of Quality, of which there are a very great number thereabouts, came to visit him: The City of *Tours* paid him the same Respect, and the Archbishop having given the example to the rest of the City, the Chapter, and President also sent to Complement him: besides which Civilities from the Body in general, and the several Societies, and Fraternities in particular, almost all the Magistrates, and Officers, at least the most considerable of them, came in their own persons to wait upon him; insomuch that it seem'd, whilst Courted, and Complemented at this unexpected rate, he was nothing fall'n from his former Prosperity, and Greatness. All these Honours (of which he was as sensible as any) having reviv'd his Spirits, and consequently quickned, and rais'd his Wit, and Fancy, he made himself to be highly admir'd, by an infinite number of the Curious, who being continually asking him a thousand Questions concerning the State Secret of past Transactions, he clear'd them of several important Doubts, which few men living could unriddle; and explain'd to them many passages in *d' Avila's* History, which at this time was so new in *France*, that it was in the hands of very few. He had a complacency for all sorts of people, far above what till now he had ever had, and a gracious and winning sweetness for his own Servants they had never known before: by which obliging and free fashion, together with the antient esteem annex'to his Person, and Vertue, he in an instant won the Love, and Applause of all the world. In this publick and universal Favour, and Reputation, and in the assurance had been given him from Court, that nothing sinister was to be apprehended thence, the memory of his antient Authority began again to revive in his mind, and that put him upon a desire to exercise it in this little Government; which that he might the better do, he particularly

Anno
1641.

The Duke
of Espernon
arrives at
Loches, and
is there re-
ceiv'd with
great Ho-
nour.

inform'd

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inform'd himself of all the Affairs of the City, and Country about it, he caus'd all the Courriers that pass'd that way to come immediately to himself, and suffer'd nothing of Publick Business, to be determin'd without first giving him an account: so that in a place where it seem'd he had nothing at all to do, he was ingenious enough to find himself employment, and to create himself some diversion, and delight.

Who is it but must be astonish'd in this condition of the Duke's, and after so many, and so great Severities exercis'd upon him, to see the Cardinal, who was the Authour of all, make no difficulty to address to him, and to request favours at his hands? In the height of all his Persecutions, they had still retain'd for him some shadow of his Office of Colonel; and about this time one of his Officers Aide Major to the Regiment of Guards, call'd *Ocamp*, having been slain at the Siege of *Aire*, *Montant* his Brother address'd himself to the Cardinal, by his Intercession to be invest'd with his Brothers Command. The Duke would never descend so low towards the Cardinal (though he had met with several occasions wherein he might with much more reason have done it) not so much as after the death of the Cardinal his Son, he being (as has been already said) never to be prevail'd upon to ask him any one of his Benefices: but Cardinal *Richelieu*, without being mov'd at the generosity of this Example, writ this Letter to the Duke.

Monseigneur,

The Cardinals Letter
to the Duke
of Espenon.

“ The *Sieur de Montant* who is coming to wait upon you, to
“ make suit for the Office of Aide Major to the Regiment of
“ Guards, formerly possess'd by his Brother, slain at the Siege
“ of *Aire*, having intreated me to fortifie his Request by my Re-
“ commendation: I write this to satisfie his desire, and to tell
“ you, that in my opinion, you cannot make choice of any one
“ that will either be more acceptable to the Regiment, or that in
“ his own person will more worthily discharge it. For what con-
“ cerns my own particular, I shall think my self highly oblig'd,
“ if you manifest to him, upon this occasion, that my Intercessi-
“ on has been useful to him, and that you have a consideration
“ for the Request of

Monseigneur,

From *Retbel* this 28th
of July, 1641.

Your, &c.

There

There was not any about the Duke, who was not astonish'd at this Request, and he himself to that degree, that he had much ado to perswade himself the Letter was not supposititious, and forg'd: having nevertheless consider'd how unlikely it was, that in so publick a thing, any person whatever durst be so bold, as to counterfeit the Seal of so powerful, and so fear'd a Minister, he began to suspect it might be some Artifice to extract from him a denial, from thence to derive a pretext for the future to dispose of all Offices that should become vacant in the *French* Infantry, without having any more recourse to him for his Consent. Knowing therefore very well, that he, who only intreated, had Power to take; and that he would doubtless do it, did he not presently grant his request, he rather quitted to him, than gave him the Command, and thereupon sent him a Letter, of which this is the Copy.

Anno
1641.
~~~~~

Monfieur,

“The *Sieur de Montant* being come to me with a Letter from you, wherein you desire of me in his Favour the Office of Aide Major to the Regiment of Guards, become vacant by the Death of his Brother; I was no less pleas'd than amaz'd to see, that in the Condition I now am, I have any thing left that may be acceptable to you. This is it has oblig'd me to dispatch away this Gentleman, on purpose to bring you a Blank Commission of the Office you desire, that you may fill it up with any you have a mind to gratifie with that Command, reserving to my self herein nothing, save the sole satisfaction of letting you see how much I am,

The Duke's  
answer.

Monfieur, &c.

From *Loches* this 12<sup>th</sup>. of *August*, 1641.

The Cardinal would by no means comprehend the terms of this Letter, though they were not so obscure, but that the true sense was very easie to be understood; he accepted the Office however very well, without considering nevertheless, how few occasions of that kind remain'd to the Duke, wherein to oblige his own Servants, and to add yet more to our wonder, return'd him thanks in these words.

Monfieur,

“The obliging fashion wherewith you have been pleas'd to gratifie me concerning the Office of Aide Major to the Regiment of Guards, for which I writ to you in the behalf of the

The Cardinal's  
Return to the  
Duke's answer.

M m m m

*Sieur*

Anno 1641. *Sieur de Montant*, has given me so high a sense of the Favour, that I can never sufficiently thank you, nor express how infinitely kindly I take it. I beseech you to believe that my gratitude is such, as thereto nothing can be added, no more than to the desire I have to meet with occasions, wherein by my Services I may manifest to you, That I am, &c. From *Blerancour* this 16<sup>th</sup> of August, 1641. Was it any other than a meer mockery to accompany these smooth words with the severest usage, where-with an honest man could possibly be persecuted?

Commotions at Court, stir'd up by the Favourite *Cinq-Mars*.

Yet was not all the Favour of that time absolutely contrary to the Duke, and his Interests; and if he was by the Cardinal persecuted to the degree we have already seen, *Cinq-Mars Grand Escuyer of France*, and the King's true Favourite, had at least as great an inclination to serve, as the other had manifested a desire to hurt him. This young Gentleman one of the most accomplish'd, and unhappy that Nature ever produc'd in his time, either jealous of the Cardinal's Power, or prompted by more vertuous and laudable Motives, openly labour'd to overthrow his Credit with the King. He had for his principal Confidants, *de Thou*, and *Fontrailles*, both the one and the other a particular Friend, and Servant to the Duke of *Espernon*, by whose good Offices *Cinq-Mars* had been wrought into so great a kindness for the Duke, that he often receiv'd very respectful Compliments from him. I do not believe notwithstanding, that the Duke had any hand in his Designs, if not so far as they might be conducing to the Service of the Queen; for in truth he had so wholly devoted himself to the Service of this Princess (every day threatned with the loss of the King by his continual Sickneses) that he was resolv'd, upon occasion, to expose all things for her Service, and that of the Princess her Children; a disposition in him the Queen was very well assur'd of: Neither did she a little rely upon the Credit, and Fidelity of so considerable a Servant. As to the other disorders of the Court, I very well know he did by no means approve them: but on the other side fearing lest *Fontrailles*, whom he entirely lov'd, should engage himself too far in those Factions, he never writ to him, though he did it very often, without adding in a Postscript under his own hand. \* *Sur tout gardez vous de la Bastille*, an advice he as discreetly follow'd, and in good time: But for *de Thou*, being come to see him at *Loches*, soon after his arrival there, I know very well, as having been a Witness to it, that he exhorted and conjur'd him by all the Ties betwixt them, to forsake the frequentations, and engagements he had at Court, and to settle himself to some moderate condi-

\* Above all things take heed of the Bastille.

condition in the Long Robe, which he had taken upon him. He had acquir'd so many rare, and eminent qualities proper for that calling, as might have rendred him one of the greatest men of the Profession: and besides that, the Duke was induc'd to give him these prudent Exhortations, by the consideration of their Alliance, and the Affection and Esteem he had for his person; he did moreover herein not a little gratifie the desire of his Relations, and Friends, who, knowing what a Power the Duke had with him, never ceas'd importuning him to use his utmost interest, and endeavour to withdraw him from that unquiet kind of life, he had for some time lead. But his Destiny carried it above their Prudence, and Foresight; and he must in the end add to the number of the illustrious unhappy of his time. The Duke had not the grief of seeing his deplorable end, his own Death sometime preceding, as we shall shortly see, and of which this in my opinion was the cause.

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*Monsieur de  
Thon involv'd in the  
Grand Es-  
cuyer's ruine*

From the time that the Duke of *Espernon* had been establish'd in the Government of *Guienne*, he having conceiv'd, that to add greater weight to his Authority, it would not be inconvenient to inflict some exemplary punishment, upon some notable Offenders: a Gentleman of that Province, but one the most unworthy of that Quality of any that ever wore that Character, called *Madaillan*, fell within the danger of his Justice. The Duke therefore being solicited, and importun'd on a thousand hands, to cause Justice to be executed upon this man, for an infinite number of Crimes, whereof he stood Convict, he at last attempted to seize him, that he might be brought to condigne Punishment: but this wretch as Distrustful and Cunning, as Villanous, and Wicked, still found means to escape the hands of the Serjeants, who had order from the Duke to apprehend him, and lay a long time conceal'd in the Province. In the end notwithstanding he was constrain'd to fly, which he did, and put himself into the Enemies Armies, not to Fight, for he was never guilty of any handsome Action, but to Plunder and to Betray; insomuch that in a very little space, he had to his other Crimes added that of a Fugitive from all Parties. He was in Pay with the *Imperialists*, the *Svedes*, the *Spaniards*, and the States of *Holland*; after which famous Exploits he return'd home to his own house, hoping that time had worn out of the Duke's mind the memory of his former Offences: but he soon perceiv'd there was no abiding in the Duke's Government, for men of his known and detected manners. He there liv'd therefore in so perpetual fear, as made him to keep a kind of Garrison in

The Ca-  
lummy of  
*Madaillan*  
against the  
Duke, the  
cause of his  
Death.

*Madaillan's  
Character.*

Anno  
1641. his House; which the Duke having notice of, he resolv'd to cause some of his Souldiery to beset the House, and by fine force to take him. This Deliberation, which could not be executed without some noise, gave *Madaillan* leisure to make his escape: he took therefore at this time the way of *Italy*; and went to *Genoa*, where he presented Prince *Auria* with some counterfeit Letters from the Duke of *Montmorency*, under favour of which, he gull'd this Prince of some very considerable Summes of Money. From thence he went to *Rome*, where he insinuated himself into the Family of the *Count de Brassac*, Ambassadour there for the King of *France*, of whom, by virtue of other Counterfeit Letters, he was favourably receiv'd: But it is not to be believ'd how many Cheats, Insolencies, and other abominable Crimes he committed under our Ambassadours Protection; till in the end the *Count* tir'd out with the Complaints he daily receiv'd of his lewd Behaviour, was upon the point to have deliver'd him into the hands of Justice, if he had not fairly ran away. After this manner *Madaillan* returns back into *France*; neither could he possibly have arriv'd in a more favourable conjuncture for such men as he, it being precisely at the time of the great Revolts of *Guienne*; and wherein he also had the share that was his due. The King being willing to communicate his Grace at the Duke's instance towards such as had been guilty of those Disorders, the said Duke had nevertheless a care, to cause such to be excepted from the general Indemnity, as were tax'd with other hainous and notorious Crimes, conceiving it neither just, nor of good Example, that by new Crimes men should pretend to Pardon for the old, and that by great Offences they should obtain an impunity for others of less importance. The King maturely weighing these good Reasons of the Duke, proceeded according to his Advice; by which means *Madaillan* found himself in much more danger after the Pardon of the other Delinquents, than at any time before he had ever been. His Conscience, besides the Crimes already mention'd, did moreove accuse him of several others, of a horrid, and unheard of nature; For the incest he had committed with his own Daughter, had in his Proceſs been prov'd against him; the Parricide having moreover caus'd three Children he had by her to be murther'd before his own eyes. He had been Convict of having four Wives at one, and the same time, and of all the other abominable Actions can be imagin'd: what was there then that ought to be suspected from an Enemy arm'd with so much wickedness, and so many horrid, and detested Crimes?

This desperate Villain seeing himself, and his Affairs, in so lost and

and



and irrecoverable a condition, and knowing the persecution the Duke of *Espernon*, and all his Family suffer'd under at that time, took a resolution to fall upon him to his final Ruine, and to assault him with so hateful a Calumny, as that the sole Accusation should of it self, and of course, put the party accus'd out of all manner of defence. Big therefore with this accus'd design, he goes to *Paris*, where not finding the King, he addresses himself to the Dutchess of *Eguillon*; to whom concealing his Name, as being too well known, in a studied Discourse of which he was capable enough, he delivers in great secrecie, That there was a Conspiracy on foot against the proper Person of the King himself, and also against that of the Cardinal her Uncle. Neither was he content to make a bare discovery of the pretended Treason, and proceeded moreover to undertake to justify what he had said by literal proofs, provided he might have three months Protection granted him in *Guienne*, where his Enemies, he said, had invented false Crimes against him, on purpose to destroy him. It is to be presum'd, he did not forget the Duke of *Espernon's* name, in this first Accusation, though it was afterwards deny'd at Court, when the business came to be discover'd. The Dutchess however, interest'd as she was in the Person of the Cardinal, and startled as she ought to be, with the horror of so prodigious a Treason, writ in all haste to the Court, which was then at *Amiens*; from whence without any difficulty at all she obtain'd the safe Conduct *Madaillan* had desir'd in order to the producing his Proofs. He must needs have some money also, which was likewise given him, with an Order to take up more in the Province; so that to the astonishment of all good men, behold this wicked Villain restor'd to his Country, and again settled in his own House. He presents his Letters of safe Conduct to the Parliament, where they were Recorded, and soon after Assembles all those whom the Relation of their Offences could any ways render favourable to him, to his own House. Amongst this sort of people there were three or four notorious Impostors, to whom with the rest of his Complices he very gravely represented, "The Obligation they all had to him, for the special care he had taken, both of their Lives, and Fortunes; telling them that he had now that of the Duke of *Espernon* their common Persecutor, absolutely in his power, to dispose of it to their Benefit, and Advantage: That in order hereunto he had undertaken by his diligence to prove, the Duke had meditated an Attempt upon the Persons of the King, and the great Minister: That therefore every one

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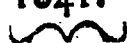
His Resolution to  
ruine the  
Duke of *Esp-*  
*pernon*.

His Artifice  
herein.

He proposes his Design to his Complices.

was

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1641.



“there was to do his utmost endeavour, that an act of that merit, utility, and importance to them all might not be left imperfect; especially considering, that thereupon depended their happiness, Security, Repose, and Advancement. These promises were far greater than had been any ways necessary to allure such mean, and abject Minds into his wicked design; so that they immediately, and without further deliberation, put their hands to the work: The Secretaries Character was easie enough to be imitated; but they could never Counterfeit the Duke’s Seal, which being very intricate, was exceedingly difficult to be resembled to any tolerable degree. *Madaillan* then seeing this way would not take, applies himself to one *Grillety* a notorious Ring-Leader of the Padders: This Fellow, after the Defeat, and Dissipation of his Complices, had retir’d himself into a Forest of *Perigort*, where with strange Boldness, and Impudence, he committed so many Robberies, and Murthers, as had rendred his name Famous even in the very Court it self. To this man, as he had done before to the rest, he offers Indemnity, and Re-compence, if he would accuse the Duke of *Espernon* to have dealt with him to attempt an Assaffinate upon the Persons of the King, and Cardinal *Richelieu*. ’Tis said, that, although nourish’d in Blood, and Slaughter, and oppress’d with Crimes, for which he could expect no Pardon, this man nevertheless was not wicked enough to hearken to this Proposition; insomuch that at the first he absolutely refus’d to do it, and if afterwards the hopes of Pardon tempted him into that damnable practice, it was not however to persist in his wickedness to the utmost tryal, as we shall hereafter see.

*Madaillans* practices had alarm’d the whole Country, no body doubting but that the frequent Assemblies of such a crew of Villains, would infallibly produce some prodigious mischief. The Duke’s Servants, of which there were very many in that Neighbourhood, as in all other parts of the Province, did easily judg that this Consultation was principally intended against him, and were not a little troubled at it: but they could not at first imagine the wickedness of their design to be so great, as it really was. *Saint Quentin* a Servant from Father to Son, very affectionate to the Duke’s Family, and who had been bred up from his younger years with the Duke de *la Palette* his Son, sent the first intelligence of this Conspiracy: but it was no other than Conjecture only; the certainty of it was brought the Duke by *Auterive*, who came post to him (and I think it was upon the 8<sup>th</sup>. day of *November*) to discover to him the whole contrivance of this treache-


The Duke receives intelligence of *Madaillan’s* Conspiracy.

treacherous design. Another Gentleman a Neighbour of his had a Nephew who was a great Comrade of *Madaillan's*, and a great Confident of his, from whom he had learn'd the whole Affair, of which he was not content to deliver *Auterive* a simple Relation by word of mouth only, but would moreover give him the whole Circumstance of it in writing<sup>l</sup>, that it might by the Duke be the better believ'd. The Duke having read, and communicated this Intelligence to some of his Domesticks, was surpriz'd with so great an astonishment, as the like had never, upon any occasion whatever been observ'd in him before. He was in Bed, according to his custom, though it was in the afternoon, when this news came to him; and doubtless it was convenient for him, that it should find him in that posture, the better to resist so strange a surprize. His first thought was, that an Accusation of so black, and odious a nature had not been contriv'd without order, and concluded thence, that his Enemies, weary of his long Life, would at one blow deprive him of that, his Estate, Offices, and Honour. In this violent agitation of mind, which was visible enough in his Countenance, he commanded his Secretary immediately to depart to go with *Auterive* to the Court. He would sound to the bottom what opinion they there had concerning this Affair; but he desir'd withal, that the Truth might be exactly sifted out, that so he might have means to justify his own Innocency, and to cause the Authors of so damnable a mischief to be severely punish'd. The Secretary had order to address himself to *Monsieur Fabert*, at that time Captain of the Regiment of Guards, by his means to get access to *Chavigny*, the Secretary of State, by him with greater facility to be admitted to the Cardinal's presence. The business was carried on according to the Duke's desire; *Auterive* and the Secretary, without any difficulty, got to speak with *Chavigny*, who promis'd the next day to procure them Audience.

The next day being come, which was the 15<sup>th</sup>. of November, they were accordingly admitted into the Cardinal's Presence, where the Secretary having a Letter of Credence from the Duke his Master, he advanc'd to present it; which the Cardinal having received, and read, he told him; "That *Monsieur d'Espernon* had "referr'd the further explication of what he desir'd he should be "acquainted withal to him, who was the Bearer; wherefore he "desir'd to know what Service he desir'd of him? He had been before sufficiently inform'd of all by *Chavigny*, who was there present: but would nevertheless permit, that he who had deliver'd

Anno  
1641.

And dis-  
patches his  
Secretary  
to Court, to  
justify him-  
self.

Anno 1641.  liver'd him the Letter, should again report to him the life of the wretched person, who had so vilely accus'd his Master. Whereupon the Secretary summarily repeated, "All you have heard before, setting out *Madaillan* in his own colours, and for such as he truly was; acquainting the Cardinal moreover of the diligence the Duke had us'd to apprehend him, and to bring him to condigne Punishment for his many, and hainous Crimes; making it appear, that from thence proceeded the malice of this Accuser, and that that was the thing which had prompted him to invent this hateful Calumny, by which he intended to eclipse the Duke's Honour; intreating him at last, as the highest Favour his Master could receive at his hands, to give order that the falsity of this Accusation might be strictly examin'd by any person he should think fit to appoint, and not to permit that the most ancient Officer of the Crown, who had serv'd four Kings without Reproach, should in the last Act of his Life undergo the most odious of all Aspersions, without receiving the satisfaction he might reasonably promise to himself from his Eminences Justice, and his own Innocency.

His Secretary is favourably receiv'd by the Cardinal.

The Cardinal, after he had hearkened to this Discourse, which was pretty long, with great Civility, and Patience, the Secretary having done, made answer, "That it was true, the King being five or six weeks ago at *Amiens*, *Messieurs*, the Ministers who staid behind at *Paris*, had given him intimation of a man of the Province of *Guienne*, who deliver'd himself to be a Gentleman, and whom they had found to be a man of understanding, that was purposely come thither to assure them, that a Conspiracy had been made in *Guienne*, to attempt upon the Life of the King, and that he had offer'd to prove his Accusation by sufficient evidence in Writing, under the Hands of the Conspirators. You will very well judg (added the Cardinal) that an Advertisement of this kind, was of too important a nature to be neglected: but he deny'd withal that the Duke's name had ever been mention'd in that Affair; assuring him moreover, that had it been so much as glanc'd at in that Information, he should immediately have concluded the whole thing altogether forg'd, and false, as he now absolutely did: That he knew the Duke to be too good a man to entertain so criminal a thought, and that he would ever answer for him, as for himself: That therefore he ought not to concern himself about his Justification, and that he had been very well wash'd (which was his own expression) but that notwithstanding they were to consider which way to give him satisfaction, in causing those

“those who had been the Authors of his Calumny, to be brought to exemplary punishment. After which he enquir’d by what means *Madaillan* might be taken, concluding in the end that the King should give the Duke power to apprehend him, if possible, even in *Guienne* it self; that in the mean time he would give order to have him sent for to Court, whither in a very short time he had also promis’d to come; that by one means or other, it should be a hard matter for him to escape; and, that if he did once fall into his hands, he would deliver him up into those of Justice, as he afterwards did, and in that was very just to his word.

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1641.

The King’s Dispatch was made ready at this time; but the Secretary could not however so soon depart, as by this successful beginning he was in hopes he should have done, *Chavigny*, who had order to deliver him his Dispatch, appointing him to stay yet some few days longer. But these few days were spun out into some few weeks, during which interval he had notice given him by several of his Friends, that there was an Order granted out to Arrest him, to make him give an account of those Counterfeit Papers were laid to his charge. These advertisements, which he receiv’d from very good hands, did much more trouble him for the regard he had to the Duke his Master, than for any thing that concern’d himself; he believ’d that they would proceed in this Affair by the way, and in the forms of Justice, which was nothing consonant to what had been promis’d him in the beginning. The Duke’s Servants, to whom he had instructions to communicate all things, were also infinitely surpriz’d at the news: but he forbore not, what danger soever had been represented to him, to appear as at other times in all places where his business lay. After he had given all the time was necessary, wherein to clear any doubts that might have been started concerning this Affair, and weary to see no more than the first hour he came, he resolv’d at last, finding he could obtain nothing from *Chavigny*, to make his Address immediately to the Cardinal himself, hoping from him at least to learn the true reasons, why he had been thus long delay’d. This design accordingly took effect, and the Cardinal having espied him amongst a crowd of other Solicitors, and Suitors that were attending in the Hall, caus’d him presently to be call’d to tell him, “That upon the hopes *Madaillan* had given him of his coming every day to Town, he had desir’d he might stay to be a witness of his Confinement: but that seeing there was no end of his delays, he might now return to his Master, and assure him, that what he had promis’d upon this occasion, should be punctually perform’d: That it would also

And an Order granted to apprehend *Madaillan*, and his Complices.

Anno 1641. *W* “be necessary he on his part should employ all the Friends, and  
 “ Servants he had in *Guienne*, to cause the Slanderer to be taken,  
 “ and that, the thing being of that importance to his Honour, he  
 “ did not doubt but the Duke would herein use endeavours pro-  
 “ portionable to the quality of the Affair. After which he  
 “ pour’d out himself in several expressions of very great Civility  
 “ concerning the Duke: but they were so distant from his man-  
 “ ner of proceeding, and so differing from the ill usage he made his  
 “ Master at the same time undergo; that giving them no place in  
 “ his belief, he scarce allow’d them a room in his memory. After  
 “ this manner the Duke’s Secretary departed from Court, charg’d  
 “ with Letters from the King, and the Cardinal, which were couch’d  
 “ in these terms.

Cousin,

The King’s  
 Letter to  
 the Duke of  
*Espernon.*

“ Having understood by the *Sieur Girard*, the intimation you  
 “ have receiv’d, that one *Madaillan* of *Sauvetat* had an intent to  
 “ accuse you of a design to attempt upon my Person, as also up-  
 “ on that of my Cousin the Cardinal of *Richelieu*; I write you  
 “ this to let you know, It is my pleasure, that you cause the said  
 “ *Madaillan* to be apprehended in any place where he shall be  
 “ found; as also the named *le Sage*, *Bois-Martin*, *Seingoux*, and  
 “ a certain Scrivener dwelling at *la Linde* in *Perigort*, whom, it is  
 “ said, he intends to make use of to fortifie his Calumny. I doubt  
 “ not but you will use all imaginable diligence to cause the fore-  
 “ mentioned persons to be taken, and to dispose them into some  
 “ secure hold until you receive my further Order. In which assu-  
 “ rance I pray God, Cousin, &c.

At *St. Germain en Laye* this 10<sup>th</sup>. of *Decemb.* 1641.

That of the Cardinal contain’d these words.

Monseigneur,

The Car-  
 dinal’s Let-  
 ter to the  
 Duke of *E/-*  
*pernon.*

The *Sieur Girard* will acquaint you with how great facility the  
 “ King has been pleas’d to give way to the clearing the Calumny,  
 “ wherewith you have discover’d some malicious people have a  
 “ design to asperse you. I can assure you that such a justification  
 “ is not at all necessary for the possessing his Majesty, touching the  
 “ business in agitation, with such impressions of you, as you  
 “ would your self desire: but he will be very glad for your own  
 “ satisfaction, that so wicked an Imposture be punish’d according  
 “ to its desert. For my own particular I shall ever be very proud

to

“ to meet occasions wherein I may manifest how great an esteem  
 “ I have for your Person, and how much I am, &c.

Anno  
 1641.

From *Ruel* this 10<sup>th</sup> of *Decemb.* 1641.

The Duke after the departure of his Secretary was fall'n into so profound a Melancholy, accompanied with a lingring Fever, that the reading the favourable Letters he brought him back at his return, was not of Vertue wholly to cure a Disease that had already taken too deep root in his mind. He was affected with grief to that degree, that nothing could content him: but he was nevertheless a little reviv'd to find that this Affair had not deriv'd it self from the source he had at first suspected, nor produc'd those dangerous effects he reasonably apprehended it would. In this little interval of repose, he dispatch'd *Auterive* in all diligence into *Guienne*, with the most exprefs Orders he could possibly tell how to give, to cause *Madaillan*, and his Complices to be apprehended: but it was labour lost; he went of his own accord to put himself into the Cardinal's hands, who kept his word with the Duke, committing him the very day of his arrival to the \* *Conciergerie du Palais*, from whence he came no more forth, but to suffer the punishment of his Crimes. But that was not till after the return of the Duke *de la Valette*, who with so much passion, and generosity prosecuted this accursed Villain, the real instrument of the Duke his Father's Death, that in the end he procur'd his chastisement by the hand of the Hangman.


\* Or Prisons.

After the dismissal of *Auterive*, of which I have now spoken, the Duke made yet another dispatch, which also was almost the last of his Life, and that was to Cardinal *Richelieu*. All his Friends at Court, knowing how civilly the Duke had been us'd by him in the business of *Madaillan*, had joyntly given him advice to return him thanks by some exprefs Messenger; at whose perswasions he writ to him by the *Count de Maillé* (whom he entreated to undertake that Journey) and these were the words of the Letter.

The Duke of Espèrnon sends a Letter of thanks to Cardinal Richelieu.

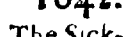
Monfieur,

“ After the Favours wherewith you were pleas'd to oblige me,  
 “ when my Secretary a few days since took a journey to wait up-  
 “ on you, I were of all men living the most ingrate, should I  
 “ not to the utmost of what I possibly can, manifest to you the  
 “ the high sense I have of so great an Obligation. The care of  
 “ which Commission, I thought I could not better entrust to any,  
 “ than to my Cousin *Monfieur de Maillé*, whom I have intreated

Anno 1641.  “to protest to you in my behalf, that I will preserve the memory,  
 “and acknowledgment of that signal Favour to the last hour of  
 “my life. I do beseech you to believe this great truth, which by my  
 “Actions should be justified, and confirmed to you, if the power  
 “to serve you were equal to the will he shall ever retain, who is,

Monfieur,  
 Your most Humble, and  
 most Obedient Servant, &c.

This Complement of *Most Obedient*, which I have here purposely transcrib'd, was none of his usual stile, it had now also by inadvertency scap'd his Pen, and he sent an exprefs Courier after the *Count de Maillé*, to retrieve his Letter so soon as he perceiv'd he had subscrib'd it after that manner: Instead thereof sending him another with the ordinary Subscription of *Most Humble and most Affectionate*, choosing rather to be thought stiffe, and punctillious, than to go less in the condition he then was, and to descend to an extraordinary civility, which might rather be interpreted, and imputed to weakness, and want of courage, than to complacency, and gratitude. His first Letter was indeed never delivered: but he also never saw it again. His Death preceded the return of the *Count de Maillé*, who had still kept it in his hands; and the time was now come, when this long life, which had escap'd from so many, and so eminent dangers, must end by a Disease that was easily enough to be foreseen: but for which no remedy could possibly be found.

Anno 1642.  The Sick-  
ness and  
Death of  
the Duke  
of *Espernon*. I have already given an account of the dangerous effect, the news of *Madaillan's* Conspiracy produc'd to the ruine of the Duke's Health. And I shall now tell you that it was a wound, which had pierc'd so deep into his heart, as no Balsam, neither of the King's, nor Cardinal's civil, and obliging Letters, of his Friends Consolations, or of the conscience of his own Innocency, of greater vertue than them both, that could be apply'd, could possibly cure. The assurances he had receiv'd from Court, that this Calumny had made no impresson to his disadvantage there, nor the hopes he had thence receiv'd of receiving thereupon a full, and honourable satisfaction, could never so appease the tempest of his mind, that the discontents he had deriv'd from this accursed cause, was not continually working upon all the unpleasing Objects his unquiet thoughts could represent to his imagination. He was grown impatient almost of all kind of Company, the divertisements which had formerly been most acceptable



able to him were become nauseous, and offensive, and nothing was now so pleasing to him as solitude, which till this time he had ever abhorr'd. An alteration that he himself was very sensible of, and would often speak of it to those with whom he was pleas'd to be the most familiar about him, as a certain presage of his approaching End: he nevertheless did all he could to disappoint his ill humour, which he had no way to do but by play sometimes in his Chamber, seeing he found himself incapable of taking any pleasure abroad.

Anno  
1642.

Thus spinning out the small remainder of his life in this perpetual trouble of mind, his strength was every day observ'd visibly to impair: not long before he had been seen to tire out young, and vigorous men with walking (for it must needs be confess'd that never man perhaps felt the infirmities of Age so late as he) whereas now, and on a sudden he appear'd so faint, and overworn, that he could scarce take two turns in his Chamber without reposing himself. It was now come to that pass, that he must repose for good and all, and the seventh of *January*, having in the night been surpriz'd with a grudging of an Ague, he pass'd it over with great unquietness, and without any rest at all.

The next day notwithstanding he could make a shift to rise to talk with some of his principal Servants of his Affairs, and to make some Dispatches, as in the times of his better health: but he found withal so great a thirst upon him, as he could neither by a Broth, nor two great Glasses of cold water, his familiar, and best Remedy, quench, and overcome. He went nevertheless to Mass in a Cabinet adjoining to his own Chamber; but he was not able to stay it out: insomuch that presently after the Elevation, he was constrain'd to retire, and to betake himself to his Bed. And it was for the last time, his Fever immediately seizing him with so great violence, that it never after left him, but with his Life.

Within a few hours after he had been laid in Bed, *Fabert*, whom he had a passionate desire to see, and had a long time expected, came to see him. He was by him presented with a great many Letters from several of his Friends: But the Duke without opening any one of them, contented himself with embracing him only, and entreating to be excus'd, that he was not in a condition that day to entertain him, refer'd it till the next morning, in hopes by that time to be in a better posture of Health. At another time his active, and curious Spirit, that was never tir'd out with business, would not have refer'd the discoursing with a Friend he so dearly lov'd, till the morrow: but now, as if he had

*Anno* had foreseen what a small share remain'd to him of Worldly  
*1642.* things, he had not so much as the Curiosity to inform himself of  
 any.

His Fever, which the first day was judg'd to be Quotidian (a sort of Ague he us'd frequently to have, and which also did not a little contribute to the better support of his Health) continued from the first, to the second, and from the second, to the third Fit, with so excessive violence, that *Motivier* his Physician, a man very excellent in his profession, and who had for many years been very diligent about his Person, judg'd him from that time forwards to be in very great danger, as well by reason of his wonderful great Age, and the evil dispositions that had preceded his Disease, as from the Disease it self. He was therefore of opinion that a Father Capuchin should be sent for, to the end he might in due time prepare him for Confession; the Fathers of that Order having a particular priviledge to administer that Sacrament to him. They were the more hasty to make this provision for his Conscience, by how much they perceiv'd him sometimes to fall into Fits of Raving, which gave them an apprehension, that his distemper encreasing, his judgment might be totally taken from him, which notwithstanding did not so fall out. This good Father being come to the Duke, under pretence of a meer Visit only, put him insensibly upon the contempt of worldly things, and the necessity of Death, and came at last by degrees to touch a little at Confession. The Duke though by this discourse he presently guess'd at the ill opinion they had of him, and that they began to despair of his Life, yet did he nevertheless make no shew of astonishment, or surprize: but on the contrary submitting, with great serenity, and calmness to the good Pleasure of Almighty God, he told the Holy Father, "That he had highly oblig'd him in putting him in mind of his Conscience: That he was Old, and Sick: That in a better estate of Health his end could not be far distant from him; and that being by the Grace of God a Christian, he intended to dye after a Christian manner. After which few words, intreating he would give him some time to prepare himself for this Sacrament, he caus'd him to retire into another Room. He commanded his Servants also to leave him alone, and to depart out of his Chamber; which being accordingly done, after he had two hours recollected himself, he caus'd the Father to be again call'd in, who could never enough commend the Zeal, and Repentance he observ'd in this illustrious Penitent. It was about noon that he made his Confession, and about four of the Clock the same day, he desir'd the Holy

The Duke's  
 good dispo-  
 sitions to  
 dye.

Holy Eucharist, which he receiv'd with so great Piety, and Reverence, as was not a little edifying to all the Assistants. He at the same time gave charge to his Almoner to acquaint him when it was time to receive the Extreme Unction, taking order for all these last Ceremonies, with so manly an indifferency, and so great a tranquillity of mind, as if he had rather been taking care for some other in a dying condition, than busie about any thing that immediately concern'd himself. He was never heard at any time either to wish for Life, or to repine at Death; but performing without trouble and disorder what was to be done, so well to receive the one, and to part fairly with the other, he, in my opinion, at this time gave the greatest proof, and example of his Courage, and Constancy, that he had ever done.

Anno  
1642.

His Disease growing every day more violent than other, he was, the fourth day of his Sickness, observ'd to fall into more and more extravagant Ravings, than at any time before, to which his Chest also began to be so obstructed, that there was a visible difficulty of Breathing: All which dangerous Accidents, and mortal Symptomes, in an Age like that of his, making every one conclude his dissolution to be very near, they talk'd to him no more of any thing, but God; a Discourse that he also on his part hearkened to, with great willingness, and attention. He had at all times had a Crucifix fastned to his Beds-feet, upon which he now perpetually fixt his eyes, and having caus'd his Chaplet to be put about his Arm, because he wanted strength to hold it in his hand, he was continually lifting it to his mouth to kiss it.

The fifth day of his Sickness was very much worse, than those that had gone before; and if upon his other days he had had some intervals of repose, the continuation of his Disease having infected all that remain'd in him of sound, and uncorrupt; he was totally oppress'd without any release, or intermission at all. The extremities of his Disease therefore causing it to be judg'd convenient to make use of the extremest Remedies both for Soul and Body; his Physician resolv'd upon a Bleeding, and the Ecclesiasticks upon the Extreme Unction, of which the last nam'd preceded the other. About two hours after midnight, the *Dutchess de la Valette*, the *Marquis*, and *Marquise de la Valette* her Children, got up to be assisting at this Holy Ceremony; to whom the Servants also being come in, he in the presence of all his Family, with exceeding Meekness, and profound Reverence receiv'd that Sacrament. So soon as he saw the Priest enter the Chamber, he rais'd himself up in his Bed, and having pull'd off his

*Anno* his Cap, remain'd uncovered all the time of the Administration, making his Responces aloud to all the Prayers of the Church, and to all the Psalms, especially the *Miserere*, which he repeated by heart, with a great many Penitent Tears. This Ceremony being over, they left him some time to his repose, and about ten in the morning the sixth day of his Sickness, and also that of his Death, his Physician caus'd him to be let Blood. He found himself yet capable of this Remedy, and moreover found by it some kind of present Relief, his Chest was much less obstructed, and his Deliriums had far longer intervals than before; inso-much that he began to have a better opinion of himself, telling us (as it was very true) that two years before a Bleeding had sav'd his Life, and that he found himself very much reliev'd by this: but all these Hopes were no other than feeble Rayes, that threaten'd us with a sudden, and fatal Eclipse. At three in the Afternoon he appear'd so infinitely chang'd, that it was judg'd impossible for him to pass over that day; neither was he himself insensible of it: and certainly it was an extraordinary mercy he receiv'd in this Extremity, to have his Judgment more perfect, and entire, and his mind better compos'd at this, than at any other time during the whole course of his Sickness.

The Duke's  
last request  
to the King  
concerning  
his Chil-  
dren.

His last moments he employ'd in entertaining *Fabert*, from the day of his arrival he had never seen him; but having now on a sudden remembred he was in the house, he caus'd him immediately to be call'd, where, after he had embrac'd him in his Arms, he told him, "That he would not now lose time in giving him new assurances of an Affection, which would henceforward be useles to him: but that he would conjure him by those testimonies he had sometime receiv'd, that he would preserve his to his declining Family: That he did entreat him to assure the King he dy'd his Majesties most humble, and most faithful Servant, and in his Name humbly to beseech him, to Honour his little Children, whom the Disgrace of the Duke their Father expos'd to infinite Injuries, with his gracious Protection: That they had the Honour to appertain to his Majesty: That nothing could be imputed to their Innocency, and that he hop'd they would one day by their Services manifest their Gratitude for his Bounty, and Favour. Though to render the King more favourable to this Request, and to those Relations he did recommend thereby, there seem'd to be a kind of necessity that he should also send some Complement to the Cardinal, he did not do it nevertheles; which some of his people thinking he had through forgetfulness omitted, they made bold

to put him in mind ; to whom after a little pause , he return'd no other answer , but that he was his Servant. The same Complement , but with a very great deal of difference in the tender manner of delivery , he sent to the Chancellour *Monsieur Segurier* , who had ever manifested for him a constant , and inviolate Friendship ; as also to several other Persons of Quality at Court. The severity that had been exercis'd upon his Family , making him believe that their Enemies aim'd at no less , than their total Ruine , he would enjoin *Fabert* of all his Governments, and Commands to ask the Castle of *Loches* only in favour of the *Marquis de la Valette* his Grandchild, and that only , because seeing himself upon the point to expire, he could have wish'd , that his Body after his Death , might have been in the power of no other , than those of his own Blood. A request so modest, and so inconsiderable in it self, that he doubted not, but it would be easily granted , and that he might have retriev'd this little piece from the wrack of his great Fortune : but he was deceiv'd , and the ill nature of his Enemies was such, that even that was also deny'd him.

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1642.

After he had dismiss'd *Fabert* , he caus'd the *Duchess de la Valette* his Daughter-in-Law , the *Marquis de la Valette* , and the *Marquise* his Sister to come to his Bed-side , to whom after he had in general deliver'd himself in several expressions of great Passion , and tenderness , and exhorted them to Unity, and Mutual Affection ; directing his Speech to the *Marquis* ,  
 “ He in the first place recommended to him the Service of God,  
 “ and next that of the King , without ever alienating himself  
 “ from it upon any colour , or pretence whatever : to honour  
 “ his Father, and in what estate soever to pay him all the Duty,  
 “ and Service of a good, and Obedient Son ; and never to re-  
 “ member the Injuries had been done him ; of which he charg'd  
 “ him in express terms to retain no kind of resentment ; assu-  
 “ ring them all, that living in that Unity , and good Intelligence  
 “ with one another , he had recommended to them, God Al-  
 “ mighty would bless them , as he bless'd them with all his  
 “ heart. After which , proceeding to some consolatory Ad-  
 monitions , wherewithal to moderate their Grief , he with great difficulty lifted up his hand to give them his last Benediction. This Action thus pass'd , he turn'd himself to the other side of the Bed, either to repose himself after this last effort of his Spirits, and Voice ; or to conceal his Tears, which although by tenderness, and good Nature, rather than want of Courage, extracted from him ; yet would he not be reproach'd with such a

*Anno* weakness, still retaining so much vigour, as to maintain decency, and the constancy he had ever manifested in all his Actions, even in death itself. He was heard indeed to fetch some profound sighs, and often to repeat the name of his Son *de la Vallette*, who of all his Children had ever been dearest to him: but that also was all he yielded to the impulse of nature, in this final Separation.

1642.



Having thus paid some Sighs to his Grief, several good, and Learned Divines, who were assisting about him, again put him upon the Discourse of Piety, and the forgiveness of his Enemies; to whom he still constantly reply'd, that he freely forgave them all, naming withal those from whom he had receiv'd the greatest and most irreparable wrongs: when some of them, more zealous than the rest, seeing him in so good a disposition, ask'd him if he did not also forgive his Servants, who had any way displeas'd him? To whom he again reply'd, that yes, and withal his heart: but there being one of them, who a few days before he had fall'n upon with very severe, and passionate Language, the same person who had engag'd in the former Interrogatories, proceeding (indiscreetly enough) to ask him, if he did not also ask pardon of those he might have himself offended? His courage, not totally abated in this last extremity, being a little inflam'd at the proposal of this reciprocal submission, he made answer, that it was sufficient, he had pardon'd those of his people who had offended him, and that he had never heard, that to dye well a Master was oblig'd to make \* Honourable Satisfaction to his own Domesticks. Those who were nearest to him perceiv'd him to be a little transported at that word: but it was very easie to pacifie, and compose him; and after that nothing was heard from him but ardent Prayers to God: neither was he observ'd to do any thing more, than to turn his eyes towards the Crucifix, and to kiss his Beads. In this condition he lay, when his strength visibly impairing, but his mind remaining in a great tranquillity, and calm, they perceiv'd him by little and little to decline, and faint away, sensibly observing Death to disperse it self over all his Limbs. His Legs first grew stiffe, and cold; which cold in a few hours seiz'd of his other parts, till it came at last to his Heart. Thus the thirteenth day of *January*, and the sixth of his Disease, he dy'd environ'd by three of his Children, several Divines, and all his Domestick Servants; the last whereof having with unparallel'd Care, and Diligence attended him all the time of his Sicknes,

\* *Amende honorable* signifies something more, but what cannot be intended by the Author in this place.

His Death.

Sickness, continued still the same Services, and Respect, till they brought him to his Grave. He was entred into the four-score, and eighth year of his Age, by which long series of time he had had the advantage of seeing himself the most Ancient Duke, and Peer of *France*, the most Ancient Officer of the Crown, the most Ancient General of an Army, the most Ancient Governour of a Province, the most Ancient Knight of the Order, the most Ancient Counsellor of State, and the Oldest Man of Condition almost of his Time.

Anno  
1642.

*The End of the Twelfth and Last Book of the Life of  
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