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THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

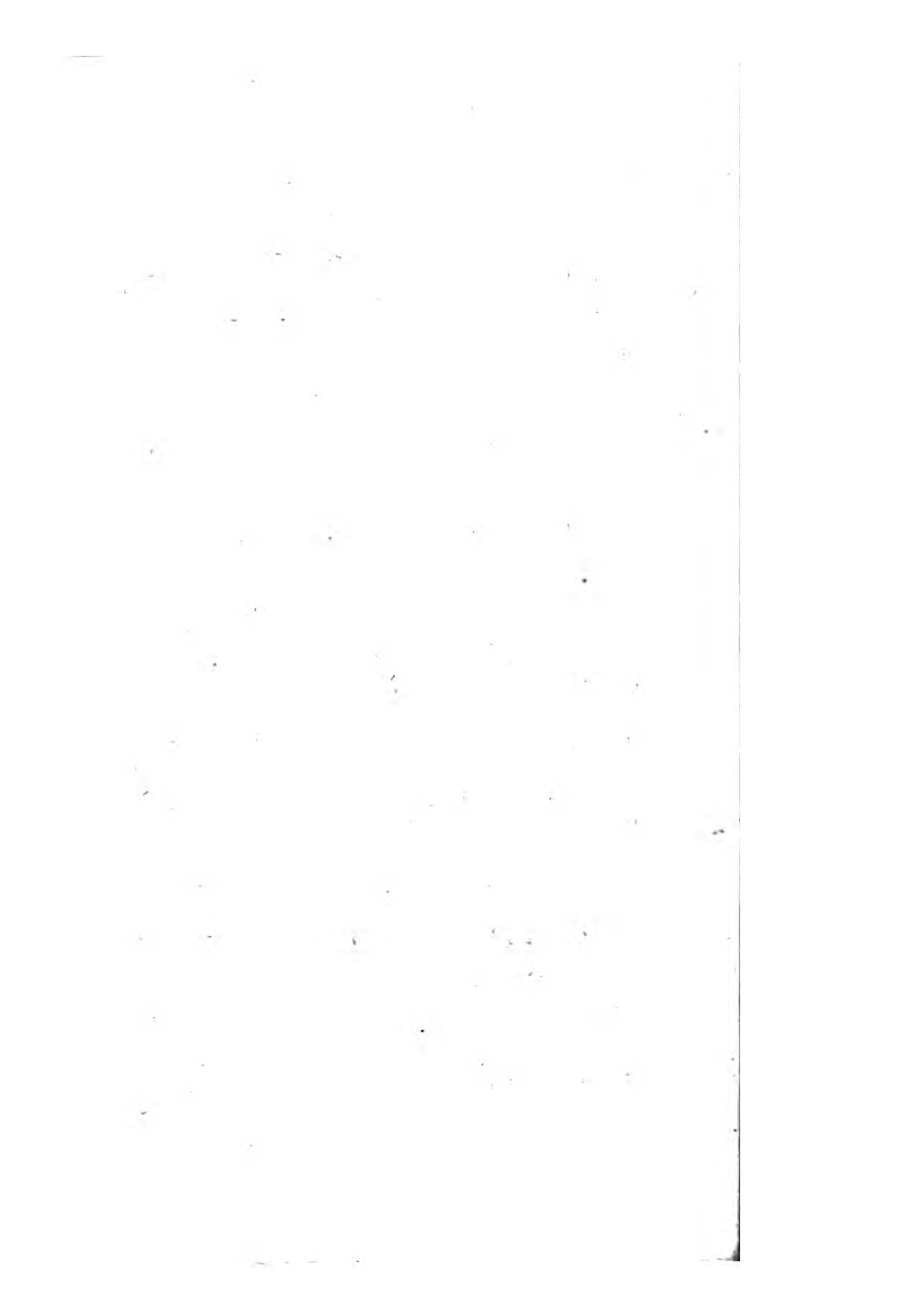
By T. SMOLLET, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

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OF THE
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was more secrecy observed in a conspiracy than in this expedition of Lewis XIV. At length, on the second of February, the king himself set out from St. Germain's, with the young duke of Enguien and some of his courtiers, the other officers were at the place of rendezvous appointed for the troops. He made long journeys on horseback, and arrived at Dijon. Twenty thousand men, who had been assembled on different routes, met the same day in the Franche-Comté, at some leagues distance from Besançon, and the great Condé appeared at their head, having his friend Bouteville-Montmorency* for his chief lieutenant-general, lately made duke of Luxembourg, and who had always preserved an inviolable attachment to him through every change of his fortune. Luxembourg had studied the art of war under the great Condé, and his great merit obliged the king, who did not love him, to employ him.

The springs of this unforeseen expedition were these: the prince of Condé was jealous of Turenne's reputation †; and Louvois ‡ of his

* Francis Henry de Montmorency, duke of Luxembourg, peer and marechal of France, count de Bouteville and de Lusse, lord of Brecy, &c. was the posthumous son of Francis de Montmorency, count de Lusse and de Bouteville, and became one of the greatest generals that France ever produced.

† It may perhaps be unnecessary to inform the reader that this great captain, Henry de la Tour vicomte de Turenne, was second son to the duke of Bouillon.

‡ Louvois-Francis-Michael le Tellier marquis de Louvois, was the eldest son of Michael le Tellier chancellor of France. As secretary of war, and afterwards minister of state, he distinguished himself by his capacity and diligence, and was famous for the art of providing magazines for the use of armies.

favour

favour with his master. Condé's jealousy was that of an hero, Louvois' that of a minister. The prince, who was governor of Burgundy, which borders upon the Franche-Comté, had formed the project of making himself master of this province during the winter season, in as short a time as Turenne had taken in the foregoing summer to make the conquest of French Flanders. He immediately communicated his scheme to Louvois, who eagerly embraced it, glad of an opportunity of removing Turenne to a distance, and making him uselefs, and at the same time of serving his master.

This province, which was then very poor, but extremely well peopled, is forty leagues long, and twenty broad. It was called the Franche-Comté, (or the free country,) and was actually so; for the Spanish kings were rather its protectors than its masters: and though this country was in the government of Flanders, yet it was very little dependent on it. The administration was divided and disputed between the parliament and the governor of Franche-Comté. The people enjoyed many considerable privileges, which the court of Madrid were cautious of infringing, being desirous to keep fair with a province that was jealous of its rights, and so near a neighbour to France. Never did people live under a milder government, or were more attached to their sovereigns. They had preserved an affection to the house of Austria for near two generations; but this was rather the love of their liberty.

In a word, the Franche-Comté was happy, though poor; but as it was a kind of republic, there were necessarily some factions among its

inhabitants ; and notwithstanding what is said by Pelisson, Lewis did not confine himself merely to force on this occasion.

He began by gaining over some of the inhabitants, by presents and promises. He made sure of the abbot John Watteville, brother to him who having insulted the French ambassador at a public entry at London, had by this outrage occasioned the humiliation of the Spanish branch of the house of Austria*. This abbot, who had formerly been an officer, then a Carthusian friar, afterwards a Turk, and last of all a churchman, had the promise of being made high dean, and of having several other preferments in the church. The count of St. Amour, the governor's nephew, was likewise bribed, and the governor himself at last proved not inflexible. A number of the counsellors of the parliament were bought at a reasonable rate, and all these private intrigues were at their very beginning seconded by an army of twenty thousand men. Besançon, the capital of the province, is invested by the prince of Condé. Luxembourg marches to Salins ; and the next day Besançon and Salins surrender. Besançon insisted on no other terms of capitulation than that it should remain in possession of the holy handkerchief, which was held in great reverence in that city, and which was very readily granted them. The king being arrived at Dijon, Louvois, who had hastened to the frontiers to direct all the marches, comes and informs them at the same time, that these two towns are besieged and taken. The king

* See Chap. CLXXI. Vol. VI.

immediately flies to shew himself to fortune, who did every thing for him.

He next went and laid siege to Dole, in person, a place reputed very strong, in which the count of Montrevel commanded; a person of distinguished valour, who, out of a greatness of mind was faithful to the Spanish government, which he hated, and a parliament which he despised. His garrison consisted of no more than four hundred soldiers, and the inhabitants of the place, and yet he bravely resolved to defend it. The trenches were not carried on in form; for no sooner were they opened than a crowd of young volunteers, who had followed the king, flew to attack the counterscarp, on which they made a lodgment. The prince of Condé, whose age and experience gave him a more sedate courage, supported them properly, and by sharing in their danger extricated them from it. This prince was every where with his son; and went to give an account of all that passed to the king, as if he had been an officer who had his fortune to make. The king remained in his quarters, where he displayed the dignity of a monarch in his court, rather than that impetuous ardour which is by no means necessary. The same ceremonials were observed there as at St. Germain's. He had his great couché, and his lesser one; he had his drawing-rooms, his public audience hall in his tent, and never stooped from the dignity of the throne in any other respect than that of permitting his general officers and aids-de-camp to dine at the same table with him. He never was seen to expose himself to the ruder fatigues of war, nor to shew that rash

courage for which Francis I. and Henry IV. were so famous, who greedily sought after danger in all shapes. He was contented with not fearing it himself, and with encouraging all about him to rush into it with ardour for his service. He entered Dole after four days siege, and twelve days after his departure from St. Germain's, and in less than three weeks the whole province of Franche-Comté was reduced. The Spanish council, both amazed and incensed at the small resistance which had been made, told the governor in a letter, "That the French king should have sent his valets to take possession of the province, instead of marching against it in person."

So much ambition and good fortune roused Europe from its lethargy. The empire began to stir, and the emperor to raise troops. The Swiss nation, who are neighbours to the people of Franche-Comté, and who have nothing to depend upon but their liberty, trembled for themselves. The rest of Flanders might be invaded the ensuing spring: the Dutch, whose interest it had always been to have the French their friends, shuddered at the thoughts of having them for neighbours. Spain had then recourse for protection, and actually received it from that inconsiderable nation, which it had hitherto looked upon as a contemptible and rebellious people.

Holland was then governed by John de Witt, who had been chosen grand pensionary, when he was only twenty-five years old; a man who had the freedom of his country as much at heart as his own personal greatness: wedded to the old republican principles, frugality and moderation,

ration, he kept only one man and a maid, and walked always on foot at the Hague, while in the negotiations of Europe his name was ranked with that of the most powerful kings: he was a person of unwearied application, of the greatest regularity, prudence, and assiduity in public affairs; an excellent citizen, a great politician, and yet in the end very unfortunate.

He had contracted a friendship with Sir William Temple, the English ambassador at the Hague, which is rarely to be found between statesmen. Sir William was a philosopher, who blended a taste for literature with public affairs, and an honest man, notwithstanding that bishop Burnet has reproached him with atheism; he was born with a prudent republican genius, loved Holland like his own country, because it was the seat of liberty, of which he was as jealous as the grand pensionary himself. These two excellent members of community, joined with count Dohna, the Swedish ambassador, to stop the French king's progress.

This period was distinguished by rapid events. That part of Flanders which is called French Flanders had been all taken within three months, and the Franche-Comté in the space of three weeks. The treaty entered into between Holland, England, and Sweden, for maintaining the balance of power in Europe, and bridling the ambition of Lewis XIV. was proposed and concluded in five days time*.

The French monarch was not a little incensed, that a pitiful state like that of Holland should have presumed to think of setting bounds

* This was called the triple alliance.

to his conquests, and being the arbiter between crowned heads ; and still more so, that it was in a condition to do it. He was sensibly affected with this indignity put upon his greatness by the Dutch, which he was obliged to swallow for the present ; but for which he from that instant meditated revenge.

Ambitious, powerful, and incensed as he was, he yet found it most prudent to divert the storm which began to gather from all parts of Europe. He himself made the first overtures for peace. Aix-la-Chapelle was pitched upon by the courts of France and Spain for the place of conferences, and the new pope, Rospigliosi, (Clement IX.) was chosen mediator.

The court of Rome, to cover its weakness with a shew of credit, earnestly contended for the honour of being the arbiter between crowned heads. It had been disappointed at the peace of the Pyrennees ; but it seemed to have carried its point at this of Aix-la-Chapelle. A nuncio was sent to the congress, to be a phantom of an arbiter between phantoms of plenipotentiaries. The Dutch, who already began to feel a thirst for honour, would not share that of concluding what they had begun with any other. Accordingly every thing was in fact settled at St. Germain's, by their ambassador Van-Beuning. What had been privately agreed upon there with him, was sent to Aix-la-Chapelle to be signed in great pomp by the ministers assembled at the congress. Who could have supposed thirty years before, that a burgher of Holland would oblige the kings of France and Spain to abide by his arbitration ?

This

This Van-Beuning, who was burgomaster of Amsterdam, had all the vivacity of a Frenchman, with the pride of a Spaniard. He took a pleasure to thwart the king's imperious disposition on all occasions; and opposed a republican inflexibility to the magisterial tone, which the French ministers began to assume. "Do you doubt the king's word?" said monsieur de Lionne to him, one day at a conference. "I know not what the king may intend, said Van-Beuning, I only consider what he may do." In short, at the court of the proudest monarch in the world, a simple burgomaster concluded by his own authority a peace by which the king was obliged to restore the Franche-Comté. The Dutch would have been much better pleased that he had restored Flanders, by which they would have been freed from so formidable a neighbour: but all Europe thought the king shewed sufficient moderation, in parting with the Franche-Comté. However, he was a greater gainer by keeping the towns in Flanders, as by this means he opened himself a way into Holland, whose destruction he meditated even while he appeared to make the greatest concessions.

May 2

CHAP. CLXXIV.

Magnificence of LEWIS XIV. Conquest of
HOLLAND.

LEWIS XIV. being obliged to remain peaceable for some time, continued, as he had begun, to regulate, fortify, and embellish his kingdom. His example shewed, that an absolute prince, who has good intentions, can compass the greatest things without difficulty. He had only to command; and the successes in the administration were no less rapid than his conquests had been. It was a thing truly wonderful to see the sea-ports, which were in a manner desolate and in ruins, now surrounded with works which served at once for their ornament and defence, full of shipping and seamen, and containing upwards of sixty large vessels, which might occasionally be fitted for war. New colonies were every day sailing from all the ports in the kingdom, under the protection of the French flag, for America, the East Indies, and the coast of Barbary. At the same time, thousands of hands were employed at home under the king's eye, in raising immense edifices, and in all the arts which architecture introduces; while those of the more noble and ingenious kind embellished the court and capital, and diffused a degree of delight and fame over the kingdom, of which the preceding age had not even an idea. Literature flourished, and good taste and sound reasoning made their way into the schools of error and barbarism. But a
more

more circumstantial account of these things, which made the happiness and glory of France, will be found in their proper place in this work: at present we must confine ourselves to general and military affairs.

At this period Portugal exhibited a strange spectacle to the rest of Europe. Don Alphonso, the unworthy son of the fortunate Don John of Braganza, reigned in that kingdom. He was a weak and hot-headed man. His wife, who was daughter to the duke of Nemours, had conceived a passion for his brother, Don Pedro, and had the boldness to form a design of dethroning her husband and marrying the man she loved. The brutishness of her husband in some measure justified this bold attempt of the queen's. Alphonso was of a more than common bodily strength: he had had a child by a courtesan, whom he publickly acknowledged for his own: he had for a long time cohabited with the queen his wife, and yet, notwithstanding all this, she accused him of impotency, and having by her dexterous management acquired that authority in the kingdom, which her husband had lost by his mad frenzy; she shut him up in a prison, and obtained a dispensation from the pope to marry her brother-in-law. It is not in the least surprising that the court of Rome should grant these dispensations; but it is very extraordinary, that those who have the power in their own hands should stand in need of them. This event, which affected only the royal family, and caused no revolution in the kingdom of Portugal, nor produced any change in the affairs of Europe,

merits our attention only on account of its singularity.

France soon afterwards gave asylum to a king who descended from the throne in another manner: this was John Casimir, king of Poland, who renewed the example of queen Christina. Tired by the fatigues of government, and desirous to live happily, he pitched upon Paris for the place of his retreat, and retired to the abbey of St. Germain, of which he was abbot. Paris, which had for some years past been the abode of all the arts, afforded a delightful residence for a prince who sought the enjoyment of social pleasures, and was a lover of learning. He had been a jesuit and a cardinal, before he was king; and now, equally disgusted with the regal and ecclesiastical state, was only desirous of living as a private person and a philosopher, and would never suffer the title of majesty to be given him at Paris.

But an affair of a more interesting nature took up the attention of all the Christian potentates.

The Turks, who, though not so formidable as under their Mahomets, their Selims, and their Solymans, were still dangerous, and strengthened by our divisions, had been laying siege to the island of Candy for above two years, with all the forces of the empire. We can hardly say whether it was most astonishing, that the Venetians made so long a defence, or that the princes of Europe should have abandoned them.

Times were greatly changed. Formerly, when Christendom was in a barbarous state, a pope, or even a monk, could send forth millions of Christians

Christians to make war upon the Mahometans in their own empire: our dominions were stripped of men and money, to make the conquest of the wretched and barren province of Judæa; and now that the island of Candy, deemed the bulwark of Christendom, was over-run by sixty thousand Turks; the Christian kings looked on with indifference while it was lost. A few galleys sent by the Maltese and the pope, were the only succours this republic received to defend itself against the whole Ottoman empire. The senate of Venice, with all its prudence, was unable with such weak succours to withstand the grand vizir Kiuperli, who was an able minister, a still more able general, and master of the Turkish empire, assisted by a formidable army, and even provided with good engineers.

Lewis in vain attempted to set the other princes of Europe an example in assisting Candy. The galleys and ships of war which he had newly built in the port of Toulon transported thither seven thousand men, under the command of the duke of Beaufort: but this assistance proved too weak in this dangerous conjuncture, no other court chusing to imitate the generosity of France.

A private French gentleman, named La Feuillade, did an action on this occasion which had no example but in the old times of chivalry. He carried near three hundred gentlemen over to Candy at his own expence, though he had but a moderate fortune. If any other nation had assisted the Venetians in the same proportion with La Feuillade, it is more than probable that the island might have been saved.

These

These succours, however, only served to retard its fall for some days, and to spill a great deal of blood to no purpose. The duke of Beau-
 Sept. 16 fort was killed in a sally; and the city,
 1669 reduced to a heap of ashes, was sur-
 rendered to the grand vizir by ca-
 pitulation.

At this siege, the Turks had shewed them-
 selves superior even to the Christians, in the
 knowledge of the military art. The largest
 cannon which had hitherto been seen in Europe,
 were cast in their camp. They were the first
 who drew parallel lines in the trenches. It
 is from them that we learnt this custom;
 but they were indebted for it themselves to an
 Italian engineer. It is certain, that a victorious
 people, such as the Turks then were, with their
 experience, courage, riches, and that unwearied
 perseverance which then made their distinguish-
 ing character, might have conquered Italy, and
 made themselves masters of Rome in a very
 little time; but the dastardly emperors they
 have since had, their bad generals, and their
 faulty administration, have preserved Chri-
 stendom.

The king, little affected with these distant
 events, waited only for the ripening of his grand
 project, of conquering all the Netherlands, and
 beginning by Holland. The opportunity be-
 came every day more favourable. This little
 republic was mistress of the seas, but by land
 nothing could be more weak. In alliance with
 England and Spain, and at peace with France,
 she placed too much security in treaties, and
 the advantages accruing from an immense trade:
 and with a well disciplined and invincible naval
 power,

power her land forces were as badly provided and contemptible. The cavalry was composed only of burghers, who never stirred out of their houses, and payed the dregs of the people to do duty in their stead. The infantry was nearly upon the same footing. Commissions in the army, and even the command of garrison towns, were given to children, or the relations of burgomasters, brought up in idleness and inexperience, who considered their posts in the same light as priests do their benefices. The pensionary, John de Witt, endeavoured to reform this abuse; but he did not endeavour at it sufficiently, and this was one of the great faults of this famous republican.

In order to facilitate Lewis's scheme, it was previously necessary to detach England from its alliance with the Dutch, whose ruin seemed inevitably to follow, upon their being deprived of this support. The king found no difficult matter to persuade Charles II. to concur in his designs. This monarch indeed was not much affected with the disgrace thrown upon his reign and the English nation, when his ships were burnt even in the river Thames by the Dutch fleet. He entertained no thoughts of revenge or conquest. He was desirous of enjoying a life of pleasure, and reigning as much as possible without controul. This was his weak side: accordingly Lewis, who had only to speak the word, and be supplied with what money he had occasion for, promised Charles a very considerable sum, who was not able to raise any himself without the concurrence of his parliament. This secret alliance between the two kings was known to no

1670

one

one in France but Madame, sister to Charles II. and wife to Monsieur, the king's brother, to Louvois, and Turenne.

A young princess then, who was only twenty-five years of age, was the plenipotentiary pitched upon to put the finishing hand to this treaty with Charles. A visit which the king was to make to his new conquests of Dunkirk and Lisle served as a pretence for Madame's journey over to England. The pomp and grandeur of the ancient kings of Asia were nothing in comparison with the magnificence of this excursion. The king was always preceded or followed by thirty thousand men, while on the road, some of whom were destined to reinforce the garrisons of the conquered countries, others to work at the fortifications, and the rest to level the roads. His majesty was likewise accompanied by the queen his consort, all the princesses of the blood, and the most beautiful ladies of his court, amongst whom Madame shone with a superior lustre, and secretly enjoyed the glory and satisfaction of all this parade, which was wholly on her account. It was one continual feast from St. Germain to Lisle.

The king, willing to gain the hearts of his new subjects, and to dazzle the eyes of the neighbouring states, distributed his liberalities wherever he came, to a degree of profusion. The most magnificent presents were lavished upon every one who had the least pretext for speaking to him. The princess Henrietta embarked at Calais to pay a visit to her brother, who was already come as far as Canterbury to receive her. Charles, blinded by the love he bore his sister, and the great sums promised him
from

from France, signed every thing that Lewis XIV. desired, and laid a foundation for the ruin of Holland, in the midst of feastings and diversions.

The loss of Madame *, who died in a sudden and shocking manner, immediately upon her return from England, and drew great suspicions upon the duke of Orleans her husband, made no alteration in what had been resolved upon between the two kings. The spoils of the republic they had devoted to destruction, were already shared by the secret treaty between them, in the same manner as Flanders had been shared between the Dutch and the French in 1635. Thus states frequently change their views, their alliances, and their enmities, and are not unfrequently disappointed, in all their projects. The rumour of this approaching expedition began to spread abroad, but Europe listened to it without being stirred. The emperor, taken up with seditions in Hungary, the Swede lulled asleep by negotiations, and the Spanish monarchy still weak and ever irresolute and slow in its determinations, left Lewis XIV. to follow the career of his ambition uninterrupted.

To complete its misfortune, Holland was at that time divided into two factions, the one

* The dutchess of Orleans, immediately after her return to France, was, in consequence of drinking a glass of sugary water, by her physician's direction, seized with racking pains in the bowels, of which she died. She was supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy of her husband, who seemed to take umbrage at the intimacy of friendship that subsisted between her and his brother Lewis XIV.

composed of rigid republicans, to whom the least shadow of absolute authority seemed a monster contrary to the laws of human society: the other of republicans of a more moderate disposition, who were desirous of investing the young prince of Orange, afterwards the famous William III. with the posts and dignities of his ancestors. The grand pensionary John de Wit, and his brother Cornelius, were at the head of the rigid sticklers for liberty; but the young prince's party began to gain ground. The republic was more attentive to its domestic dissensions, than to the danger which threatened it from without, and thus contributed to its own ruin.

Lewis not only purchased the king of England, but he likewise brought over the elector of Cologne, and the famous Van Galen, bishop of Munster, who was greedy of war and plunder, and was naturally an enemy to the Dutch. Lewis had formerly assisted them against the bishop, and now joined with him for their destruction. The Swedes, who had joined with the republic in 1668, to check the progress of a conqueror who had then no designs against them, abandoned her as soon as they saw her threatened with ruin, and renewed their old connections with France, on condition of receiving the former subsidies.

It is somewhat singular and worthy of remark, that of all the enemies who were about to fall upon this petty state, there was not one that could alledge a lawful pretext for entering into the war. This was much such an undertaking as the league between Lewis XII. the emperor Maximilian and the king of Spain, who

who entered into a covenant to destroy the republic of Venice, only for being rich and haughty.

The states-general in the utmost consternation wrote to the king, beseeching him in the humblest manner to let them know if the great preparations he was making were really destined against them, his ancient friends and faithful allies? How they had offended him, or what satisfaction he required? To these remonstrances he returned for answer, "That he should employ his troops in such manner as became his dignity, for which he should be accountable to no one." All the reasons his ministers could give were, that the writer of the Dutch Gazette had been too insolent, and that Van Beuning was said to have caused a medal to be struck, reflecting upon the honour of Lewis XIV. Van Beuning's Christian name was Joshua. A taste for devices prevailed at that time in France. Lewis XIV. had taken a sun for his, with this legend: *Nec pluribus impar.*" Now it was pretended that Van Beuning, in the medal in question, which however never had existence, was represented with a sun, and these words for the motto: *In conspectu meo stetit sol:* "At sight of me the sun stood still*." It is certain, that the states-general had ordered a medal to be struck,

* It is certain that a medal was afterwards struck in Holland, which was supposed to be that of Van Beuning, but it had no date, on which there is the representation of a battle, with the meridian sun darting its rays down upon the combatants, with this legend: *Stetit sol in medio caeli.* This medal, which was the work of some private persons, was not struck till after the battle of Hochstet,

struck, expressing all the glorious deeds of the republic in the following legend: *Affertis legibus, emendatis sacris, adjutis defensis, conciliatis regibus, vindicata marium libertate, stabilita orbis Europæ quiete*: "The laws asserted, religion amended, princes succoured, defended, and reconciled; the freedom of the ocean vindicated, and peace restored to Europe."

In all this they boasted of nothing more than they had done, and yet they ordered the mould of this medal to be broke, in order to appease Lewis's anger.

The king of England on his side pretended that their fleet denied the honours due to the English flag, by refusing to lower their topsails to an English pleasure-boat, and complained of a certain picture in which Cornelius de Wit, the pensionary's brother, was painted with the ensigns of a conqueror. On the back-ground the painter had exhibited a representation of ships on fire. The truth is, that Cornelius de Wit, who bore a considerable share in the maritime exploits against England, had indulged himself in this trifling monument of his fame; but the picture itself was in a manner unknown, and hung in a room where hardly any one ever entered. The English ministers, who had transmitted their master's pretended grievances in

or Blenheim, in 1709, and relates to these two verses which were handed about at that time:

*Alter in egregio nuper certamine Josue
Clamavit, sol sta Gallice, solque stetit.*

Now, Van Beuning's Christian name was Conrad, and not Joshua.

writing

writing to the states-general, made mention of certain "Abusive Pictures." Now the Dutch, who always translate the memorials of foreign ministers into French, had rendered the term "Abusive," by the French word *fautifs, trompeurs*, false or lying pictures; upon which they returned for answer, that they did not know what was meant by *lying pictures*; in short, they never once conceived, that it related to this portrait of their fellow-citizen, nor could they imagine this to be a pretext for the war.

All that the efforts of ambition and human foresight could devise for the destruction of a nation, was put in practice by Lewis XIV. The history of mankind hardly furnishes us with an instance of such formidable preparations being made for so small an expedition. Of all the different conquerors that have invaded a part of the world, not one ever began the career of conquest with so many regular troops, and so much money, as Lewis employed in subduing the petty state of the United Provinces. No less than fifty millions, which were worth ninety-seven millions of our present currency, were expended in these pompous preparations. Thirty men of war, of fifty guns each, joined the English fleet, consisting of an hundred sail. The king, accompanied by his brother the duke of Orleans, marched at the head of one hundred and twelve thousand men towards Maestricht and Charleroi, on the frontiers of Spanish Flanders and Holland. The bishop of Munster and the elector of Cologne had about twenty thousand more. The prince of Condé and the marshal Turenne were the head-generals of the king's army, and the duke of Luxembourg

embourg commanded under them. Vauban had the direction of the sieges. Louvois was present in all places, with his customary vigilance. Never was there so magnificent an army, and at the same time so well disciplined; but the king's household troops, which were newly reformed, made a most glorious spectacle. They consisted of four companies of *gardes du corps*, or body-guards, each company composed of three hundred gentlemen, among whom there were a considerable number of young cadets, who served without pay, but were equally subject to strict military discipline with the rest; two hundred gendarmes of the guard, two hundred light-horse, five hundred musketeers, three hundred chosen gentlemen remarkable for their youth and handsome appearance, twelve companies of gendarmerie, since augmented to the number of sixteen; even the hundred Swiss regiment accompanied the king on this occasion, and the royal regiment of French and Swiss guards mounted before the house where he took up his residence, or at the door of his tent. These troops, the greater part of whom were covered with gold and silver, were at once the object of terror and admiration to a people who were strangers to all kind of magnificence; and the exact discipline which was kept up in this army, made it appear in a different light to any that had yet been seen. There were at that time no inspectors of the horse and foot, as there has since been; but these offices were performed by two men who were singular in their way. Martinet* put the infantry upon the

* Hence all strict disciplinarians have been distinguished by the name of Martinets.

footing of discipline in which we now see it; and the chevalier de Fourilles did the same by the cavalry. Martinet had, a year before, introduced the use of the bayonet among some of the regiments: before him it had never been made use of in a constant or uniform manner. This last effort of what perhaps is the most terrible of the whole military art, was already known, but had been little practised, because spears were still much in use. This same officer likewise invented copper boats for bridges, which might easily be transported in waggons, or on horseback. The king, secure of success and glory from all these advantages, carried along with him an historian to write his conquests. This was Pelisson, of whom mention will be made in the article of polite arts, a person whose talent lay more in good writing than avoiding flattery.

Against the great Condé, Turenne, Luxembourg, Vauban, an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men, an incredible train of artillery, and immense sums of money, to bribe the fidelity of those who commanded garrisons, what had the republic of Holland to oppose? A young prince of a weak constitution, who had never seen a battle or a siege, and about twenty-five thousand bad soldiers, which were all the strength of the country. William, prince of Orange, who was about twenty-two years old, had lately been elected captain-general of the land-forces, in spite of the opposition of John de Witt, who could no longer withstand the wishes of the nation. This prince, under the Dutch phlegm, concealed an ardent ambition and love of glory, which ever afterwards

wards manifested itself in its conduct, without ever appearing in his discourse. He was of a cold and sour disposition, but of an active and penetrating genius. His courage, which never abandoned him, supported his feeble and languid body under fatigues which seemed above his strength. He was valiant without ostentation, ambitious without being fond of vain glory, and endowed by nature with a phlegmatic obstinacy, formed for combating adversity. He delighted in war and politics, and was equally a stranger to the joys of society, or the pleasures attendant upon greatness; in a word, he was in almost every respect the direct opposite to Lewis XIV.

He was unable at first to make head against the torrent which overflowed his country; his forces were but inconsiderable, and even his authority was greatly limited by the states. The whole power of France was ready to fall upon a republic which had nothing to defend it. The imprudent duke of Lorraine, who endeavoured to raise troops in order to join his fortune with that of the republic, had just beheld his country seized upon by the French troops, with as much facility as they can seize upon Avignon on any quarrel with the papal see.

In the mean time the king caused his armies to advance on the side of the Rhine, into those countries which border upon Holland, Cologne, and Flanders. He ordered money to be distributed among the inhabitants of all the villages which were likely to suffer from the march of his troops through them. If a private gentleman made the least complaint to him, he was sure of being dismissed with a present. An en-

voy being sent from the governor of the Netherlands to make a representation of some disorders committed by the soldiers, the king with his own hand presented him with his picture, richly set in diamonds, and valued at upwards of twelve thousand franks. This behaviour attracted the admiration of the people, and made them stand more in awe of his power.

The king was at the head of his household, and a body of his choicest troops, in all amounting to thirty thousand men. Turenne had the command under him. The prince of Condé was likewise at the head of as strong an army. The other corps, commanded alternately by Luxembourg and Chamilli, formed occasionally separate armies, which could all join one another in case of necessity.

The campaign was opened by the siege of four towns at once, Rhinberg, Orfoi, Wesel, and Burick; names which merit a place in this history only on account of the event. These were all taken almost as soon as they were invested; Rhinberg, which the king thought proper to besiege in person, did not stand a single attack; and, in order to make more sure of its reduction, means had been found to corrupt the lieutenant of the garrison, one Dofferi, an Irishman, who, after having been base enough to sell his trust, was so imprudent as to retire to Maestricht, where the prince of Orange punished his treachery with death.

All the strong holds upon the Issel capitulated. Some of the garrisons sent the keys of their town as soon as they perceived two or three squadrons of the French appear in sight. Several officers fled from the towns where they were

in garrison, even before the enemy had entered their territories: in short, the consternation was general. The prince of Orange had not a sufficient force to take the field. All Holland prepared to submit to the yoke as soon as the king should cross the Rhine. The prince of Orange caused lines to be drawn with the utmost haste on the other side the river; and even after he had done this, he was sensible how impossible it was for him to defend them. Nothing now remained but to discover, if possible, in what part the French intended to throw over a bridge, in order to oppose their passage. In fact, it was the king's intention to pass the river on a bridge of those little copper boats, invented by Martinet. At that time the prince of Condé had received information from some of the country-people, that the dryness of the season had formed a ford on a branch of the Rhine, near an old castle, which served as an office for the toll-gatherers, and was called Toll Huis, or the Toll-house. The king ordered this ford to be sounded. According to Pellisson, who was an eye-witness of the whole, there was not above forty or fifty paces to swim over in the midst of this arm of the river. This was in fact nothing, for a number of horses a-breast entirely broke the current of the water, which was of itself very weak. The landing on the opposite side was very easy, as it was defended only by four or five hundred horsemen, and two weak regiments of foot, without any cannon. The French artillery played upon those in flank, while the household troops, and some of the best of the cavalry, crossed the river without any hazard, to the number of fifteen thousand men.

The

The prince of Condé crossed at the same time in one of the copper boats. Some few Dutch officers, who at first made a shew of advancing into the water in order to oppose their landing, took to their heels the instant the French troops drew near to the shore, unable to stand before the multitude which came pouring on them. The foot immediately laid down their arms, and called for quarter. This passage was effected with the loss of only a few drunken horsemen, who had swam out of their depth; and there would not have been a single life lost that day, had it not been for the imprudence of the young duke of Longueville, who being, as it is said, overheated with wine, fired his pistol at some of the enemy's people, who had laid down their arms and were begging their lives, crying out, "Give the scoundrels no quarter;" and drawing his trigger, shot an officer dead. Upon this the Dutch infantry, in a fit of despair, instantly flew to their arms and made a general discharge, by which the duke of Longueville himself was killed. A captain of their horse, named Ossembrouk, who had not fled with the rest, rode up to the prince of Condé, who was just got on shore, and going to mount his horse, and pointed his pistol at his head. The prince, by a sudden motion of his body, turned aside the piece, and received only a wound in his wrist, which was the first wound he had ever received in all his campaigns. The French immediately fell upon this small body sword in hand, who began to fly on all sides. In the mean time the king crossed the river with the rest of the army, on a bridge of boats.

June 12,
1672

Such was the passage of the Rhine; an action which made a great noise, was singular in its kind, and was celebrated at that time as one of those great events which ought to occupy the memory of mankind. The air of greatness with which the king performed all his actions, the rapid success of his victories, the glory of his reign, the adulation of his courtiers, and, lastly, the fondness which the common people, especially those of Paris, have in general for every thing that appears extraordinary, or else that ignorance of military operations, which prevails among those who pass a life of idleness in great cities, made this passage of the Rhine be looked upon as a prodigy. It was the common opinion, that the whole army had swam across the river in presence of the enemy, entrenched on the opposite side, and in defiance of the fire from an impregnable fortress, called the Toll-house. It is a certain truth, that the enemy themselves were greatly imposed upon in this affair, and that if they had had a body of good troops on the other side of the river, the attempt would have been extremely dangerous.

As soon as the French army had passed the Rhine, it took Doebourg, Zutphen, Arnheim, Nofembourg, Nimeguen, Skenk, Bommel, Creveccœur, &c. and there was hardly an hour in the day in which the king did not receive the news of some fresh conquest. An officer, by name Mazel, sent monsieur de Turenne word, "That if he would send him fifty horse, he would engage to make himself master of two or three places."

The inhabitants of Utrecht sent the keys of their city to the conqueror, and it capitulated, together with the whole province which bears

its name. Lewis made his entry into this city in triumph, accompanied by his high-almoner, his confessor, and the titular bishop of Utrecht. The high church was with great solemnity delivered up to the catholics; and the bishop of Utrecht, who had hitherto only held the empty title, was now for a little time put in possession of the real dignity.

June 20,
1672

The provinces of Utrecht, Overyffel, and Gueldres, were actually reduced, and Amsterdam only waited the hour of its slavery or destruction. The Jews who are settled there made interest with Gourville, the prince of Condé's confident, and chief manager of his affairs, to accept of two millions of florins, to save them from being plundered.

Naerden, which is in the neighbourhood of Amsterdam, was already taken. Four horsemen, who were on a marauding party, advanced to the very gates of Muyden, which is not above a mile from Amsterdam, and where are the sluices by which the country may be laid under water. The magistrates, struck with a panic at the sight of these four soldiers, came out and offered them the keys of the town; but at length perceiving that no other troops came up, they took back the keys and shut the gates again*. A moment's more diligence would have put Amsterdam into the king's hands. This capital once taken, not only the republic itself must have fallen, but there would no lon

* The castle or citadel of Muyden was preserved by a female servant, who raised up the draw-bridge, and so prevented the French stragglers from taking possession.

ger have been such a republic as Holland, and even the country itself would have been annihilated. Some of the richest families, and those who were most zealous lovers of liberty, were preparing to fly to the extremity of the globe, and embark for Batavia. There was actually a list made out of the shipping fit for undertaking this voyage, and a calculation of the numbers they would carry; when it was found, that fifty thousand families might be thus transported into their new country. Holland then would have existed only in the farther end of the East Indies: its provinces in Europe, who purchase their corn wholly with the riches they import from Asia, who subsist wholly upon their commerce, and their liberty, if I may use that expression, would have been almost in an instant depopulated and ruined. Amsterdam, the staple and warehouse of Europe, where three hundred thousand souls are daily employed in cultivating arts and trade, would have become one vast marsh. All the lands round about require an immense expence, and thousands of men to raise their dykes: those would, in all probability, have been stripped at once of their inhabitants and riches, and at length buried under water.

The distresses of the state were still farther encreased by the divisions which commonly arise among unfortunate people, who impute to each other the public calamities. The grand pensionary, John de Wit, thought there was no other way left to save what remained of his wretched country, but by suing to the victors for peace. Full of a republican spirit, and jealous of his personal authority, he dreaded the aggrandizement of the house of Orange still more

more than the conquests of the French king ; on this account he had obliged the prince of Orange himself to swear to the observance of a perpetual edict, by which he, the prince, was excluded from the stadtholdership. Honour, authority, party-spirit, and interest, all concurred to make de Wit a strenuous asserter of this oath ; and he chose rather to see his country subdued by a victorious king, than under subjection to a stadtholder.

The prince of Orange, on his side, who had more ambition than de Wit, was as much attached to his country, more patient under public calamities, and expecting every thing from time and his own unshaken constancy, tried all means to obtain the stadtholdership, and opposed a peace with as much vehemence as de Wit promoted it. The states, however, came to a resolution to sue for peace in spite of the prince, but the prince was raised to the stadtholdership in spite of de Wit.

Four deputies arrived in the king's camp, to implore mercy in the name of 1672
a republic, who six months before looked upon itself as the arbiter of kings. Lewis's ministers did not receive the deputies with that French politeness, which blends the mildness of civility with the severity of government. Louvois, who was of an haughty and arrogant disposition, and seemed better suited to serve his master well than to make him beloved, received the suppliants in a disdainful manner, and even with insulting raillery. They were obliged to go backwards and forwards several times, before the king would deign to make his will known to them. At length they were told,

that his majesty expected the states-general should give up all the places they were in possession of on the other side of the Rhine, with Nimeguen, and several other towns and forts in the heart of their country; that they should pay him twenty millions of livres; that the French should be masters of transporting merchandize on all the principal roads in Holland, both by land and water, without ever paying any duty; that the Roman-catholic religion should be every where established; that the republic should send an extraordinary embassy to the French court every year, together with a golden medal, on which should be engraved a legend, importing, that they held their freedom of Lewis XIV. lastly, that they should make satisfaction to the king of England, the elector of Cologne, and the bishop of Munster, who had joined in the desolation of their country.

A peace on these conditions, which were little better than articles of slavery, appeared insupportable; the haughtiness of the conqueror inspired the vanquished with a desperate courage, and it was unanimously resolved to die fighting. The hearts and hopes of every one were now fixed upon the prince of Orange. The populace grew furious against the grand pensionary, who had asked for peace. The prince by his politics, and his party by their animosity, increased the ferment. An attempt was made upon the grand pensionary's life; and afterwards his brother Cornelius was accused of a design to murder the prince, and was put to the rack. In the midst of his tortures he repeated the beginning of this ode of Horace,

Iustum

Iustum & tenacem propositi virum, which perfectly well suited with his condition and courage, and which may be thus translated, for the sake of those who do not understand Latin :

The man in conscious virtue bold,
Who dares his secret purpose hold,
Unshaken hears the croud's tumult'ous
cries,

And the impetuous tyrant's angry brow defies.

Let the loud winds that rule the seas
Tempest'ous their wild horrors raise ;
Let Jove's dread arm with thunders rend
the spheres ;

Beneath the crush of worlds, undaunted he appears.

At length the two brothers were massacred at the Hague, by the mad multitude, after one of them had governed the state, for upwards of nineteen years, with the most unspotted integrity, and the other had defended it at the hazard of his life. The most shocking cruelties which could enter into the imagination of a furious populace, were exercised upon their dead bodies. These barbarities are common in all nations, the French themselves had exercised them upon the marshal d'Ancre, admiral Coligni, &c. for the populace is almost every where the same. They wreaked their revenge upon all the pensionary's friends ; even de Ruyter himself, the republic's admiral, and who was the only one who fought her battles with success, had his house surrounded by assassins at Amsterdam.

In the midst of these disorders and desolations, the magistrates gave an example of integrity

grity rarely found in republics. Those private persons who were possessed of bank-notes, ran in crowds to the bank of Amsterdam, apprehending that the public stock had been broken in upon: every one was for being paid with the little money supposed to be left. The magistrates immediately ordered the vaults to be opened where this treasure is kept, when it was found entire, as it had been deposited there, for upwards of sixty years. The money was still black and discoloured, with the fire which had burnt down the town-house several years before. The bank-notes had been negotiated till that time, and the money had never been touched; every one was then paid with this money, that chose to receive it, in lieu of their notes. So much integrity, and so powerful a resource; was at that time the more admirable, as Charles II. of England, not satisfied with the money he had received from France, and wanting a farther supply to carry on his war against the Dutch, and answer the expence of his pleasures, had lately turned bankrupt. If it was shameful in this monarch thus to violate public faith, it was no less glorious in the magistrates of Amsterdam to preserve it, at a time when they might have had a plausible excuse for a failure.

To this republican virtue they added that courageous spirit, which has recourse to the utmost extremities in irremediable evils. They ordered the dykes which keep out the sea to be thrown down. The country-seats, which are in prodigious numbers about Amsterdam, the villages, and the neighbouring cities of Leyden and Delft, were in an instant laid under water.

The

The peasant beheld his flocks drowned in the pastures, without once murmuring. Amsterdam stood like a vast fortress in the midst of the waves, encircled by ships of war, which had water enough to ride all round the city. The people suffered great want; they were in particular distressed for fresh water, which sold for six sous the pint; but these extremities seemed less grievous than slavery. It is a thing worthy of observation, that Holland, thus distressed by land, and no longer a state, still retained its power at sea, which was this nation's true element.

While Lewis XIV. was crossing the Rhine, and reducing these provinces, the Dutch admiral, de Ruyter, with an hundred sail of men of war and fifty fire-ships, sailed for the English coast in quest of the combined fleets of the two sovereigns, who, notwithstanding they had united their forces by sea, were not able to fit out a naval armament superior to that of the Dutch. The English and Dutch fought like people accustomed to dispute the empire of the sea with each other. This battle, which was fought near Solebay, lasted a whole ^{June 7,} day. Ruyter, who made the signal ¹⁶⁷² for beginning the engagement, attacked the English admiral's ship, in which was the duke of York, the king's brother. De Ruyter gained all the glory of this single combat*; the duke of York was obliged to go on board ano-

* There could be no glory lost on either side; for the duke did not quit his ship until she was disabled, and de Ruyter declared that this was the most obstinate of two and thirty actions, in which he had been engaged.

ther ship, and never faced the Dutch admiral afterwards. The French squadron, consisting of thirty ships, had little share in this action; and so decisive was the fortune of this day, that it put the coast of Holland out of danger.

After this battle de Ruyter, notwithstanding the fears and contradictions of his countrymen, conveyed the fleet from the East Indies safe into the Texel; thus defending and enriching his country on one side, while she was falling, overwhelmed with ruin, on the other. The Dutch even kept up their trade, and no colours but theirs were to be seen in the Indian seas. One day the French consul telling the king of Persia, that his master, Lewis XIV. had conquered almost all Holland; "How can that be, (replied the monarch) when there is now in the port of Ormus twenty Dutch ships for one French?"

The prince of Orange, however, had the ambition of being a good citizen. He made an offer to the state of the revenues of his posts, and of all his private fortune, towards the support of the common cause. He overflowed all the passes by which the French could penetrate into the rest of the country. By his prompt and secret negotiations he raised the emperor, the empire, the Spanish council, and the government of Flanders, from their lethargy: he even disposed the English court to listen to peace. In a word, Lewis had entered Holland only in May, and by the month of July all Europe was in confederacy against him.

Monterey, governor of Flanders, sent a few regiments privately to the assistance of the United Provinces. The emperor Leopold's council likewise

likewise dispatched Montecuculi, at the head of twenty thousand men; and the elector of Brandenburg took the field with twenty-five thousand troops, whom he kept in his own pay.

The king now quitted his army, as there were no more conquests to be made in a country that was overflowed.

July,
1672

It was even become difficult to keep the provinces which had been conquered. Lewis, desirous to secure the glory he had acquired, contented himself with having taken such a number of towns in the space of two months; and leaving Turenne and Luxembourg to finish the war, he returned to St. Germain about the middle of the summer, to enjoy his triumphs. But while his subjects were every where erecting monuments of his conquests, the powers of Europe were at work to snatch them out of his hands.



C H A P. CLXXV.

HOLLAND evacuated. The FRANCHE COMTE conquered a second Time.

WE think it necessary to advertise those who may read this work, that they are to remember it is not a bare relation of campaigns, but rather an history of the manners of mankind. There are already a sufficient number of books filled with the minute particulars of military actions, and details of human rage and misery. The design of this essay is to describe

scribe the principal characters of these revolutions, and to remove the multitude of trifling facts, in order to set to view those only which are considerable, and (if it is possible) the spirit by which they were actuated.

France was at that time in the zenith of her glory. The names of her generals impressed veneration. Her ministers were regarded as geniuses superior to the counsellors of other princes; and Lewis XIV. seemed almost the only king in Europe. As to the emperor Leopold, he never appeared with his armies. Charles II. king of Spain, son to Philip IV. was as yet a child; and the king of England shewed no activity but in the pursuit of his pleasures.

The princes of Europe and their ministers were all guilty of great blunders. England acted against the common principles of reason in joining with France to aggrandize a power which it was her interest to weaken.

The emperor, the empire, and the king of Spain's council, committed still a greater error in not opposing this torrent in the beginning; and even Lewis himself was as blameable as any of them, for not rapidly pursuing conquests which were so easily made. Condé and Turenne were for demolishing the greatest part of the fortified places taken from the Dutch, alledging, that states were not to be taken by garrisons but by armies; and that, keeping one or two strong holds only for a retreat, they ought to proceed immediately to complete the conquest of the whole country. Louvois, on the contrary, was for making every place a garrison or fortress. This was his peculiar genius, and

and it was likewise the king's own taste. Louvois had by this means more employments in his disposal, and encreased his ministerial influence ; besides, he took a pride in thwarting the two greatest captains of the age. Lewis implicitly believed what he said, by which he was deceived, as he afterwards acknowledged. He let slip the opportunity of entering the capital of Holland ; he weakened his army by dividing it into too many places, and gave the enemy breathing time. The history of the greatest princes is frequently a narrative of human errors.

After the king had quitted the army, affairs took a different turn. Turenne was obliged to march into Westphalia, to oppose the Imperialists. Monterey, the governor of Flanders, whom the Spanish council were afraid of countenancing openly, reinforced the prince of Orange's small army with about ten thousand men, by which the prince found himself strong enough to make head against the French till the winter. It was doing a great deal to be able to hold fortune in suspense. At length winter came on, and covered the overflowed country of Holland with ice. Luxembourg, who commanded in Utrecht, carried on a new kind of war, to which the French themselves were strangers, and threw the Dutch into a fresh dilemma, as terrible as any thing they had yet experienced.

One night he gets together near twelve thousand foot soldiers, drawn from the neighbouring garrisons ; and having ordered every man to be furnished with a pair of skates, he puts himself at their head, and begins his march over the
ice

ice towards Leyden and the Hague: a thaw comes on, which saves the Hague; and his little army, surrounded by the waters, knowing no longer which way to go, and being destitute of provisions, was on the point of perishing. There was a narrow and muddy dyke, where hardly four men could walk a-breast, which he was obliged to march over before he could get back to Utrecht; and there was no way to get at this dyke, but by attacking a fort which seemed impregnable without artillery; and had those who were in it defended it but for a single day, the French army must inevitably have perished with hunger and fatigue. Luxembourg now looked upon himself as lost; but the same good fortune which had preserved the Hague, saved his army, through the cowardice of the commandant of the fort, who abandoned his post without the least reason. There are a thousand events in war, as in civil life, which are altogether incomprehensible, and this was of the number. This expedition was productive of nothing but a piece of cruelty, which rendered the French name completely odious in this country. Bodegrave and Suvamerdam, two considerable villages, each well peopled, and as large as some of our middling towns, were given up to the soldiery for plunder, as a reward for the fatigues they had undergone. They immediately set fire to both towns, and indulged themselves by the light of the flames in all excesses of debauchery and cruelty. It is surprising that the common soldiers among the French can be so barbarous, seeing they are commanded by such a prodigious number of officers, who have with justice the reputation of being as humane

mane as they are brave. The sacking of these two places was so exaggerated, that I myself, above forty years afterwards, saw some Dutch books, in which children were taught to read, where this affair was recapitulated, in order to inspire the rising generations with an hatred to the French.

In the mean time the king cut out work for the cabinets of all Europe, by ¹⁶⁷³ his negotiations. He gained over the duke of Hanover. The elector of Brandenburg, entering into the war, had made a treaty which he soon broke. There was not a court in Germany where Lewis had not some pensioners. By his emissaries in Hungary he fomented the troubles of that province, which had been severely treated by the emperor's council. He lavished great sums on Charles II. of England, to engage him to declare war once more against the Dutch, notwithstanding the outcries and murmurs of all his subjects, who were filled with indignation at being made tools to raise the French king's greatness, which it was their interest and desire to humble. In a word, Lewis disturbed all Europe by his arms and negotiations; but after all, he could not prevent the emperor, the empire, and Spain, from joining the Dutch, and publicly declaring war against him. He had so far changed the course of things, that the Dutch, who were his natural allies, were become friends to Spain. The emperor Leopold sent his succours slowly; but he shewed great animosity against the French. It is reported, that as he was going to Egra to see the troops, which were there assembled, he took the sacrament upon the road, and that af-
ter

ter having communicated, he took a crucifix in his hand, and called God to witness to the justice of his cause. This action would have done very well in the time of the crusades; however, the emperor's invocation did not in the least stop the progress of the French king's arms.

It soon appeared how greatly his marine was improved. Instead of thirty ships, which had been sent the year before to join the English fleet, he now sent forty, without reckoning fire-ships. The sea-officers had learnt from the English the judicious manner of working their ships in their engagements with the Dutch. The duke of York, afterwards king James II. was the person who first invented the method of giving orders in a naval fight, by the different dispositions and motions of flags. Till that time the French did not know how to draw up a fleet in line of battle. All their experience consisted in fighting ship to ship, without knowing how to make a number move in concert, or to imitate at sea the evolutions of armies on shore, whose several different corps mutually sustain and assist each other. In this they resembled the Romans, who in one year's time learnt the art of fighting at sea from the Carthaginians, and soon became equal with their masters.

The vice-admiral D'Etrée, and his second in command, Martel, did honour to the industry of the French nation, in three successive sea-engagements, which were fought in the month of June, between the Dutch fleet and
 1673 the combined squadrons of France and
 England. Admiral de Ruyter was more
 ad-

admired than ever in these three engagements. D'Etrée, in a letter to Colbert, expressed himself in these terms; "I would willingly have died to purchase the glory which de Ruyter has acquired." D'Etrée deserved that Ruyter should have said the same by him. In short, the valour and conduct were so equal on both sides, that it remained doubtful which had the victory.

Lewis having thus made seamen of his French subjects, through the diligence of Colbert, improved the art of war at land by the industry of Vauban. He went in person to lay siege to Maestricht, at the time that these three naval battles were fought. Maestricht was the key of the Low Countries and the United Provinces. The place was prodigiously strong, and defended by an intrepid governor, named Farjaux, a Frenchman by birth, who had gone into the Spanish service, and afterwards into the Dutch. The garrison consisted of five hundred men. Vauban, who had the direction of the siege, made use for the first time of the parallel lines, which were invented by the Italian engineers in the service of the Turks at the siege of Candia. To these he added the *places d'armes*, or parade of arms, which is made in the trenches, for ranging the troops in order of battle, and better rallying them in case of sallies from the besieged. Lewis, in this siege, shewed himself more strict and assiduous than he had ever yet done. By his example he accustomed his subjects to endure labour patiently, who had hitherto been accused as a nation which had only an impetuous courage, that is soon exhausted by fatigues. Maestricht surrendered after a week's siege.

June 29
1673

The

The desire of establishing strict military discipline among his troops, carried him rather to an excess of severity. The prince of Orange at first had only a few officers without emulation, and soldiers without courage, to oppose the rapid conquests of the French arms, and therefore was obliged to employ the utmost rigour in training them, and to hang every one who quitted his post. The king likewise made use of punishments. The first place he lost, a very brave officer named Du Pas, gave up Naerden to the prince of Orange. It is true, he held out the place only four days ; but he did not give it up till after an obstinate engagement of five hours upon bad works, and to prevent a general assault, which it would have been impossible for him to have sustained with a weak and dispirited garrison. The king, incensed at this first affront which his arms had received, ordered Du Pas to be led through Utrecht by the common hangman, with a shovel in his hand, and to have his sword broke before his face. This ignominious treatment was perhaps not altogether necessary, as the French officers have too nice a sense of honour to need being governed by the fear of disgrace. It is to be observed, that according to the tenor of his commission, the governor of a fortress is obliged to stand three assaults ; but this is one of those laws which are hardly ever put in force.

But not all the king's diligence, Vauban's genius, Louvois's strict vigilance, the knowledge and great military experience of Turenne, nor the active intrepidity of the prince of Condé, were sufficient to repair the fault which had been committed in keeping such a number of places,

places, weakening the army, and missing the opportunity of taking Amſterdam.

The prince of Condé in vain attempted to penetrate into the heart of Holland, which was all under water. Turenne could neither prevent the junction of Montecuculi with the prince of Orange, nor hinder the latter from making himſelf maſter of the town of Bonn. The biſhop of Munſter, who had ſworn the deſtruction of the ſtates-general, was himſelf attacked by them.

Nov.
1673

The English parliament obliged its king to enter ſeriously into a treaty of peace, and to ceaſe being the mercenary inſtrument of aggrandizing France. And now the French were obliged to evacuate the three Dutch provinces with as much precipitation as they had conquered them; but not till they had made them pay dearly for their deliverance. The intendant Robert had raiſed in the ſingle province of Utrecht in one year, no leſs than ſixteen hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand florins. So great was their hurry to evacuate the country which they had over-run with ſuch rapidity, that twenty-eight thouſand Dutch priſoners were reſtored at a crown per man. The triumphal arch of St. Denis's gate, and the other monuments of Lewis's conqueſts, were hardly finiſhed, when thoſe conqueſts were already abandoned. During the courſe of this invaſion, the Dutch had the honour of diſputing the empire of the ſea, and the dexterity to remove the theatre of the war out of their own country. Lewis XIV. was conſidered throughout Europe as one who had enjoyed the glory of a tranſient triumph with too much precipitation and pride.

pride. The fruits of this expedition were, that he had a bloody war to support against the united forces of the Empire, Spain, and Holland ; saw himself abandoned by England, and at length by the bishop of Munster, and even the elector of Cologne ; and left the countries he had invaded, and was compelled to quit, more hated than admired.

The king maintained his ground alone against all the enemies he had drawn upon him. The foresight of his administration, and the strength of his kingdom, appeared to a much greater advantage, when he had so many combined powers and great generals to defend himself against, than even when he took French Flanders in a party of pleasure, and Franche Comté, and one half of Holland, from a defenceless enemy.

It now appeared how great an advantage an absolute sovereign, whose finances are well managed, has over all other kings. He at one and the same time furnished Turenne with an army of twenty-three thousand men, against the Imperialists ; Condé, with one of forty thousand, against the prince of Orange ; and a body of troops were stationed on the borders of Roussillon. A fleet of transports, full of soldiers, was sent to carry the war among the Spaniards, even to the gates of Messina ; while he himself marched in person to subdue the Franche Comté a second time. In a word, he at once defended himself, and attacked his enemies on every side.

As soon as he began his expedition against the Franche Comté, the superiority of his administration shewed itself in the fullest manner.

It

It was necessary to bring over, or at least to amuse, the Swiss nation, who are as formidable as poor, are always in arms, jealous to an excess of their liberty, invincible on their own frontiers, and who already began to murmur and take umbrage at seeing Lewis a second time in their neighbourhood. The emperor and the court of Spain warmly solicited the thirteen cantons to grant a free passage to their troops, who were going to the assistance of the Franche Comté, which had been left defenceless by the negligence of the Spanish ministry; but the emperor and the Spaniard were only lavish in arguments and entreaties. The French king, on the contrary, by a million of livres in ready money, and the assurance of six hundred thousand more, prevailed on those people to do as he pleased. They refused to grant a passage to the Spanish troops. Lewis, accompanied by his brother and the great Condé's son, laid siege to Besançon. He was fond of this part of war, which he understood perfectly well, and left the care of the campaign to Condé and Turenne. Besides, he never laid siege to a town without being morally sure of taking it. Louvois made such excellent preparations, the troops were so well found in every thing; Vauban, who had almost always the direction of the sieges, was so great a master in the art of reducing places, that the king was secure of his reputation. Vauban directed the attacks against Besançon, which was taken in nine days; and, at the end of six weeks, all Franche Comté submitted to the king. It has ever since remained in the hands of France,
and

and seems to be for ever annexed to it, a monument of the weakness of the Austro-Spanish ministry, and of the vigour of that of Lewis XIV.



C H A P. CLXXVI.

The glorious Campaign and Death of MARSHAL TURENNE.

WHILE the king was proceeding in the conquest of the Franche Comté, with that rapidity, ease, and glory, which seemed inseparably annexed to his arms, Turenne, who was only defending the frontiers towards the Rhine, displayed all that was great and consummate in the art of war. Our esteem for men is generally measured by the difficulties they surmount; and this it was that gained Turenne such great reputation in this campaign.

June In the first place, he made a long
1674 and hasty march, passed the Rhine at Philipshourg, marched all night to Sintzheim, which he took by storm, and at the same time attacked and routed the emperor's general, Caprara, and the old duke of Lorraine, Charles IV. a prince who had spent his life in losing his dominions and raising troops; and who had lately joined his little army to a part of the emperor's. Turenne, after having defeated him, pursued him, and routed his cavalry at Ladimbourg; from thence he, by hasty marches,

marches came up with the prince of Bourbonville, another of the imperial generals, who was only waiting for fresh troops, to open himself a way into Alsace. Turenne prevented him from being joined by these troops, attacked him, and obliged him to quit the field of battle.

The empire now assembled all its forces against him: seventy thousand Germans occupied Alsace, and blocked up the towns of Briſſac and Philipsburg. Turenne's army did not consist at most of above twenty thousand effective men; but having received a small reinforcement of cavalry from the prince of Condé, who was then in Flanders, he crosses the mountains covered with snow, marches through Turenne, and Bedford, enters Upper Al-
Dec.
1674
face, and appears in the midst of the enemy's quarters, who thought him lying inactive in Lorraine, and looked upon the campaign as already finished. He beat up the quarters at Mulhausen that resisted, and made two thousand of them prisoners. He then marched to Colmar, where the elector of Brandenburg, who was called the great elector, and was at that time general of the armies of the empire, had his head quarters, and came upon him just as he and the rest of the princes and general officers were going to sit down to dinner. They had hardly time to escape, and in one instant the country was covered with the flying.

Turenne, who thought he had done nothing, while there was any thing left to be done, lay in wait near Turkheim, for a party of the enemy's foot, who were to march that way. He had chosen so advantageous a pass, that he was

Jan. 5 certain of success : accordingly he en-
 1675 tirely defeated this body. In short,
 this army of seventy thousand men
 was beaten and dispersed almost without any
 great battle. Alsace fell into the king's hand,
 and the generals of the empire were obliged to
 repass the Rhine.

All these actions, following so fast upon
 one another, conducted with so much art,
 managed with such patience, and executed
 with as much promptitude, were equally ad-
 mired by France and her enemies. But Tu-
 renne's reputation received a considerable ad-
 dition, when it was known that all he had
 done in this campaign had been done with-
 out the consent of the court, and even against
 the repeated orders sent to him by Louvois, in
 the king's name. It was not the least instance
 of Turenne's courage, nor the least memorable
 exploit of this campaign, thus to oppose the
 powerful Louvois, and take upon himself the con-
 sequences, in defiance of the outcries of the court,
 his master's orders, and the hatred of the ministry.

It is certain, that those who had more hu-
 manity than esteem for military exploits, were
 greatly displeas'd at this glorious campaign ;
 which was as much distinguished by the mi-
 series of the private people, as by the great
 deeds of Turenne. After the battle of Sintz-
 heim he laid waste with fire and sword the Pa-
 latinate, a level and fertile country, full of rich
 cities and villages : and the elector-palatine,
 from his castle of Manheim, beheld two cities
 and twenty-five villages burnt before his eyes.
 This unhappy prince, in the first emotions of
 his rage, wrote a letter to Turenne, filled with
 the bitterest reproaches, and defying him to

single combat. Turenne having sent this letter to the king, who forbade him to accept the challenge, he made no other return to the elector's reproaches and defiance than an empty compliment, which signified nothing. This was agreeable to the general behaviour and stile of Turenne, who always expressed himself in a cool and ambiguous manner.

He, in the same cold blood, destroyed the ovens, and burnt all the corn fields in Alsace, to prevent the enemy from finding subsistence. He afterwards permitted his cavalry to ravage Lorraine, where they committed such disorders, that the intendant, who, on his side, laid waste that province with his pen, wrote to desire the marshal to put a stop to the excesses of the soldiery; who always replied coolly, "I shall take notice of it in the orders." Turenne was better pleased to be esteemed the father of the men who were entrusted to his care, than of the people who, according to the rules of war, are always the victims. All the evil he did seemed necessary: his reputation covered every thing; and, besides, the seventy thousand Germans, whom he prevented from entering France, would have done more mischief there than he did in Alsace, Lorrain, and the Palatinate.

The prince of Condé, on his side, fought a battle in Flanders, which was much more bloody than all the victories of the viscount Turenne, though it proved neither so fortunate nor decisive; or rather because he had abler generals and better troops to encounter. This was the battle of Senef. The marquis of Feuquieres insists that it should be called only a fight; because it was not an action between two armies

drawn up in battle-array, and that the corps were not all engaged; but it seems generally agreed to give the title of battle to this hot and bloody day. It is always the importance of an affair which determines its appellation. Had three thousand men, ranged in battle-array, been engaged with each other, and even all their different corps been in action, it would have been only called a fight.

The prince of Condé, who was to keep the field with only forty-five thousand men, against the prince of Orange with upwards of sixty thousand, waited for the enemy's army to pass a defile at Senef, near Mons, and fell upon a part of the rear guard, composed of Spaniards, over whom he gained a considerable advantage. The prince of Orange was blamed for not having taken sufficient precaution in passing through this defile; but every one admired the dexterous manner in which he repaired this accident; and Condé himself was censured for attempting to renew the fight against an enemy so strongly entrenched. The combat was renewed three different times. The two generals, in this medley of errors and great deeds, equally distinguished themselves by their presence of mind and courage. Of all the battles in which the great Condé had been engaged, there was no one in which he hazarded his own life and that of his soldiers so much as in this. After having sustained three bloody attacks, he was for attempting the fourth. "The prince of Condé, said one of the officers who was there present, seemed to be the only person who had an inclination for fighting". What was most remarkable in this action was, that both armies,
after

after having stood the most obstinate and bloody engagement, were seized with a sudden panic in the night time, and took to flight. The next day they retreated, without either side having kept the field of battle, or claimed the victory; both being equally weakened and defeated. There were about seven thousand killed, and five thousand made prisoners, on the side of the French; and the enemy's loss was nearly equal. This useless carnage prevented either army from undertaking any thing of moment against the other: but the appearance of advantage was at that time so necessary, that the prince of Orange, in order to make the world believe that he had gained the victory, laid siege to Oudenarde; however, the prince of Condé soon shewed that he had not lost the battle, by obliging him to raise the siege, and pursuing him in his retreat.

It was equally the practice with the French and the allies, to observe the idle ceremony of giving public thanks for a victory they had not gained: a custom established to keep up the spirit of the populace, who must always be deceived.

Turenne, with his little army, continued to make some progress in Germany, by the mere efforts of his military genius. The council of Vienna not daring to trust any longer the fate of the empire to princes who had made so bad a defence, once more delivered the command of its armies to general Montecuculi, the same who had defeated the Turks in the battle of St. Gothard, and who, in spite of the endeavours of Turenne and Condé, had effected a junction with the prince of Orange, and checked the

career of Lewis's conquests, after he had reduced three of the seven United Provinces.

It has been elsewhere remarked, that the empire has been frequently indebted to Italy for its greatest generals. This country, though in a state of declension and slavery, still produces men who put us in mind of what it has once been. Montecuculi was the only person fit to be opposed to Turenne. They had both brought war to an art. They spent four months in following and observing each other in their marches and encampments, which were held in greater esteem by the French and German officers, than even victories. Each of them judged what his adversary had in view, by the very steps which he himself would have taken on the same occasion, and they were seldom deceived. They opposed each other with perseverance, cunning, and activity. At last they were on the point of coming to an engagement, and staking their reputations on the fate of a battle near the village of Saltzbach, when Turenne was killed by a cannon ball, as he was going to fix upon a place for erecting a battery. Every one is acquainted with the particulars of this great man's death; but we cannot refrain from repeating some of the principal circumstances of an event which continues to be spoken of to this day. There is one indeed which it is hardly possible to repeat too often. The same ball which deprived Turenne of his life carried off the arm of St. Hilaire, lieutenant general of the artillery, whose son throwing himself down by his side in a flood of tears, "Weep not for me, said that brave officer, but for that great

great man," pointing to Turenne. These words are equal to any thing that history has consecrated as most heroic, and form the worthiest elogium of the great Turenne. It is very seldom that in a despotic government, where every one is wholly taken up with his own private concerns, those who have served their country die regretted: nevertheless, Turenne was lamented both by his own soldiers and the people. Louvois was the only one who rejoiced at his death. Every one knows that the king caused the greatest honours to be payed to his memory; and that he was interred at St. Denis, as the constable du Guesclin had been, to whom the public voice declares him as much superior, as the age he lived in was superior to that of the constable's.

Turenne had not always been successful in the field. He had been beaten at Mariendal, Retel, and Cambrai; he had likewise been guilty of some faults, and was so much the great man as to own them. He had never gained very striking victories, nor fought any of those pitched battles which decide the fate of one or the other nation; but by always repairing his defeats, and doing a great deal with a little, he passed for the ablest general in Europe, in an age when the art of war was better understood than ever it had been. In like manner, though he had been accused of having deserted his party in the civil wars, and that, when almost sixty years of age, he had suffered love to make him reveal a secret of state, and that he exercised some unnecessary barbarities in the Palatinate, yet he still preserved the character of an upright, prudent, and honest man; because his virtues

and great talents, which were peculiar to himself, made the world forget those weaknesses and failings which were common to him with the rest of mankind. If we were to compare him to any one, we might venture to say, that of all the generals of past ages, Gonsalvo de Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, was the person whom he came the nearest in resemblance to.

He was born a protestant; but in 1688 he embraced the Roman-catholic religion. It was not supposed by either protestant or philosopher, that this change was the effect of mere persuasion only, in a warrior and a statesman, of fifty years old, who still kept mistresses. It was well known that Lewis XIV. when he created him marshal-general of his armies, spoke to him in these very words, which we find related by Pellisson in his letters, and others: "I wish you would lay me under an obligation of doing more for you." These words (according to these writers) might, together with time, have been the means of bringing about this conversion. The place of constable might perhaps have entered into an ambitious mind; it is also possible that this conversion might be sincere. The human heart frequently unites politics, ambition, religious sentiments, and amorous weaknesses; but the catholics, who triumphed in this change, would never be persuaded that the great soul of Turenne was capable of double dealing.

The turn which affairs took in Alsace immediately after the death of Turenne, made his loss more sensibly felt. Montecuculi, who had for three months been kept on the other side

side of the Rhine by the abilities of the French general, passed that river the instant he knew he had no longer Turenne to fear; he then fell upon a part of the army, which remained thunderstruck with its loss, under the command of the two lieutenant-generals, de Lorges and Vauban. Though the French defended themselves with great valour, they could not hinder the Imperialists from penetrating into Alsace, from whence Turenne had always kept them at a distance.

The army not only stood in need of a leader to conduct it, but also to retrieve the late defeat which had happened to marshal de Crequi, a man of an enterprising genius, capable at once of the noblest and rashest actions, and equally dangerous to his country and its enemies. He had lately, through his own fault, been beaten at Consrbruck, and his little army routed and cut to pieces by a body of twenty thousand Germans, who were laying siege to Triers. Hardly a fourth part of his troops escaped. After this accident, he marched with the utmost precipitation thro' a thousand dangers, and threw himself into Triers, which he defended with the greatest valour; whereas he should have succoured it by a prudent management. He resolved to bury himself in the ruins of the place, before he would give it up; and even when a breach was made practicable, he still continued to hold out. The garrison began to murmur at this obstinacy; and one captain Bois-Jourdan, who was at the head of the mutineers, repaired to the breach, and proposed a capitulation. Never was cowardice carried on with so much bold-

ness; he threatened to kill the marshal, unless he would sign the capitulation; Crequi upon this retires, with some officers who remained faithful to him, to a neighbouring church, and chose rather to be a prisoner at discretion than to capitulate.

To recruit the great loss of men which the kingdom had sustained by so many sieges and battles; Lewis XIV. was advised not to confine himself to the usual levies from among the militia, but to issue his orders for assembling the ban and arriere-ban. By an ancient custom, which is now laid aside, all those that held lands in fee, were obliged to serve their lords paramount in the wars, at their own expence, and to continue in arms for a certain number of days. This service was one of the principal laws of our barbarous nations. Things are at present on a very different footing in Europe; every kingdom now raises soldiers, who are kept in constant pay, and form a regular and disciplined body.

Lewis XIII. had once, during his reign, assembled the nobility of his kingdom; Lewis XIV. now followed his example. The body of nobility took the field under the command of the marquis, afterwards marshal of Rochefort, and marched to the frontiers of Flanders, and from thence to the borders of Germany; but this body was neither considerable in its numbers, nor useful in its operations, nor indeed could be rendered so. The gentlemen who had a military turn, and were fit for service, had all commissions in the army; those whom age or discontent had kept at home, remained there; and the rest, who were employed in improving their
estates,

estates, came with repugnance, to the number of about four thousand. In short, they were far from having the appearance of military troops. They were all differently mounted and accoutred, void of experience, ignorant of discipline, and either incapable or averse to regular service; so that they caused only confusion, and were for ever laid aside. This was the last trace of ancient chivalry which appeared in our regular armies, of which those armies were formerly composed, and which, though possessed of all the courage natural to their nation, never fought well.

Turenne dead, Crequi beaten and a prisoner, Triers taken, and Montecuculi laying all Alsace under contributions, the king thought that the prince of Condé alone was able to revive the drooping spirits of the army, discouraged by the death of Turenne. Condé left marshal Luxembourg to support the French arms in Flanders, and hastened to check the progress of Montecuculi. On this occasion, he shewed as much coldness as he had done impetuosity at Senef; and, with a genius which conformed itself to every thing, he displayed the same art as Turenne had done. By two encampments only, he Aug. and Sept. stopt the progress of the German army, and obliged Montecuculi to raise the sieges of Hagenau and Saverne. After this campaign, which was indeed less brilliant, but more esteemed, than that of Senef, this prince no longer appeared in the character of a warrior. He was desirous of having his son appointed to the command in his stead, and offered to assist him with his advice: but the king

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did not chuse to have either young men or princes for generals ; it was even not without reluctance that he had employed the prince of Condé, who owed his being at the head of the army to Louvois's jealousy of Turenne, as much as to his own great reputation.

The prince retired to Chantilly, and rarely came to Versailles, to see his glory eclipsed in a place where the courtier regards only favour. During the remainder of his life he was greatly tormented with the gout ; but he consoled himself in the midst of his anguish and disgrace, by the conversation of men of genius of all kinds, with which France then abounded. He was truly worthy of their acquaintance, being himself acquainted with most of the arts and sciences in which they excelled. He still continued the object of admiration, even in his retirement ; till at length that devouring fire, which had in his youth made him the impetuous hero, and subject to a number of passions, having by degrees consumed the vigour of a body, which was by nature formed rather active than robust, he experienced a total decay before his time ; and his mind growing as weak as his body, nothing of the great Condé remained during the two last years of his life. He died in the year 1680. Montecuculi retired from the emperor's service much about the time that the great Condé resigned the command of the armies of France.

CHAP. CLXXVI.

From the Death of TURENNE to the Peace of NIMEGUEN, in 1678.

NOtwithstanding Turenne was dead, and the prince of Condé withdrawn from the army, the king still continued the war against the emperor, the Spaniards, and the Dutch, with as much success as before. He had a number of officers who had been trained up under these great men; he had Louvois, who was as good as a general to him, because, by his ready foresight, he furnished the generals with means of undertaking every thing they desired; and the troops, by a long series of victories, retained that ardour, which the presence of a monarch, ever fortunate in his undertakings, had inspired them with.

During the course of this war, he in person took Condé*, Bouchain†, Valenciennes‡, and Cambray§. He was accused by some, of having been afraid to engage the prince of Orange, who, at the siege of Bouchain, presented himself with an army of fifty thousand men, in order to relieve the place. The prince of Orange was likewise reproached with not having given battle to Lewis, when he might have done it; for such is the fate of kings and generals, that they are always blamed for what they do, and for what they do not do; but neither the king nor the prince of Orange were in

* April 26, 1676. † May 11, 1679. ‡ March 17, 1677. § April 5, 1677.

the least to blame: the former did not give battle, though he was desirous of it, because Monterey, who was governor of the Netherlands, and who was then in his army, did not chuse to expose his province to the chance of a decisive action; and the honour of the campaign was undoubtedly on the king's side, since he did what he pleased, and took a town in sight of his enemy.

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

The king carried on this siege, assisted by his brother and five marshals of France, namely, d'Humieres, Schomberg, La Feuillade, Luxembourg, and de Lorges. The marshals had each their day of command in turn, and Vauban had the direction of all the operations.

They had not yet made themselves masters of any of the outworks of the place. The first thing to be done was to attack two half-moons; behind which was a large crown-work, guarded with pallisades and fraises, and surrounded by a ditch, intersected with several traverses. Within this crown-work was another work, surrounded by another ditch. When all these entrenchments were carried, there was still a branch of the Scheld to be passed. Even after this, there remained another work, called paté; behind this paté ran the main stream of the Scheld, which was very deep and rapid, and which serves as a ditch to the town-wall, which was defended by strong ramparts. All these works were covered with
artillery,

artillery, and a garrison of three thousand men promised a long resistance.

The king held a council of war about attacking the out-works. It had always been a custom to make these attacks in the night-time, in order to steal upon the enemy unperceived, and save the lives of the men. Vauban proposed to make the attack in the day-time. This proposal was strongly opposed by the marshals, and Louvois joined in condemning it; Vauban however maintained his opinion, with the confidence of a man who is sure of what he advances: "You are desirous (said he) of saving your men as much as possible; you will certainly do this much better by day-light, when they will be able to fight without confusion and tumult, or being apprehensive of one party firing upon another, as too often happens in attacks by night. We want to surprize the enemy, who are always upon their guard against an attack by night; we shall therefore effectually surprize them, if we oblige them to stand the attack of our fresh troops, after they have been wearied out by the fatigue of the over-night's watch. Add to this, that if there are any of our men who want courage, the night favours their backwardness; but that, in day-time, the eye of the master inspires them with courage, and makes them surpass themselves."

The king was convinced by Vauban's arguments, and agreed to his proposal, notwithstanding the objections of the five marshals of France.

At

At nine o'clock in the morning, March 17, 1677, the two companies of musketeers, an hundred grenadiers, a battalion of the guards, and another of the regiment of Picardy, mounted the great crown-work on all sides. Their orders were only to make a lodgement there, and this was a great deal; but some of the black musketeers having found entrance by a private passage into the inner entrenchments which were in this work, presently made themselves masters of it; at the same time the grey musketeers made way through another passage; these were followed by the battalion of guards, who fell upon the besieged, killed some of them, and put the rest to flight. By this time the musketeers had let down the draw-bridge which joined this work to the rest: they followed the enemy from one entrenchment to another, both on the greater and lesser branch of the Scheld. The guards pressed on in crouds, and the musketeers were in possession of the town before the king knew that the first work, which he had ordered to be attacked, was carried.

But this was the least considerable part of the action. It is likely enough that a number of young musketeers, inflamed with the ardour of success, might fall upon the troops or burghers whom they met in the streets, and lose their lives, or else plunder the town; but what is most extraordinary in this affair is, that these young men, under the conduct of a cornet called Moiffac, drew up in a rank behind some waggons, and while the rest of the troops who came in were forming with deliberation, other musketeers took possession of the neighbouring

bouring houses, and covered with their fire those who were in the street. Hostages were now exchanged on each side; the town-council assembled and dispatched a deputation to the king, and all this was transacted without pillage, confusion, or the least outrage of any kind. The king made the garrison prisoners of war, and entered Valenciennes with astonishment. The singularity of this action engaged us to enter into this minute detail.

The king likewise gained
 some honour by the taking of
 Ghent in eight days time, and
 Ypres in seven. His generals
 met with still greater success.

March 9, 1678

March 25, 1678

In Germany, indeed, the marshal duke of Luxembourg, at the beginning of the war, suffered Philippsburg to be taken in his fight, after a fruitless attempt to relieve it with an army of fifty thousand men. The general who took Philippsburg was Charles V. the new duke of Lorraine, who succeeded his uncle Charles IV. and was, like him, stripped of his dominions. He had all the good qualifications of his unhappy uncle, without any of his faults. He commanded the armies of the empire with great reputation; but, notwithstanding he had reduced Philippsburg, and was at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, he could never get possession of his dominions; and it was to no purpose that he carried these words in his colours: *Aut nunc aut nunquam*, Now or never. Marshal Crequi, now ransomed from his confinement, and become more prudent by his defeat at Consrbruck, always kept the entrance into Lorraine shut

Octob. 7, 1677 shut from him. He beat him
 in a small skirmish at Kokerf-
 berk, in Alsace, and continually harrassed him
 Nov. 14, 1677 in his marches. He took Fri-
 burg in his fight, and beat a
 July, 1678 detachment of his army at
 Rheinfield. He passed the river
 Keres in his view, pursued him to Offenbourg,
 fell upon him in his retreat, and having imme-
 diately afterwards carried the fort of Retel
 sword in hand, he proceeded to Sharbourg,
 where he burnt the bridge by which that city,
 which was still free, had so many times afforded
 a passage for the imperial troops into Alsace.
 Thus did marshal Crequi make amends for the
 imprudence of one day, by a series of successes
 which were wholly owing to his prudence;
 and, had he lived some time longer, it is pro-
 bable he would have acquired an equal reputa-
 tion with Turenne.

The prince of Orange was not more success-
 ful in Flanders than the duke of Lorraine had
 been in Germany; he was not only obliged to
 raise the siege of Maestricht and Charleroi, but,
 after having suffered Condé, Bouchain, and Va-
 lenciennes to fall into the hands of Lewis XIV.
 he lost the battle of Montcaffel, against Mon-
 sieur the king's brother, in attempting to re-
 lieve St. Omer. The marshals Luxembourg
 and d'Humieres commanded this army under
 Monsieur. It is said that the gaining of the
 battle was owing to an error committed by the
 prince of Orange, and a dextrous movement
 made by Luxembourg. Monsieur fought with
 a courage and presence of mind that was never
 expected from so effeminate a prince. There
 could

could not be a stronger instance that valour is not incompatible with delicacy. This prince, who frequently used to go drest like a woman, and who had the same inclinations, behaved on this occasion like a general and a soldier. It is said that the king his brother was jealous of the reputation he acquired. He took very little notice to him of the victory he had gained, and did not so much as go to see the field of battle, tho' he was just by. Some March 11, of the duke of Orleans attend- 1677 ants, who were more discerning than the rest, prophesied to him then that he would never again have the command of an army, and their predictions were verified.

The taking of so many towns, and the gaining so many battles, were not the only successes which attended the arms of Lewis XIV. during this war. The count of Schomberg and marshal Navaille beat the Spaniards in the Lamoignon, at the foot of the Pyrenees, and attacked them even in Sicily.

This island, since the time of the tyrants of Syracuse, under whom it was of some note in the world, has always fallen a prey to foreigners: it has been successively enslaved by the Romans, the Vandals, the Arabians, the Norman princes vassals to the popes, the French, the Germans, and the Spaniards; still hating its masters and rebelling against them, without making any noble efforts to gain their liberty, and continually engaged in fresh seditions only to change its chains.

The magistrates of Messina had lately stirred up a civil war against their governors, and called in the French to their assistance. Their harbour

harbour was blocked up by a Spanish fleet, and they were reduced to the last extremities of famine.

The chevalier de Valbille was immediately sent with a few frigates to their assistance, who passed through the Spanish fleet, and threw a supply of provisions, arms, and men, into the city. Soon after the duke of Vivonne arrived, with seven men of war of sixty guns, two of
 Feb. 9. eighty, and a number of fire-ships,
 1675 engaged the enemy's fleet, which he defeated, and entered the harbour of Messina in triumph.

The Spaniards were obliged to have recourse to the Dutch, their ancient enemies, who were still looked upon as masters of the sea, to help them to defend Sicily. De Ruyter sails from the Zuyder Zee, passes the verge of Messina, and reinforces the Spanish fleet of twenty ships with three and twenty large men of war.

Jan. 8, And now the French, who, when
 1676 joined with the English, had not been able to beat the Dutch fleets, gained a victory alone over the combined squadrons of Spain and Holland. The duke of Vivonne, who was obliged to remain in Messina to restrain the populace, who already began to be displeased with their defenders, left the care of this engagement to du Quesne, his lieutenant-general, who was a man as extraordinary in his way as de Ruyter; he had, like him, rose to the command entirely by merit, but had never before had the management of a naval armament, having hitherto signalized himself rather in the character of a captain of a privateer, than
 the

the commander of a regular fleet. But whosoever possesses a genius for his art, and for carrying command, passes with great ease and quickness from the little to the great. Du Quesne shewed himself a very able sea-officer in this action against de Ruyter, was it only for having gained a small advantage over this experienced Hollander. He gave battle a second time to the enemy's fleets off Aosta*. In this engagement de Ruyter received the wound which put an end to his glorious life. He was one of those men whose memories are still had in the greatest veneration by the people of Holland. On his first entrance into a sea-life he was only a cabin-boy, or captain's servant, which makes him so much the more respectable. His name is equal with those of the princes of Nassau. The Spanish council gave him the title and patent of duke, an odd and ridiculous dignity to confer on a republican; the patent however did not arrive till after he was dead, when his children, proving themselves worthy of such a father, refused a title which is so earnestly sought after in our monarchies, but which is by no means to be preferred to the name of a good citizen.

March 12,
1676

Lewis XIV. had too noble a soul not to be concerned at his death; and, when some of his courtiers represented to him that he was now rid of a troublesome and dangerous enemy, "Nevertheless, replied he, I cannot help being afflicted with the loss of a great man."

* Aosta, Agost, or Avosta, a dutchy in the principality of Piedmont, belonging to the king of Sardinia, and lying near the sea-side.

Du Quesne, the de Ruyter of the French, attacked the combined fleets a third time, immediately upon the death of the Dutch admiral, and sunk, burnt, and took several of their largest ships. The marshal duke of Vivonne commanded in chief in this action; but it was nevertheless du Quesne who gained the victory. Europe stood amazed to see France, in so short a space of time, become as formidable by sea as at land. It is certain, that these armaments and victories only served to spread the alarm thro' every state. The king of England, having entered upon the war to support the interest of France, was now desirous of joining the prince of Orange, who had lately married his niece.

April 8, 1678 Besides, the great reputation gained in Sicily cost too much money, and lastly, the French evacuated Messina at the very time when they were thought on the point of making themselves masters of the island. Lewis XIV. was greatly blamed for having, during the course of this war, undertaken many things which he could not go thro' with, and for quitting Messina, as he had done Holland, after a fruitless conquest.

However, it must be allowed, that prince is very formidable who is no otherwise unsuccessful than in not being able to keep all his conquests. He pressed his enemies in every part of Europe. The war in Sicily had not cost him near so much money as it did the Spaniard, who was distressed and beaten in every place. He likewise raised up new enemies against the house of Austria; he fomented the troubles in Hungary, and his ambassadors at the Ottoman porte pressed the sultan to carry the war into Germany, though

at the same time common decency would have obliged him to send succours against those very people whom his politics had called in: for, at that time, the Swedes, his old allies, were engaged in an unsuccessful war, against the elector of Brandenburg. This elector, who was father to the first king of Prussia, had begun to exalt his country to that degree of reputation which has since received so considerable an addition. He had just then taken Pomerania from the Swedes.

It is remarkable, that during the course of this war, there were almost continual conferences held for peace; first at Cologne, upon the fruitless mediation of the Swedes, and afterwards at Nimeguen, by the equally useless interposition of the English, whose mediation was become almost as idle a piece of ceremony as the arbitration of the pope. At the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Lewis XIV. was actually the only real arbiter: he made proposals for a peace, the ninth of April 1678, in the midst of his victories, and gave the enemy to the tenth of May to accept of them. He afterwards allowed, the states general six weeks longer, upon their asking it in the most submissive manner.

He now entirely laid aside all ambitious views upon Holland: that republic had been so lucky, or skilful, to appear only as an auxiliary in a war which was begun for its destruction; while the empire and Spain, who were at first only auxiliaries, were at length become the principal parties.

The king greatly favoured the trade of the
Dutch

Dutch by the conditions which he imposed upon them; he restored to them the city of Maeftricht, and gave the Spaniards some towns to serve as barriers to the United Provinces; as Charleroi, Courtrai, Oudenarde, Ath, Ghent, and Limburg: but he reserved Bouchain, Condé, Ypres, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Maubeuge, Aire, Saint Omer, Cassel, Charlemont, Popering, Bailleul, &c. which made a great part of Flanders. To these he added the Franche-Comté, which had been already twice conquered: and these two provinces were no despicable fruits of this war.

He demanded nothing more of the empire but Friburg or Philipsburg, which he left to the emperor's choice. He reinstated the two brothers, Furstemburg, in the bishopric of Strasburg, and their family estate, of which they had been stript by the emperor, who still detained one of them in prison.

He protected with an high hand his allies the Swedes, unhappily joined with him against the king of Denmark and the elector of Brandenburg. He insisted that Denmark should give up all it had taken from Sweden, lower the toll-duties in the Baltick Sea; that the duke of Holstein should be restored to his dominions; that the elector of Brandenburg should give up Pomerania, which he had lately conquered; and that every article of the treaty of Westphalia should be again renewed. His will was a law throughout Europe; the elector of Brandenburg in vain wrote a letter to him, in the most submissive terms, in which he styles him, "His Lord and Master," humbly entreating he might

might be permitted to keep what he had conquered, with many assurances of his zeal and future service; but his submissions proved as inefficacious as his resistance, and the conqueror of the Swedes was obliged to restore all he had taken from them.

And now the ambassador of France insisted upon taking the upper hand of the electors. Brandenburg proposed every kind of modification, in order to settle a conference with the count, afterwards marshal d'Estades, who was ambassador to the states-general; but the king would never suffer a person who represented him to yield to an elector, and the count d'Estades could not treat.

Charles V. had put the grandees of Spain upon the same rank with the electors, consequently the peers of France had pretensions to the same equality. At present we see that things are changed in every point, since in the imperial diets the ambassadors of electors are now held in the same manner as those of crowned heads. As to Lorrain, Lewis offered to restore the new duke, Charles V. but insisted upon remaining master of Nanci, and all the great roads.

These conditions were imposed with the haughtiness of a conqueror; but yet they were not so unreasonable as to drive his enemies to despair, or oblige them to join together against him, as the only thing left. He at once dictated to Europe as a master, and acted as a politician.

At the conferences at Nimeguen he found means to sow jealousy among his allies. The Dutch were in haste to sign, in despite of the

prince of Orange, who resolved at all events to carry on war, alledging that the Spaniards were too weak to assist them, should they refuse to sign.

The Spaniards, seeing that the Dutch had accepted of terms of peace, followed their example; alledging that the empire did not seem hearty in the common cause.

In the last place, the Germans, abandoned by Spain and Holland, signed after all the others, ceding Friburg to the king, and confirming the treaties of Westphalia.

There was no alteration made in the conditions prescribed by Lewis XIV. The enemy in vain affected to make some extravagant proposals, in order to disguise their own weakness. He gave laws and peace to all Europe. The duke of Lorraine was the only one who refused to accede to a treaty which appeared to him in so oppressive a light. He chose rather to be a prince, and wander through the empire, than to be a sovereign without power or honours in his own dominions; and waited in expectation, when time and his own courage should bring about a favourable reverse of fortune.

During the conferences at Nimeguen, and four days after that the plenipotentiaries of France and Holland had signed the treaty of peace, the prince of Orange shewed how dangerous an enemy Lewis XIV. had in him. Marshal Luxembourg, who was then besieging Mons, had lately received an account of the conclusion of the peace; upon which he lay lulled in full security in the village of St. Denis, and dined that day with the intendant of the army. The prince of Orange, with his whole
army,

army, attacks the marshal's quarters, and forces them : a long and bloody engagement ensues, from which the prince had the greatest reason to expect the most signal victory ; for he not only gave the attack, which is a great advantage, but he attacked an army which depended upon the faith of treaties, and grew remiss in their military rigour. Marshal Luxembourg could with great difficulty resist the fury of this attack ; and if the advantage lay on any side, it was with the prince of Orange, whose foot remained master of the field of battle where they had fought.

Did ambitious men pay any regard to the lives of their fellow creatures, the prince of Orange would not have fought this battle. He certainly knew that the peace was already signed, or on the point of being so : he knew that this peace would prove advantageous to his country, and yet he hazarded his own life, and that of thousands of men besides, as the first fruits of a general peace, which was then so far advanced, that had he even beat the French army, it would have made no alteration in the congress. This act, as inhuman as it was glorious, and which at that time was more esteemed than blamed, did not produce one single additional article in the treaty ; and the lives of two thousand French, and as many of the enemy, were thrown away to no end. By this peace we may see how much projects are contradicted by events. Holland, against whom alone the war was undertaken, and whose destruction seemed inevitable, lost nothing at all ; on the contrary, she gained a barrier, while every other crowned

head who had preserved it from destruction, lost by it.

The king was now at the height of his greatness. He had been victorious ever since he came to the crown; never had besieged any place without taking it; was superior in all things to those in league against him; the terror of Europe for six years together; and at length its arbiter and peace-maker: he added to his estates the Franche-Comté, Dunkirk, and one half of Flanders; and, what he still ought to look upon as one of the greatest blessings, he was king over a happy kingdom, now become the model to all other nations.

Some time afterwards, (in 1680) the town-house of Paris solemnly bestowed upon him the epithet of Great, and ordered this title alone to be placed upon all public monuments. Several medals had been struck as early as the year 1673, with this surname on them; and Europe, though jealous of his glory, did not cry out against these honours. Nevertheless, the name of Lewis XIV. has prevailed among the public more than that of Great. Custom governs all things. Henry, who had the surname of Great conferred on him after his death with so much justice, is commonly called Henry IV. and that name alone is sufficiently expressive. The prince of Condé is always called the Great Condé, not only on account of his heroic deeds, but from a lucky facility of distinguishing him by that means from the other princes of Condé. Had he been called Condé the Great, that title would never have remained with him. We say the Great Corneille, to di-

distinguish him from his brother. We do not say the Great Virgil, the Great Horace, or the Great Tasso. Alexander the Great is now only known by the simple name of Alexander. Charles V. whose successes were more dazzling than those of Lewis XIV. had never the surname of Great. It continues to be given to Charlemagne, only as a proper name*. Titles are of no use to posterity; the name of a man who has done great things, impresses more respect than the most sounding epithet.

CHAP.

* This is a strange medley of comparisons, without any propriety of distinction; and one of the remarks is, we apprehend, not founded upon reality: that, for example, which relates to Alexander, who is universally known by the name of Alexander the Great: the same epithet is constantly bestowed upon Pompey, the rival of Julius Cæsar. But whatever Mr. de Voltaire may think of the importance of his own nation in general, and of those characters in particular, which his nation has honoured with the appellation of Great, the consent of the French nation alone is not sufficient to establish this epithet. Alexander deserved the name of Great, in the opinion of all the enlightened nations then in being. Pompey was surnamed Great, by the undoubted metropolis of the world. Both the one and the other had performed such exploits as entitled them to that glorious addition. They had subdued the most formidable powers of Asia, and filled all the world with astonishment at the brilliancy of their victories. Henry IV. of France had never extended his success beyond his own dominions. His grand-son, Lewis XIV. had over-run Franche-Comté and Flanders, when they were both defenceless: but he was not able to complete the conquest of Holland, even though he was at the gates of Amsterdam, and the Dutch had not an army to oppose his career. In the sequel, though his generals obtained some victories over the prince of Orange, they never struck such a decisive stroke, but that he was always able to keep them at bay, and to

C H A P. CLXXVII.

The taking of STRASBURG; the bombarding of ALGIERS; the submission of the GENOESE; the embassy from the emperor of SIAM; the pope braved in ROME; and the succession to the Electorate of COLOGNE disputed.

THE general peace proved no restraint upon Lewis's ambition. The empire, Spain, and Holland, disbanded their extraordinary troops, but he still kept his in pay. 1680 Peace was to him a time of conquests*.

give them battle in six weeks after every defeat. Nor could they, with all their efforts, ever make another conquest on the territories of the states general. In the war that succeeded the death of king William, Lewis had the mortification to see his surname of Great melted down as it were, in a series of defeats and disasters, until he was at length obliged to sue for peace of those very states which he had treated with such insolence in his prosperity. How was it possible that a prince could retain the epithet of Great, in the midst of subjects who found themselves reduced to misery by his ambition? who saw that ambition blasted, and that idolized monarch sinking under distemper, and overwhelmed with disgrace? Besides, the personal character of Lewis, was evidently deficient in that enterprising courage and intrepidity, which are reckoned by all the world essential ingredients in the constitution of a hero.

* While this sheet was at press, there fell into the hands of the editors, a compilation entitled, *Memoirs of madame de Maintenon*. In the third volume of which work, at the twenty-third page, are the following words: "The union of the courts of Metz and Besancon," which made us at first think that there was a court at Besancon united to that of Metz. Upon this we consulted several authors, but found that there never had been any court at Besancon appointed for

He was even so secure of his power at that time, that he established courts of jurisdiction in Mentz and Brisac, for annexing to the crown all the territories which were formerly dependent upon Alsace or the three bishoprics; but which had from time immemorial been in the hands of other masters. Several sovereign princes of the empire, the elector palatine, the king of Spain himself, who had several bailiwicks in these countries, and the king of Sweden as duke of Deux Ponts, were summoned before these courts, to do homage to the king of France, under pain of having their possessions forfeited. He was the only prince since the time of Charlemagne who had acted thus like the lord and judge of crowned heads, and conquered countries by judicial decrees.

The elector palatine, and the elector of Triers, were dispossessed of the lordships of Falkenburg, Germarsheim, Veldentz, &c. They carried their complaints before the diet of the empire, assembled at Ratisbon, but in vain; for that assembly contented itself with entering protests against these proceedings.

The king did not think it sufficient to be thus master of ten free cities of Alsace, by the same titles which the emperors formerly had: no one even dared to mention liberty in any of those cities. Strasburg yet remained a great and opulent city, and mistress of the Rhine, by

for deciding the territories properly belonging to France; and that in the year 1610, there were only the council of Brisac and Metz, whose business it was to annex to the crown of France the territories which had been dismembered from Alsace and the three bishoprics.

means of the bridge which it had upon that river; of itself a powerful republic, and famous for its arsenal, which contained nine hundred pieces of cannon.

Louvois had for a long time formed a design of putting this city into his master's hands. He had already prepared the way by bribery, intrigues, and menaces. The magistrates were seduced, and the people were struck with consternation, at seeing their ramparts on a sudden surrounded by twenty thousand French; their forts, by which they were guarded on the side of the Rhine, attacked and taken in an instant; Louvois at their gates, and their burgomasters Sept. 30, talking of surrendering, which Louvois
1681 accepted, and took possession of the town. Vauban has since fortified it in such a manner, that it has become the strongest barrier of France.

The king kept no better measures with Spain: he claimed the town of Alost, in the Netherlands, together with its whole bailiwick, which, as was pretended, his ministers had forgot to insert in the articles of peace; and upon the Spanish court making some hesitation in 1682 complying with his demand, he ordered the city of Luxemburgh to be blockaded.

At the same time he purchased the city of Casal, of the petty duke of Mantua, who would have sold all his dominions to supply his pleasures.

Europe began to be alarmed a-fresh, at seeing a power which thus extended itself on all sides, and had acquired in the midst of peace more than ten preceding monarchs of France had
gained

gained by all their wars. The emperor, the Dutch, and even the Swedes themselves, finding great reason to be displeas'd with Lewis's proceedings, entered into a treaty of association. The English threw out some threats, the Spaniards resolv'd upon a war, and the prince of Orange left no stone unturned to blow up the flame; but no power as yet dared to strike the first blow*.

The king, who was fear'd every where, sought only how to make himself more formidable. He encreas'd the power of his marine beyond the most sanguine hopes of his subjects, or the liveliest apprehensions of his enemies. He had sixty thousand sailors in pay; and this rude body of men were kept to their duty, by laws as severe as those observ'd with respect to the military forces. The English and Dutch, on the contrary, though such powerful maritime nations, had neither so many seamen, nor such

* Some pretend that it was on this occasion that the prince of Orange publicly express'd himself in these terms: "If I cannot have his friendship, I will at least deserve his esteem." This saying has been preserv'd by several persons; and the abbé Choisi places it about the year 1672. It is worthy of some attention, as it seems a distant hint of the confederacies which William afterwards form'd against Lewis XIV. But it is a mistake to say that it was at the peace of Nimeguen, that the prince of Orange spok'e these words; and it is a still grosser error to suppose that Lewis XIV. wrote to that prince in these terms: "You ask me for my friendship, I will grant it you when you are deserv'ing of it." This is the language of a lord to his vassal, and such insulting expressions are never made use of by one prince in treaty with another. This letter is found no where but in Maintenon's memoirs; and we are inform'd that this compilation is greatly censur'd for the number of falsities it contains.

good regulations. Several companies of cadets and marine guards were formed, and stationed in the frontier-towns and the sea-ports, who were trained up in all the arts requisite to their profession, under the care of masters payed out of the public treasury.

The harbour of Toulon, in the Mediterranean, was formed at an immense expence, capable of containing an hundred ships of war, with an arsenal and magnificent store-houses. The port of Brest was likewise formed in the western ocean, at an equal expence. Dunkirk and Havre-de-Grace were filled with shipping, and nature herself was forced at Rochfort.

At length Lewis had above an hundred ships of the line, of which several mounted an hundred guns, and others more. These were not suffered to lie idle in port. His squadrons under the command of Du Quesne cleared the seas of the Algerine and Tripoline pirates which infected them, and punished Algiers by the help of a new art; the discovery of which was owing to the care he took to encourage all kinds of genius in his reign. This fatal but admirable art is that of bomb-vessels, with which sea-port towns may be reduced to ashes. There was a young man named Bernard Renaud, better known by the name of Little Renaud, who by mere strength of genius, became an excellent mariner, without ever having served on board a ship. Colbert, who found out merit wherever it was hidden, had frequently sent for this man to the council of marine, even when the king was present: it was in pursuance of his diligent observations and instructions, that they afterwards fell upon a more uniform

and easy method of building ships. Renaud had the boldness to propose in council to bombard Algiers with a fleet of ships. Every one present started at the proposal, not having the least conception that a mortar could be fired any where but on a solid ground: in short, he underwent all the raillery and contradiction which every one must expect who offers a new invention; but his firmness, and that eloquence which naturally accompanies those who are forcibly struck with their own invention, prevailed upon the king to permit a trial of this new project.

Renaud then caused five vessels to be built of a lesser size than common, but much stronger, without any upper decks, and only a platform or false deck on the keel, in which hollow spaces were formed for receiving the mortars as in beds. Thus equipped, he set sail under the command of old Du Quesne, who had the charge of this expedition, from which he expected little success: but the effect of the bombs filled both the admiral and the Algerines with surprize, one half of the town being presently beaten down and laid in ashes. Oct. 28, 1681
However, this art being soon communicated to other nations, served only to multiply the calamities of human kind, and proved more than once fatal to France, where it was invented.

This improvement in the marine within a few years, was wholly owing to the care and vigilance of Colbert. Louvois was continually employed in fortifying upwards of one hundred citadels; besides building the new ones of Hunningen, Sar-Lewis, the fortresses of Sharbourg,

Mont-royal, &c. and while the kingdom was acquiring this exterior strength, the arts flourished within, and pleasure and abundance reigned every where. Strangers came in crouds to admire the court of Lewis XIV. whose name was carried to the most distant nations of the earth.

His glory and success received a farther addition, from the weakness of most of the other crowned heads in Europe, and the miserable state of their people. The emperor Leopold was at that time in fear of the rebellious Hungarians, and especially of the Turks, whom they had called in to their assistance, and were preparing to invade Germany. Lewis thought it politic to persecute the protestants of his own kingdom, in order to prevent them from being able to give him any disturbance; but he underhand protected the protestants and rebels in Hungary, because they might be of service to him. His ambassadors at the Turkish court had importuned the sultan to fit out an armament before the peace of Nimeguen. The divan by an unaccountable singularity has almost always waited till the emperor was at peace to break with him. The war in Hungary was not begun till the year 1682, and the ensuing year, the Turkish army of two hundred thousand men, reinforced by several bodies of Hungarian troops, meeting with no fortified towns, such as there are in France, nor any regular army to oppose its progress, advanced to the very gates of Vienna, after laying all waste in its march.

The emperor Leopold, at the approach of the Turks, quitted Vienna with the utmost precipi-

cipitation, and retired to Lentz ; and when he heard that they had invested his capital, he only retired at a still greater distance, to Passau, leaving the duke of Lorraine at the head of an inconsiderable army, which had already been attacked by the Turks in their march, to defend the empire as well as he could.

No one made the least doubt but that the grand vizir, Cara Mustapha, who commanded the Ottoman army, would soon be master of Vienna, a badly fortified city, abandoned by its sovereign, and defended only by a garrison of ten thousand effective men, though called sixteen thousand. In short, a dreadful revolution was every moment expected.

Lewis XIV. had the greatest reason to expect that Germany, thus distressed by the Turks, and having no resource but in a chief, whose flight had increased the general terror, would soon be reduced to fly to the protection of France. He had an army on the borders of the empire ready to defend it against those very Turks which he had brought thither by his former negociations. By this means he hoped to become protector of the empire, and to make his son king of the Romans.

At first, when the Turks threatened Austria with an invasion, he added generosity to his political views ; not that he sent succours a second time to the emperor, but he declared that he would not attack the Low Countries ; but would leave the Austrian-Spanish branch at liberty to assist that of Germany, which was on the point of being overwhelmed. All that he asked in return for lying quiet was, to be satisfied with respect to some disputable points
in

in the treaty of Nimeguen, and chiefly relating to the bailiwick of Alost, which had by mistake been omitted in the treaty. He actually ordered the blockade of Luxemburg to be raised in 1682, without waiting to be satisfied, and abstained from all hostilities for one whole year. But he did not observe the same generosity afterwards, during the siege of Vienna. The Spanish council, instead of soothing, incensed him; and he renewed hostilities in the Netherlands, at the very time that Vienna was on the point of falling into the hands of the Turks: this was in the beginning of September; but, contrary to all expectation, Vienna was relieved. The presumption, effeminacy, ignorance, and slothfulness of the grand vizir, together with his brutal contempt for the Christians, proved his ruin. Nothing less than such a combination of faults could have preserved the capital of the empire. John Sobieski, king of Poland, had time to march to its relief; and having joined the duke of Lorraine, he presented himself before the Ottoman army, who fled at Sept. 12 his first appearance. The emperor
1683 returned to his capital, grieved and astonished at having quitted it. He entered just as his deliverer was coming out of the high church, where they had been singing Te Deum, and the preacher had taken these words for his text: "There was a man sent from God, and his name was John." You may have already observed that the same words were applied by pope Pius V. to Don John of Austria after the victory of Lepanto. You know that what at first appears new is frequently no other than a repetition. The emperor Leopold was

was at once triumphant and humbled. The French king having no longer any measures to keep, bombarded Luxemburg, and seized upon Courtrai and Dixmude, in Flanders: he then made himself master of Triers, and demolished its fortifications; and all this, as he said, to fulfil the spirit of the treaties of Nimeguen. The Imperialists and Spaniards entered into a negotiation with him at Ratifbon, while he was taking their towns; and the treaty of Nimeguen, which had been infringed, was changed into a truce for twenty years, by which the king was left in possession of the city of Luxemburg, and its principality, which he had lately conquered.

Lewis was still more formidable on the coast of Barbary, where, till his time, the French had been known only by some of their nation, which fell into the hands of the barbarians, and were made slaves.

The inhabitants of Algiers, after their city had been twice bombarded, sent deputies to make their submission, and demand peace. They delivered up all the Christian captives in their possession, besides paying a considerable sum of money, which is the greatest punishment that can be inflicted on a corsair.

Tunis and Tripoli made the like submissions; and here it may not be impertinent to relate the following anecdote. One Damfreville, a captain of a French ship of war, being come to Algiers to release all the Christian captives there, in the French king's name, found several Englishmen among them, who, after they were on board, insisted to Damfreville that it was on the king of England's account that they had
been

been set at liberty; upon which the French captain sent for the Algerine officers, and putting the English into their hands again, "These people, said he, pretend that they are released wholly in their own king's name; mine therefore will not take the liberty of offering them his protection: I therefore deliver them up to you again; it now remains with you to shew what you owe the king of England." The English were carried back to their former slavery: this anecdote may serve to shew the pride of the English, the weakness of Charles II's administration, and the respect which all nations had for Lewis XIV.

This respect was so general, that new honours were granted to his ambassador at the Ottoman porte, the same as to the sopher's, at the very time that he was humbling the people of Barbary, who are immediately under the protection of the grand signor.

The republic of Genoa humbled itself before him still more than that of Algiers. The Genoese had sold powder and bombs to the Algerines; they were likewise building four galleys for the service of the king of Spain. The king sent St. Olon, one of his gentlemen in ordinary, in character of envoy, to forbid their launching those galleys, threatening them with instant punishment if they did not comply with his will. The Genoese, incensed at this attempt upon their liberties, and reckoning too much upon the assistance of Spain, refused to give the king any satisfaction. Immediately fourteen large ships, twelve galleys, six bomb vessels, and several frigates, set sail from the port of Toulon, having on board the new secretary

secretary of the marine, Seignelai, son to the famous Colbert*, who had procured him this employ

* John Baptist Colbert, marquis de Seignelai and Chateaufort, baron de Sceaux, de Lenieres, d'Ormos, minister and secretary of state, commander and high treasurer of the king's orders, comptroller general of the finances, superintendent of the buildings, arts, and manufactures of France, may be justly stiled the ablest and best minister that any kingdom in Europe ever produced. He was born at Paris, the son of Nicholas Colbert, lord of Vandieres, and counsellor of state: but he descended from the Scotch family of Cuthbert, a branch of which settled in Champagne in the thirteenth century, as appears by the tomb of Richard Colbert, at the Cordeliers in Rheims, having this inscription engraved in Gothic Letters: *Cy git le preux chevalier Richard Colbert, dit le Ecoffois, kif . . . 1300 . . . priez pour l'ame de ly.* In the middle of the stone is a scutcheon with the knight's arms, being a wreathed snake in pale; and under it the following distich:

*En Ecoffe j'eus le Berceau,
Et Rheims m'a donné le Tombeau.*

Colbert the minister attached himself to cardinal Mazarin, who favoured him with his confidence, and recommended him to the king as a man of unshaken fidelity, indefatigable application, and extensive capacity. After the cardinal's death, Lewis appointed Colbert comptroller-general of the finances, which were in terrible disorder; and he had all the reason in the world to be pleased with this disposition. To Colbert alone, all the glory which Lewis acquired by his external wars, and internal administration, may be justly attributed. Colbert improved and established the finances in such a manner, as enabled the king to maintain armies that all Europe could not oppose. Colbert introduced and supported manufactures, extended and protected commerce, and raised the marine of France to a most formidable pitch of power. He advanced the liberal arts, by instituting academies, industriously searching after and rewarding merit; inviting artists from all parts of Europe, and gratifying them with pensions adequate to their desert. He opened a communication between the two seas, by

com-

employ before his death. This young man was full of ambition, courage, wit, and vivacity, and wanted to be at once the soldier and the minister; he was greedy of honour, ardent in all his undertakings, and knew how to blend pleasures with business, without impeding either. Old Du Quesne had the command of the large ships, and the duke of Mortemar of the galleys; but they were both dependents on the secretary of state. The fleet arrives before Genoa, and
 March 17, the ten bomb vessels throw fourteen
 1684 thousand shells into the town, by which a part of those noble marble buildings, from whence Genoa had its name of Superb, were reduced to ashes. Four thousand men were then landed from the fleet, who advanced to the gates of the city, and burnt the suburb of St. Pietro d'Arena. The inhabitants now found it necessary to submit, in order to avoid total ruin. The king insisted that the doge and four of the principal senators of Genoa, should repair to his palace of Versailles, there to implore his clemency; and lest the Genoese should elude the required satisfaction, and diminish any thing from his glory on this occasion, he farther insisted that the doge should be continued in his office, notwithstanding a perpetual law in Genoa, by which any doge who is absent but a moment from the city is deprived of his dignity.

compleating the canal of Languedoc. He formed and fortified harbours; built docks and arsenals: in a word, there was not a remarkable work, either of magnificence or utility in France, that did not owe its origin to Colbert, whom we would propose as the perfect model of a minister.

Im-

Imperiale Lescaro, doge of Genoa, Feb. 22, accompanied by the senators Lomelino, Garebardi, Durazzo, and Salvago, repaired to Versailles to perform all that the king demanded of them. The doge dressed in his robes of state, with a red velvet cap on his head, which he frequently took off while he spoke, made his submission; the words and gestures he used on this occasion were all dictated by Seignelai. The king gave him audience sitting, and covered; but, as in every action of his life he always joined politeness with dignity, he behaved towards Lescaro and the senators with as much goodness as pomp. His ministers, Louvois, Croissi, and Seignelai, treated them more haughtily, which made the doge say, "The king deprives our hearts of liberty, by the manner in which he receives us; but his ministers restore it to us again." This doge was a man of great wit and understanding. Every one knows the answer he made to the marquis of Seignelai, when he asked him what he thought most remarkable at Versailles; "To see myself there," replied he.

The great fondness which Lewis XIV. had for pomp and shew, was still more gratified by an embassy which he received from Siam, a country which, till that time, had never heard of such a kingdom as France. It happened by one of those extraordinary events which prove the superiority of the Europeans over all other nations, that a Greek, named Phalk Constance, the son of a tavern-keeper at Cephalonia, was made barcalon, that is prime-minister, or grand-vizir of the kingdom of Siam. This man, desirous of strengthening and encreasing his authority,

thority, wanted for that purpose to call in some foreign assistance, but did not dare to trust either the Dutch or the English, who are dangerous neighbours in the Indies. The French had lately settled some factories on the coast of Coromandel, and had brought the fame of their monarch with them into that extreme part of Asia. Constance thought Lewis XIV. a proper person to be flattered by a homage which came from so distant a place, and so little expected. Religion, which is the master-spring of worldly politics from Siam to Paris, proved subservient to his design; accordingly he sent a
1684 solemn embassy, and magnificent presents, in the name of the king of Siam, his master, to Lewis XIV. to acquaint him, that the Indian monarch, charmed with his fame, was resolved to enter into a treaty of commerce with no other nation than the French, and that he had even some thoughts of becoming a Christian. The king thus flattered in his greatness, and deceived on the side of religion, engaged to send the king of Siam two ambassadors and six Jesuits, to whom he afterwards added some officers and eight hundred soldiers. But the pomp of this embassy was all the fruit it produced. Constance, four years afterwards, fell the victim of his own ambition. The few French who remained with him were partly massacred, and the rest obliged to fly; and his widow, after having been on the point of becoming queen, was, by the king of Siam's successor, condemned to serve in his kitchen as a cook, an employment which suited with her birth.

That

That thirst of glory which led Lewis XIV. to distinguish himself in every thing from other kings, shewed itself again in the haughty manner with which he affected to treat the court of Rome. Odescalchi, the son of a banker of Milan, was at that time in the papal chair, by the name of Innocent XI. He was a virtuous man, a prudent pontiff, a middling divine, and a courageous, resolute, and magnificent prince. He assisted the empire and the Poles against the Turks with his money, and the Venetians with his galleys. He blamed the conduct of Lewis XIV. in the severest terms, who had joined with the Turks against the Christians. It was surprising to see a pope thus warmly espousing the cause of the emperors, who stile themselves king of the Romans, and would, if they could, establish the seat of their empire in Rome; but Odescalchi was born under the Austrian dominion, and had even made two campaigns in the army of Milan. All men are governed by habit and humour: his pride was hurt by the haughtiness of Lewis, who on his side did every thing to mortify him that a king of France can do to a pope, without absolutely separating from his communion. An abuse had prevailed for a long time in Rome, which was the more difficult to be eradicated, as it was founded on a point of honour upon which the catholics piqued themselves. Their ambassadors at Rome extended the right of franchise and asylum belonging to their palaces to a great distance, under the general name of quarters. These privileges, which were strictly maintained, made one half of Rome an asylum for all kinds of villainy. By another abuse, whatever was brought into Rome
under

under the ambassador's name, was free from all duty. By this means trade suffered, and the state was impoverished.

At length pope Innocent XI. prevailed on the emperor, the kings of Spain and Poland, and on the new king of England, James II. who was a catholic, to give up these odious privileges. The nuncio Ranucci proposed to Lewis to concur with these princes in restoring the peace and good order of Rome; but Lewis, who in his heart hated the pope, returned for answer, "That he never regulated his conduct by the example of others, who rather ought himself to serve as an example for them." He then sent the marquis of Lavardin on an embassy to Rome, purposely to insult the pope.

November, 1687
 Lavardin accordingly makes his entry into that city in spite of the pope's prohibition, and escorted by four hundred of the marine guards, the same number of volunteer officers, and two hundred men in livery, all armed. He immediately went, and took possession of his palace, the quarters thereunto belonging, and the church of St. Lewis, round which he ordered centinels to be placed, and to go the rounds as in a garrison. The pope is the only sovereign to whom such an embassy can be sent; for the superiority which he always affects over crowned heads, makes them always desirous of humbling him, and the weakness of his dominions permit them to insult him with impunity. All that Innocent XI. could do, was to attack the marquis of Lavardin with the worn out weapons of excommunication, weapons which are now as little regarded in Rome as elsewhere, but which
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nevertheless are employed as an antient ceremonial, in the same manner as the pope's soldiers carry arms, merely for form's sake.

Cardinal d'Estree, a man of sense, but generally unfortunate in his negotiations, was at that time resident from the court of France at Rome. D'Estree being obliged to make frequent visits to the marquis of Lavardin, could not afterwards be admitted to an audience of the pope without receiving absolution; he in vain endeavoured to evade this ceremony: Innocent persisted in giving it to him, in order to keep up an imaginary power, by the customs on which it was founded.

Lewis, through the same motives of pride, though secretly supported by politics, endeavoured to make an elector of Cologne. Full of the scheme of dividing or making war with the empire, he thought to confer this electorate on cardinal Furstemberg, bishop of Strasburg, his creature and the victim of his interests, and an irreconcilable enemy to the emperor, who had ordered him to be imprisoned in the preceding war, as a German who had sold himself to France.

The chapter of Cologne, like all the other chapters of Germany, has a right to nominate its bishop, who by that becomes elector. The person who then filled this see was Ferdinand of Bavaria, formerly the ally, and afterwards the enemy, of Lewis, as many other princes had been. He now lay at the point of death. The king, by money, intrigues, and promises, prevailed on the canons to chuse Furstemberg coadjutor; and after the death of Ferdinand he was chosen a second time by a majority of votes.

By

By the Germanic concordat the pope has a right of conferring the bishopric on the bishop elect, and the emperor that of confirming him in the electorate. The emperor and pope Innocent persuaded, that to leave Furstemberg in possession of the electoral dignity, was the same as if they had given it to Lewis XIV. joined together to bestow this principality upon young Bavaria, brother to the deceased prince.

October, 1688 The king revenged himself on the pope by taking Avignon from him, and made preparations for a war against the emperor. At the same time he disturbed the elector-palatine, on account of the rights of the princess-palatine Madame, second wife to the duke of Orleans, rights which she had renounced by her marriage-articles. The war began in Spain, in the year 1667, on account of the claims of Maria Theresa, notwithstanding a like renunciation made, plainly proves that contracts can only bind private persons.

In this manner did the king, in the height of his greatness, perplex, strip, or humble almost all the princes of Europe, but they in return almost all joined in league against him*.

* Notwithstanding the great encomiums lavished upon Lewis, by the writers of the French nation, we will venture to say, that whatever proofs he exhibited of magnificence and opulence, of oppression and power, he shewed very few of real wisdom and policy; for, by his rapacity, insolence, and cruelty, he provoked all the states of Europe to form a confederacy against him, which stripped him of all his glory, and reduced his people to indigence and misery.

C H A P. CLXXVIII.

King JAMES of ENGLAND dethroned by his Son-in-law WILLIAM III. and protected by Lewis XIV.

THE prince of Orange, still more ambitious than even Lewis XIV. had conceived vast designs, which might appear chimerical in a stadtholder of Holland, but which he justified by his great abilities and courage. He wanted to humble the king of France and dethrone the king of England. He found no great difficulty in getting the powers of Europe by little and little to join with him against France; the emperor, some princes of the empire, the Dutch, and the duke of Lorrain, had at first entered into a private league at 1681 Augsburg, and were soon after joined by Spain and the duke of Savoy. The pope, without being actually one of the confederates, set them all at work by his intrigues. The Venetians, without openly declaring themselves, favoured their designs in secret, and all the princes of Italy were in their interest. In the North, Sweden at that time sided with the Imperialists, and Denmark was an useless ally to France. Upwards of five hundred thousand protestants, who had been driven out of France by the persecution of Lewis, and had carried with them their industry, and an irreconcilable hatred to the French king, were as a new body of enemies, who dispersed themselves through all the courts of Europe, and animated the confederate powers, already inclined to war. (We

shall speak of the flight of these people in the chapter of religion.) The king was surrounded by enemies on all sides, and had no friend but king James of England.

James, who succeeded his brother Charles II. was a catholic as well as him; but Charles did not consent to become a catholic, till towards the latter end of his life, and then only out of compliance with his mistresses and his brother. In fact, he acknowledged no other religion but that of pure deism. His perfect indifference in those points which divide mankind in their disputations, had contributed not a little to render his reign peaceable among the English. James, on the contrary, attached by strong persuasion to the Roman-catholic religion from his youth, joined to his belief the spirit of party and zeal. Had he been a Mahometan, or of the religion of Confucius, the English would never have disturbed his reign; but he formed a design to establish the Roman-catholic religion in his kingdom*, which is looked upon with
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* In Vol. III. of the memoirs of madam de Maintenon, in the fourth chapter, entitled, *Of the King and Queen of England*, we meet with an unaccountable jumble of falsities. It is there said, that the following question was proposed by the Civilians: "Whether the people have a right to rebel against the authority which endeavours to force a belief upon them?" But here the affair was quite the reverse; the English opposed the king's intention of tolerating the Roman-catholic religion. The point in dispute was, "Whether the king had a power to dispense with the test oath in those whom he admitted to employments?"

The same writer says, that pope Innocent XI. made the prince of Orange a present of two hundred thousand ducats, to go and root out the Roman-catholic religion in England.

the utmost horror by these republican royalists, as a religion of slavery. It is sometimes a very easy matter to establish a religion in a country; Constantine, Clovis, Gustavus Vasa, and queen Elizabeth, did, without any danger, introduce a new religion into their kingdoms by different methods, and got it received by the people; but to bring about changes of this kind, there are two things absolutely necessary, a depth of po-

He likewise affirms in the same rash manner, that Innocent IX. ordered several thousand masses to be said for the prince of Orange's success. It is well known that this pontiff favoured the league of Augsburg, but he never acted in a manner so ridiculous and contrary to what he owed to his dignity. The Spanish envoy at the Hague indeed ordered prayers to be publicly said in his chapel for the success of the Dutch fleet, of which monsieur d'Avaux sent advice to his master Lewis.

This writer also gives us to understand, that the count d'Avaux corrupted the members of the state; but he is mistaken here again, it was the count d'Estrade. He is likewise wrong in point of time; this happened twenty-four years before. See Mr. d'Estrade's letter to Mr. de Lionne, dated Sept. 17, 1665.

The same author has the assurance to quote bishop Burnet, whom he makes to say, in expressing a particular vice in the prince of Orange, that "He was fond only of back-doors *;" now there is not a single word in all Burnet's history which bears the least resemblance to so low an expression, and so unworthy the pen of an historian; and though some compiler of anecdotes may have pretended that bishop Burnet suffered so indecent an expression to escape him in conversation, such an obscure testimony ought not surely to prevail against an authentic history.

* Though Burnet did not use the gross expression mentioned above, yet certain it is, he insinuated something almost equivalent, to the prejudice of William's character, by recording a scandalous report that the king was addicted to a secret vice. But, this expression is omitted in the late editions of Burnet's history.

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litics,

litics, and a lucky concurrence of circumstances, both of which were wanting to James.

He could not without indignation reflect, that so many kings of Europe were despotic; that those of Sweden and Denmark were lately become so; and, in a word, that Poland and England were the only kingdoms in the world where the liberty of the people subsisted at the same time with royalty. He was encouraged by Lewis XIV. to render himself absolute at home, and the Jesuits persuaded him to restore their religion, and with it their credit; but he took such unfortunate measures to compass this, that at his first setting out he turned all hearts against him. He began as if he had already obtained the end he aimed at: he entertained a nuncio from the pope publicly at his court, with a train of Jesuits and Capuchin friars; he threw seven English bishops into prison, whom he ought rather to have won over by gentle means; deprived the city of London of its privileges, instead of indulging it with new ones; and overturned the laws with an high hand, which he should have secretly undermined; in a word, he acted with so little discretion, that the cardinals at Rome used to say of him by way of jest, "That he ought to be excommunicated, as a person who was going about to destroy the little catholic religion that remained in England."

Pope Innocent XI. conceived such indifferent hopes of James's projects, that he never would grant a cardinal's hat which that prince solicited for his confessor father Peters. This Jesuit was a hot-headed intriguing man, who, mad with the ambition of becoming a cardinal and
primate

primate of England, pushed his master on to the precipice. The principal persons of the kingdom combined together in secret to prevent the king's designs, and sent a deputation to the prince of Orange. They conducted their plot with such prudence and secrecy, that the court was lulled in full security.

The prince of Orange fitted out a fleet of ships*, on board of which were to be embarked between fourteen and fifteen thousand men. This prince, who was only an illustrious private person, and had hardly five hundred thousand livres a-year of his own estate, was nevertheless so happy in his politics, that he saw himself master of money, a fleet, and the hearts of the states-general. He was truly a king in Holland by his skilful conduct, while James lost all regal power in England by his precipitate rashness.

It was at first given out that this armament was designed against France. The true destination was kept a profound secret, though entrusted with more than two hundred persons. Ba-

* The author of Maintenon's memoirs asserts, that the prince of Orange finding the states-general refused to grant him a supply, entered the assembly, and addressed them in this manner: "Gentlemen, there will be a war next spring, and I desire that this prediction may be registered." In proof of this he quotes the count d'Avaux, and says, that this minister saw through the whole design of the prince of Orange. It is hardly possible to jumble together falsities in a worse manner. Nine thousand sailors were ready assembled in the year 1687. The count d'Avaux does not mention a syllable of this pretended speech of the prince of Orange: Nor had he the least suspicion of that prince's real design, till the 20th May, 1688. See his letter to the king of that date.

rillon, the French ambassador at London, a man of pleasure, and more conversant in the intrigues of James's mistresses, than those of Europe, was the first imposed upon. Lewis XIV. however was not to be thus deceived; he saw what was going forward, and offered his assistance to his friend and ally, who, thinking himself secure, rejected that aid which he afterwards solicited when it was too late,
 October, 1688 and his son-in-law the prince of Orange's fleet was under sail. He had been wanting to himself, and he now found every thing fail him at once. He in vain wrote to the emperor Leopold: that prince returned for answer, "Nothing has befallen you but what we had foretold." He depended upon his fleet, but his ships suffered those of the enemy to pass them. He might however have defended himself by land: he had an army of twenty thousand men, and if he had led them on without giving them time for reflection, it is probable they would have done their duty;
 1688 but instead of that, he gave them leisure to fix their determination. Several of his general officers abandoned him, and among the rest the famous Churchill, who afterwards proved as fatal to Lewis as he had done to James, and became so illustrious under the name of the duke of Marlborough. He was the favourite of James, his creature, brother to his mistress, and a lieutenant-general in his army; notwithstanding which he left him, and went over to the prince of Orange at his camp. James likewise saw himself abandoned by his son-in-law the prince of Denmark, and even by his own daughter, the princess Anne.

And

And now finding himself attacked and pursued by one of his sons-in-law, abandoned by the other, deserted by his own daughters and bosom-friends, and hated even by those of his subjects who were of his own party, he looked upon his fortune as desperate; and, without waiting for the issue of a battle, resolved upon flight, the last resource of a vanquished prince. At length, after being stopt in his flight by the populace, ill-treated by them, and carried back to London, receiving submissively the orders of the prince of Orange in his own palace, seeing his guard relieved by that prince's, without the least resistance, driven from his house, and made a prisoner at Rochester, he took advantage of the liberty purposely given him, to quit his kingdom, and seek an asylum in France.

This was the epocha of the true English liberty. The nation, represented by its parliament, fixed the long contested limits of the royal prerogative, and the privileges of the people; and having prescribed to the prince of Orange the conditions on which he was to reign, chose him for their king jointly with his wife Mary, the daughter of king James. From that time this prince was acknowledged by the greatest part of Europe as the lawful king of England, by the name of William III. and the deliverer of that nation; but in France they considered him only as the prince of Orange, the usurper of the dominions of his father-in-law.

The fugitive king came with his wife, the daughter of the duke of Modena, and their son the prince of Wales, as yet an infant, to implore the protection

tion of Lewis XIV. The queen of England, who arrived a little time before her husband, was astonished at the splendour with which the French monarch was surrounded, and that profusion of magnificence which she beheld at Versailles; and still more so at the reception she met with from the king, who went as far as Chatou to meet her*. “I now do you a melancholy service, madam, (said he.) I hope, before it is long, to render you one more considerable and fortunate.” This was his very expression. He then conducted her to the palace of St. Germain, where she met with the same attendance as the queen of France herself would have had, and was furnished with every thing that ministers to convenience or luxury; presents of all kinds; in gold, silver, plate, jewels, and rich stuffs.

Among other presents she found a purse of ten thousand louis d'ors laid on her toilet. The same attention was paid to the king her husband, who arrived just one day after her; he had six hundred thousand franks a-year settled upon him for the expences of his household, besides an infinite number of presents which were made him. He had the king's own officers and guards. But this noble reception was little, in comparison of the preparations which were made for restoring him to his throne. Never did monarch appear so grand as Lewis on this occasion, and James seemed as mean. Those of the court and city, by whose opinions the reputations of men are decided, conceived very

* See Madame de Sevigne's letters, and the memoirs of Madame de la Fayette.

little esteem for him. He saw nobody but Jesuits. He alighted at their college in St. Anthony's street in Paris; he told them that he was a Jesuit as well as themselves; and, what is still more extraordinary, he said the truth. He had got himself admitted into this order with certain ceremonies, by four English Jesuits, when he was only duke of York. This weakness of mind in a prince, joined to the manner in which he had lost his crown, rendered him so despicable, that the courtiers diverted themselves every day with making songs upon him. He was driven from England, and ridiculed in France, where no one gave him any credit for being a catholic. The archbishop of Rheims, brother of Louvois the minister, said openly in his antichamber at St. Germain, "There's a good man, who has given up three kingdoms for a mass." From Rome he received only indulgences and pasquinades. In a word, throughout the whole of this revolution, his religion was of so little service to him, that when the prince of Orange, who was the head of the Calvinists, set sail to go and dethrone his father-in-law, the catholic king's minister at the Hague ordered masses to be said for the success of his expedition.

In the midst of the humiliations which beset this fugitive prince, and the immense liberality of Lewis XIV. towards him, it was a spectacle worthy of attention, to see James touching for the king's evil in the little convent of the English nuns; whether that the kings of England have arrogated this singular privilege to themselves, as pretenders to the crown of France,

or that this ceremony has been established among them since the time of the first Edward.

The king soon sent him over to Ireland, where the Roman-catholics still formed a very considerable party; a squadron of thirteen ships of the first rate lay in Brest-road, ready to carry him over. All the officers, courtiers, and even the priests, who had repaired to James at St. Germain, had their passage to Brest defrayed at the French king's expence. An ambassador (Monsieur d'Avaux) was nominated to attend the dethroned king, and followed him in great state. Arms and ammunition of all kinds were put on board the fleet, and every sort of utensil, from the meanest to the most valuable. The king went to St. Germain to take his leave of him; where, for the last present, he gave him his own suit of armour, and embracing him affectionately, "The best thing I can wish you, (said he) is never to see you here again." James had scarcely landed in Ireland with this great preparation, when he was followed by twenty-three large ships more, and a prodigious number of transports, under the command of Chatteau Renaud. This fleet having engaged and dispersed the English squadron, which attempted to oppose its passage, and landed the troops in safety, on its return fell in with and took seven Dutch merchantmen, and came back to Brest victorious over the English*, and laden with the spoils of the Dutch.

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* Who would not imagine from this expression that the French fleet had subdued England? whereas the truth of the matter is this: the French squadron falling in with the English fleet under Herbert, which was greatly inferior to them.

In a very short time afterwards a third supply set sail from the harbours of Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort. The ports of Ireland and the English channel were covered with French ships. At length Tourville, vice-admiral of France, with seventy-two sail of large ships, fell in with the English and Dutch fleet of sixty sail, and a fight ensued which lasted ten hours; on this occasion Tourville, Chatteau Renaud, d'Estree, and Nemon, signalized themselves by their courage and skill, and reflected an honour on the French navy to which it had till then been a stranger. The English and Dutch, who till then had been masters of the ocean, and from whom the French had but a little time before learnt the art of fighting their ships in line of battle, were totally defeated. Seventeen of their ships dismasted, or rendered useless, were run ashore and burnt by themselves*, the rest took refuge in the Thames, or on the banks of Holland. In this whole engagement the French lost but one small vessel. And now, what

them in number, an engagement ensued, in which there was not one vessel lost on either side; and the two squadrons seemed to part by consent. Herbert put to sea, and Chatteau Renaud retired into Bantry-bay, in Ireland.

* The French fleet consisted of seventy-eight ships of war, and two and twenty fire-ships; whereas the combined squadrons of England and Holland did not exceed fifty-six, so that the enemy had a superiority of twenty-two. In this engagement, the Dutch lost six ships of the line; and the loss of the English amounted to two. Admiral Herbert, then lord Torrington, was deprived of his command, and sent prisoner to the Tower, in consequence of the complaints of the states-general, who affirmed that he had sacrificed the Dutch squadron in the engagement.

Lewis had been wishing for upwards of twenty years, and which seemed so little probable, came to pass; he had the empire of the sea, an empire which indeed was but of short duration. The enemy's ships of war fled before his fleets; Seignelai, who dared to attempt the greatest things, brought the galleys of Marseilles upon the main ocean; and the sea-coast of England beheld this kind of vessel for the first time: by the help of these galleys a descent was made at Tinmouth, and upwards of thirty merchant-ships burnt in that bay. The privateers of St. Malo and the new harbour of Dunkirk enriched themselves and the state, by continual prizes. In a word, for the space of two years, there was not a ship to be seen on the sea but those of France.

King James did not second in Ireland these great efforts made by Lewis in his favour. He had with him near six thousand French, and fifteen thousand Irish soldiers. The river Boyne ran between his army and king William's: this river was fordable, the water not being higher than the men's shoulders; but after it was passed, there was a deep marsh to cross before they could attack the Irish army, after which a steep ground presented itself, which formed a kind of natural entrenchment. William made July, his army pass the river in three places, 1690 and began the battle. The Irish, who are known to be such good soldiers in France and Spain, have always behaved ill in their own country. There are certain nations which seem made to be subject to another; the English have always been superior to the Irish in genius, riches, and arms. Ireland has never been

been able to throw off the English yoke since first subdued by an English nobleman. The French stood their ground at the battle of the Boyne; the Irish gave way and fled. King James, who had not once made his appearance during the engagement, either at the head of the French or Irish, was the first to retreat, and yet he had given proofs of great courage on other occasions; but there are times when valour is lost in dispiritedness. K. William having had his shoulder grazed by a cannon-ball before the battle, it was reported and believed in France that he was killed. This false report was received at Paris with a scandalous and indecent joy. The citizens and populace, encouraged by some of the under magistrates, made illuminations, rung the bells, and, in several quarters of the town, they burnt figures made of osier, to represent the prince of Orange, in the same manner as they burn the pope in London. The cannon of the Bastile were likewise fired, not by the king's order, but through the indiscreet zeal of the commandant. It might be supposed from these great marks of satisfaction, and what is said by a number of writers, that this mad joy at the supposed death of an enemy, was the effect of the great dread they had of him. Almost every writer, French and English, have observed that these rejoicings were the greatest panegyric that could be made on William III. Nevertheless, if we only consider the circumstances of the times, and the spirit which then reigned, we shall presently discover that these transports of joy were not produced by fear. The lower kind of citizens, and the populace, know not what it is to fear
an

an enemy, unless when he threatens their city. Far from dreading the name of William III. the common people in France were so unjust as to despise him. He had almost always been beaten by French generals. The vulgar were ignorant how much real glory that prince had acquired even in his defeats. William, the victor of James in Ireland, did not yet appear, in the eyes of the French, an enemy worthy of Lewis XIV. The people of Paris, who idolized their monarch, thought him absolutely invincible. The rejoicings then were not the effect of fear, but hatred; most of the Parisians, who were born under the reign of Lewis, and moulded to despotic sway, looked upon a king at that time as a demigod, and an usurper as a sacrilegious monster. The common people, who had seen James going every day to mass, detested William as an heretic. The idea of a son-in-law and a daughter, protestants, driving their father, a catholic, from his throne, and reigning in his stead, together with that of an enemy to their king, transported the Parisians to a degree of fury; but prudent people were of a more moderate way of thinking.

James returned to France, leaving his rival to gain new battles in Ireland, and settle himself on the throne. The French fleets were then employed in bringing back their countrymen, who had fought to no purpose, and the Irish Roman Catholics, who being extremely poor in their own country, chose to go over to France and subsist upon the king's liberality.

Fortune had apparently very little share in any part of this revolution, from the beginning to the end. The characters of William and
James

James did every thing. Those who delight to trace the causes of events in the conduct of men will remark, that king William, after his victory, caused a general amnesty to be published; and that king James, on the contrary, in his way through a little town called Galloway, hanged some of the inhabitants, who had advised shutting the gates against him. Of two men behaving in this manner, we may easily perceive who would be most likely to prevail.

There were still some towns in Ireland that remained in James's interest, and among the rest Limerick, in which there were above twelve thousand soldiers. The French king, who still persevered in supporting James's desperate fortunes, ordered three thousand regular troops to be transported over to Limerick; and by an additional generosity he sent all provisions necessary for the maintenance of a numerous garrison. Forty transport vessels, under the convoy of twelve ships of war, carried over every needful supply of workmen's tools, carriages, engineers, gunners, bombardiers, with two hundred masons, a number of saddles, bridles, and harnesses for upwards of twenty thousand horse; cannon, with their carriages, muskets, pistols, and swords for twenty-six thousand men; besides provisions and cloathing, even to shoes. Limerick, though besieged, being thus abundantly furnished with supplies of every kind, hoped to see its king fight in its defence; but James not appearing, Limerick surrendered, and the French ships returned once more to the coast of Ireland, and brought back to France about twenty thousand soldiers and inhabitants.

What

What is perhaps more extraordinary than all the rest is, that Lewis was not discouraged by these continued disappointments; and though he had a difficult war to support against the greatest part of Europe, he nevertheless endeavoured once more to change the fortune of the unhappy king of England, by a decisive stroke, by making a descent in England with twenty thousand men, which were assembled between Cherburg and La Hogue. Upwards of three hundred sail of transport vessels lay ready to receive them at Brest. Tourville, with forty-four capital ships, cruised off the coast of Normandy to wait for them. D'Estree July 29, arrived in the port of Toulon with
1692 thirty ships more. As there are some misfortunes which arise from bad conduct, so there are others that can only be imputed to fortune. The wind, which was at first favourable to D'Estree's squadron, changed, and made it impossible for him to join Tourville, who with his forty-four ships was attacked by the combined fleets of England and Holland, consisting of near an hundred sail: the French were obliged to yield to superior numbers; but not till after an obstinate fight of ten hours. Ruffel, the English admiral, pursued him for two days. Fourteen large ships, of which there were two that carried one hundred and four guns, ran ashore, and the captains set fire to them*, to prevent their being burnt by the enemy.

* The English historians say the French fleet amounted to sixty-three ships of the line, and that a greater number of the French than of the English were engaged. Certain it is, Ruffel's own ship disabled the *Rising Sun*, a ship of one

enemy. King James, who was a spectator of this disaster, from the neighbouring shore, saw all his hopes at once swallowed up.

This was the first check which had been given to the power of Lewis XIV. at sea. Seignelai, who after the death of Colbert, his father, had continued to improve the French navy, died himself in 1690. Pontchartain, who had been raised, from the place of first president of Brittany, to that of secretary for the marine department, did not suffer it to decay under his jurisdiction. The same spirit still continued in the administration. France had as many ships at sea after the fatal blow at La Hogue as she had before; for Tourville commanded a fleet of sixty ships of the line, and D'Etrée one of thirty, exclusive of those which were in harbour; and not above four years afterwards (in 1696,) the king fitted out another armament, still more considerable than any of the former ones, to transport James over to England, at the head of twenty thousand French; but this fleet only made its appearance on the coast; for the measures of James's party in London were as ill concerted as those of his protector were well laid in France.

one hundred and four guns, commanded by Tourville in person. She was burned by sir Ralph Delaval, near Cherbourg, together with the Admirable, another first rate, and the Conquerant, of eighty guns. Eighteen other great ships of the French fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a great number of transports loaden with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in sight of the Irish camp.

The

The dethroned king's party had now no hopes left but in hatching plots against the life of his rival; and almost all those who were concerned in these attempts suffered by the hands of the executioner: besides, it is more than probable, that had they succeeded, he would never have recovered his kingdom. He passed the remainder of his days at St. Germain, where he lived on Lewis's bounty, and a pension of seventy thousand Francs *, which he was mean spirited enough to receive privately from his daughter Mary, who had been accessory in dethroning him. He died at St. Germain in the year 1700. Some Irish jesuits pretended to assert that miracles were performed at his tomb †. They even talked at Rome of canonizing after his death a prince whom they had abandoned when living.

Few princes were more unhappy than James; nor have we an example in history of a family for so long a time unfortunate. The first of the kings of Scotland, his ancestors, who bore the name of James, after having been detained for eighteen years a prisoner in England, was murdered, together with his queen ‡, by his own subjects. James II. the son of this prince, was killed in battle, against the English, at nineteen years of age ||. James III. after being imprisoned by his subjects, was slain by the rebels in fight. James IV. fell in a battle which he lost. Mary Stuart, his grand-daughter, after

* About three thousand sterling, per ann.

† They even carried the farce so far as to pretend that his reliëts cured the bishop of Autun of a fistula.

‡ His wife was wounded, but recovered.

|| James II. was killed by accident at Roxburgh.

being

being driven from her throne, and forced to take refuge in England, where she languished eighteen years in prison, was at length condemned to die by English judges, and lost her head on a scaffold: Charles I. grand-son to this Mary, and king of England and Scotland, was sold by the Scots, sentenced to death by the English, and executed publicly as a traitor. His son James, the subject of this chapter, was driven from three kingdoms, and, to crown the misfortunes of the family, even the birth of his son was disputed. This son, by the efforts he made to recover the throne of his fathers, brought many of his friends to an untimely end; and of late days we have seen prince Charles Edward, in whom the virtues of his ancestors, and the valour of king John Sobieski, his grandfather, by the mother's side, were in vain united, performing exploits, and suffering calamities almost beyond the reach of credit. If any thing can justify those who believe in an unavoidable fatality, it must be the continued series of misfortunes which have befallen the family of the Stuarts for upwards of three hundred years.

C H A P. CLXXIX.

Of what passed on the Continent, while WIL-
LIAM III. was invading ENGLAND, SCOT-
LAND, and IRELAND, till the year 1697.
The burning of the PALATINATE. Vic-
tories of the marechals CATINAT and LUX-
EMBOURG.

NOT having been willing to break in upon
the chain of affairs in England in the
preceding chapter, I now return to what passed
on the continent.

While Lewis was thus forming such a ma-
ritime force as had never been exceeded by any
state, he had to make head against the emperor
and princes of the empire, Spain, the two ma-
ritime powers of England and Holland, become
both more formidable under one chief, Savoy,
and almost all Italy. One such an enemy as
England and Spain, would have been sufficient
in former times to have ruined France; and
yet all of them united could not now make any
impression upon her. The king had almost
constantly five different armies on foot during
the course of this war; sometimes six, but never
less than four. The armies in Germany and
Flanders frequently amounted to one hundred
thousand effective men. The frontier places
were at the same time provided with garrisons.
Lewis had four hundred and fifty thousand
men in arms, including the marine troops.
The Turkish empire, so powerful in Europe,
never had so great a number; and even the
Roman empire had not more; nor were there
ever

ever so many wars carried on at a time. Those who blame Lewis XIV. for having made himself so many enemies cannot but admire the measures which he took to defend himself; and even to be beforehand with his enemies.

These had not as yet entirely declared themselves, nor were they all united. The prince of Orange had not yet sailed from the Texel, upon his expedition against his father-in-law, when France had armies upon the frontiers of Holland, and on the borders of the Rhine. The king had sent his son, the dauphin, who was called Monseigneur, into Germany, with an army of twenty thousand men. This prince was gentle in his manners, modest in his deportment, and seemed greatly to resemble his mother. He was then twenty-seven years old, and this was the first time he had been intrusted with a command, after his behaviour had given sufficient proofs that he would not make an ill use of his power. The king spoke to him in public thus, at his departure. "My son, in sending you to command my armies, I give you an opportunity of making your merit known: go and display it to all Europe, that when I depart this life it may not be perceived that the king is dead."

The prince had a special commission for this command, as if he had been only a private general, whom the king had made choice of. The king's letters were directed, "To our son the Dauphin, our lieutenant-general, commanding our armies in Germany."

Every thing had been so ordered and disposed before hand, that the son of Lewis XIV. who assisted in this expedition with his name and presence,

presence, might not be liable to meet with an affront. The marshal de Duras had in fact the command of the army. Boufflers had a body of troops on this side the Rhine, and marshal d'Humieres another near Cologne, to watch the motions of the enemy. Heidelberg and Mentz were taken: the siege of Philipsburg, which is always the first step to be taken, when the French make war in Germany, was already begun, under the inspection of Vauban. Such matters as were not in his department fell to the share of Catinat, then lieutenant-general, a man capable of every thing, and formed for all exploits. Monseigneur arrived six days after the trenches had been opened. He exactly observed his father's conduct, exposing his person as much as was necessary, but never rashly; treating every one with affability, and extending his liberality even to the private foldier. The king felt a sincere joy in having a son who thus imitated, without exceeding him, and who made himself beloved by every one, without giving his father any occasion to fear him.

Philipsburg was taken in nineteen
 Nov. 11, days, and Manheim in three, Fran-
 1688 kental surrendered in two; and Spire,
 Triers, Worms, and Oppenheim, threw open
 their gates at the first approach of the French.

The king had resolved to make a desert of the Palatinate as soon as those towns were taken. His design in this was rather to cut off all means of subsistence from the enemy, than to take vengeance on the elector, whose only crime was that of having done his duty, in joining with the rest of Germany against
 France.

France. An order came to the army from the king, signed Louvois, to reduce the whole country to ashes. The French generals were then obliged to obey; and though it was in the very midst of winter, caused notice to be sent to the inhabitants of all these flourishing towns, and the villages round about, and to the masters of above fifty castles, to quit their dwellings; and that they were going to destroy every thing with fire and sword. Upon this dreadful summons, men, women, old people, and children, hurried out in the utmost haste: some of whom wandered up and down the fields, and the rest took refuge in neighbouring countries, while the soldiery, who always exceed commands of rigour, and seldom or never execute those of clemency, burnt and pillaged their country. They began with Manheim, the residence of the electors, whose palaces they levelled with the ground, as well as the private houses of the citizens; broke open their very tombs, thinking to satisfy their avarice with the immense treasures they expected to find there, and scattered their ashes abroad. This was the second time that this beautiful country had been laid waste by Lewis's orders; but the burning of two cities and twenty villages by Turenne was but a spark in comparison of this conflagration. All Europe was struck with horror at this action. The very officers who executed it were ashamed of being the instruments of such cruelty. The blame was thrown upon the marquis of Louvois, who had contracted that insensibility of heart which arises from a long administration. He was certainly the person who advised this proceeding; but

but Lewis had it in his power to reject or follow his counsel. Had the king been a witness to this spectacle, he would have ran in person to extinguish the flames. From his palace in Versailles, where he was surrounded by pleasures, he signed the destruction of a whole country, because he there beheld only his own glory and the fatal right of conquest in the order he gave; but had he been nearer to the spot, he would have seen all the horror of it. The nations, who till then had only blamed his ambition, and admired his other qualifications, now cried out against his cruelty, and even condemned his politics: for had his enemies penetrated into his dominions, as he did into theirs, they would have set all the cities in his kingdom on fire.

Nor was this a very remote danger: Lewis, in covering his frontiers with one hundred thousand soldiers, taught Germany to make the same efforts. This country, being better peopled than France, may be able to raise larger armies. They have more difficulty indeed in raising, getting together, and paying them, and they are longer before they take the field; but their strict discipline and patience under fatigues, make them at the end of a campaign as formidable as the French are at the beginning. The army of the empire was commanded by the duke of Lorraine, Charles V. This prince, who was still kept out of his dominions by Lewis XIV. had preserved the empire for Leopold, and given him the victory over the Turks and Hungarians. He now came with the elector of Brandenburg, to put a check to the success of the French king's arms. He retook

Bonn and Mentz, two towns which were very badly fortified, but defended in a manner which was esteemed a model for the future defence of places. Bonn did not surrender till after a siege of near four months, and that the baron d'Asfeld who commanded there, was mortally wounded in a general assault.

The marquis d'Uxelles, afterwards marshal of France, a most prudent and wary general, had made such excellent dispositions for the defence of Mentz, that his garrison suffered hardly any fatigue in the great service it performed: besides the care he took to provide for the safety of the place, he made one and twenty sallies upon the enemy, and killed upwards of five thousand of their men. He sometimes made one or two sallies in open day-light: in short, he maintained the place for seven weeks, and surrendered at length only for want of powder. This vigorous defence deserves a place in history, both on account of its own merit, and the approbation it met with from the world. Paris, that immense city, whose indolent inhabitants pretend to judge of every thing, and who have so many ears and tongues, with so few eyes, looked upon d'Uxelles as a timorous man, and deficient in judgment. When this great commander, on whom every good officer will bestow a just praise, after his return from the campaign, went to the play-house, the populace hooted him, and cried out Mentz! Upon which he was obliged to retire, not without heartily contemning, as every wise man must do, a people who are such bad judges of merit, and whose praise, nevertheless, is so greedily sought after.

June, 1689 About the same time, marshal d'Humieres was beat at Walcourt*, on the Sambre, in the Netherlands, by the prince of Waldeck; but this check, though it hurt his reputation, very little affected the French arms. Louvois, whose creature and friend he was, found himself under the necessity of taking from him the command of this army, which was conferred on marshal Luxembourg, whom neither the king nor Louvois liked; but their regard for the state got the better of their aversion to the man, and they made use of his services, though with some repugnance. He was therefore appointed commander in the Netherlands. Louvois was remarkable for correcting a too hasty choice, or for making a good one. Catinat was sent with a command into Italy. Marshal de Lorges defended himself every where in Germany. The duke of Noailles had some little success in Catalonia †; but under Luxembourg in Flanders, and Catinat in Italy, there was a continual succession of victories.

* The prince of Waldeck, who commanded the Dutch army, was reinforced by eleven thousand English, under the earl of Marlborough. Marechal d'Humieres attacked the foragers at Walcourt, and an obstinate engagement ensuing, was obliged to retreat in confusion, with the loss of two thousand men, and some pieces of artillery. Mean while, a little army of observation, commanded by the prince de Vaudemont, levelled part of the French lines on the side of Courtray, and raised contributions in the territories of France.

† His success in that country was but small. He had indeed reduced Campredon in the month of May; but he was afterwards obliged to withdraw the garrison, dismantle the place, and retreat to the frontiers of France with great precipitation.

These

These two generals were at that time esteemed the greatest in Europe.

The marshal duke of Luxembourg, in some parts of his character, resembled the great Condé, whose pupil he was in the art of war. He had a fiery genius, a prompt execution, a quick discernment, a mind greedy of knowledge; but too extensive and irregular: he was continually engaged in female intrigues, always in love, and frequently beloved, though deformed and ill-favoured, and had more of the qualifications of a hero than a wise man.

* Catinat had an application and activity in his disposition, that made him capable of every thing, though he never piqued himself upon any one particular qualification. He would have been equally as good a minister and chancellor as he was a general. In the earlier part of his life he followed the law; but quitted that profession at the age of twenty-three, because he lost a cause in which he had justice on his side. He then took up arms, and was at first an ensign in the French guards. In the year 1667, at the attack of the counterscarp of Lisle, he performed an action in the presence of the king, which required both understanding and courage. The king took notice of him, and this was the beginning of his good fortune. He rose by degrees, without making any in-

* We may perceive, by madame de Maintenon's letters, that she was no friend to marshal Catinat. She appears to have a very indifferent opinion of him, and calls his modesty pride. It would seem, that the little knowledge which this lady had of men and business, and the bad choices she made, contributed not a little to the misfortunes which afterwards befel France.

terest: he was a philosopher in the midst of war and grandeur, those two fatal rocks to moderation; exempt from all kind of prejudice, without the affectation of appearing to despise them too much; and an utter stranger to gallantry, and the arts of courts, but a sincere friend, and an honest man. He lived a professed foe both to interest and vain glory, and was equally the philosopher in all respects at the hour of his death, as through the course of his life.

Catinat commanded at that time in Italy, where he was opposed by Victor Amedeus, duke of Savoy; who was then a wise, politic, and still more unfortunate prince: a warrior of remarkable courage, who always led his own armies, and exposed his person like a common man: no one better understood that deceitful kind of war which is carried on in a mountainous and uneven country, such as his was: he was active, vigilant, a lover of order, but sometimes guilty of errors, both as a prince and a general. He is said to have committed an essential one in the bad manner in which he drew up his army in presence of that of Catinat. The French general took advantage of his mistake, and gained a complete victory over him, in fight of Saluces, near the abbey of Stafarola, from which that battle took its name. When there are a number of men killed on one side, and hardly any on the other, it is a certain proof that the army which is beaten, was drawn up on a ground where it must necessarily be overpowered. The French had only three hundred men killed, and the allied army, commanded by the duke of Savoy, upwards of four thousand.

After

After this battle, all Savoy, except Monmélian, submitted to the king. Catinat then marched into Piedmont, forced the enemy's entrenchments near Susa; took ¹⁶⁹¹ that town, together with Villafranca, Montalban, Nice, deemed impregnable, Veillano, and Carmagnole, and returned afterwards to Monmélian, of which he made himself master after an obstinate siege.

After all these successes the ministry lessened the army which he commanded, and the duke of Savoy augmented his. Catinat, inferior in numbers to his conquered enemy, remained a long time upon the defensive; but at length having received a reinforcement, he descended the Alps, near Marseilles, and there gained a second pitched battle, which ^{Oct. 4} was the more glorious, as prince Eugene ¹⁶⁹³ of Savoy was then one of the enemy's generals*.

At the other extremity of France, towards the Netherlands, marshal Luxembourg gained the battle of Fleurus, and by the confession of all the officers, this victory was entirely owing to the superiority of genius in the French ge-

* In this battle the duke of Schomberg, son to him who fell at the Boyne, was mortally wounded, fighting gloriously at the head of a body of Vaudois in the pay of Great Britain. In the preceding campaign, Catinat had been obliged to abandon Piedmont, when the duke of Savoy penetrated into Dauphiné, and filled all the south of France with consternation. Had he prosecuted his success, he might have reduced Lyons, and all the towns in that neighbourhood: but he was seized with the small pox, and supposed to be soothed into forbearance by the intrigues of the French ministry.

neral over prince Waldeck, who then commanded the allied army. Eight thousand men taken prisoners, six thousand killed, two hundred stand of colours, almost all the cannon and baggage, and the flight of the enemy, were sufficient proofs of the victory †.

King William was just returned back from his victory over his father-in-law. This great genius, ever fertile in resources, made more advantage of the defeat of his party than the French often did of their victories. He had been obliged to have recourse to intrigues and negotiations, to procure men and money sufficient to oppose to a king who had only to say, Sept. 19, "I will." Nevertheless, after the
1691 defeat at Fleurus, he came to meet marshal Luxembourg with an army as strong as that of the French.

They each consisted of about eighty thousand men; but the marshal had already in- April, vested Mons, when William thought
1691 the French had hardly left their winter-quarters. Lewis himself came to be present at the siege, and entered the town the ninth day after opening the trenches, in sight of the enemy's army. After that he returned to Versailles, and left Luxembourg to dispute the field during the whole campaign, which ended with the battle of Leige, a very extraordinary action,

† This victory, got by a great superiority of number, was dearly purchased. The Dutch infantry fought with surprising resolution. The duke of Luxembourg owned with surprise, that they had surpassed the Spanish foot at the battle of Rocroy. "Prince Waldeck, (said he,) ought always to remember the French horse; and I shall never forget the Dutch infantry."

in which twenty-eight squadrons of the king's household troops and the gendarmerie, defeated seventy-five squadrons of the enemy's army. Sept. 19,
1691

The king next repaired to the siege of Namur, the strongest place in the Netherlands, both by its situation, which is at the confluence of the Sambre and the Maese, and by its citadel, which is built on rocks. He took the town in eight days time, and the castles in twenty-two, while the duke of Luxembourg prevented king William from passing the Mehaigne, at the head of eighty thousand men, to raise the siege. After this conquest Lewis returned again to Versailles, and Luxembourg still continued to make head against the enemy's force. Now it was that the battle of Steinkirk was fought, so famous for the art and courage displayed therein. A spy, which the French king had sent to watch the motions of king William, was discovered, and compelled, before he was led to execution, to write a false information to marshal Luxembourg, who, immediately upon the receipt of this intelligence, made such dispositions as must necessarily bring on a battle. His army was attacked at day-break, while every one was asleep in their tents, and one entire brigade cut in pieces before the general knew any thing of the matter. Without the extremest diligence and bravery, all would have been lost.

It was not enough to be a great general to prevent a total defeat; it likewise required well disciplined troops, capable of rallying in an instant, general officers sufficiently skilful to recover these troops from the disorder into which

they were thrown, and willing to do their duty; for a single officer of rank who had a mind to take advantage of the general confusion to cause his general's defeat, might easily have done it without exposing himself to a detection.

The marshal was then ill, a fatal circumstance, at a time when uncommon activity

Aug. 3, 1692 was required; but the greatness of the danger restored him to his strength:

it was necessary to perform prodigies not to be overcome, and he performed them; he changed his ground, gave a field of battle to his army which before had none, recovered the right wing, which was all in confusion, rallied his men three times, and three times charged at the head of the household troops, and all this in less than two hours. He had with him in his army the duke of Chartres, afterwards regent of the kingdom, a grandson of France, who was then not above fifteen years old. He could be of no service in striking a decisive blow; but it contributed not a little to animate the soldiers, when they saw a grandson of France charging at the head of the king's household troops, and, though wounded in the fight, returning again to the charge.

A grandson and grand-nephew of the great Condé both served in this army as lieutenant-generals; one of these was Lewis of Bourbon, called Monsieur the duke, and the other Armand prince of Conti, both rivals in courage, wit, ambition, and fame. Monsieur was of a more austere disposition, and had perhaps more solid qualifications, and the prince of Conti more brilliant ones. Being both called by the public

public voice to the command of armies, they earnestly longed for that honour, which, however, they never obtained; because Lewis, who was as well acquainted with their ambition as their merit, always remembered that the prince of Condé had made war against him.

The prince of Conti was the first who recovered the army from its confusion, by rallying some of the brigades, and making the rest advance. Monsieur did just the same, without standing in need of emulation. The duke of Vendôme, grandson to Henry IV. was likewise a lieutenant-general in this army; he had served ever since he was twelve years of age, and though he was then upwards of forty, he had never yet commanded in chief. His brother the grand prior was by his side.

It was necessary that all these princes should put themselves at the head of the king's household troops, in order to drive a body of English from an advantageous post, on which the success of the battle depended. The French household troops and the English were the best troops in the world. The slaughter was great; but the French, animated by the croud of princes and young noblemen who fought about the general's person, at length carried the post; and when the English were defeated*, the rest were obliged to yield.

Boufflers,

* The prince of Wirtemberg, who commanded the attack on the side of the allies, with a body of British, Danish, and Dutch troops, finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, sent an aid de camp twice to demand succours of count Solmes, who headed the center; but that officer derided his distress, saying, "Let us see

Boufflers, who was afterwards marshal of France, flew with a body of dragoons from a place where he was, at some distance from the field of battle, and his arrival completed the victory. King William, after having lost about seven thousand men, retired in as good order as he had attacked; and always beaten, and always formidable, he still kept the field. This victory, which was owing to the valour of the young princes and the flower of the nobility of the kingdom, produced an effect at court, in the city, and in the provinces, that no former victory had ever done.

Monfieur the duke, the prince of Conti, M. de Vendôme, and their friends, on their return home from this campaign, found the roads lined with people, whose acclamations and expressions of joy were carried even to a degree of madness. The women all strove to attract their regards. The men at that time wore lace cravats, which took up some time and pains to adjust. The princes having dressed themselves in a hurry, threw these cravats negligently about their necks. The ladies wore handkerchiefs made in this fashion, which they called Steinkirks. Every new toy was a Steinkirk. Any young man who happened to have been present at this battle, was looked upon with delight. The populace followed the princes every where in crowds, and they were the more beloved, because the court did not shew them favour equal to their reputation and merit.

what sport these English bull-dogs will make." In this battle, the earl of Angus, general Mackay, sir John Lamer, sir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant British officers, lost their lives.

The

The ensuing campaign the same general, the same princes, with the same troops, who had been surpris'd and yet victorious at Steinkirk, made a forced march of seven leagues, and came unawares upon William at Nervinde, and beat him. Nervinde is a village near the Layette, a few leagues distance from Bruffels. William had time to put his army in order of battle. Luxembourg and the princes carried the village sword in hand two different times, and the instant the marshal turned another way, the enemy retook it again; at length the general and the princes carried it a third time, and the battle was won. Few actions proved more bloody. July 29,
There were about twenty thousand killed on both sides; the allies lost twelve thousand, and the French eight. On this occasion, it was said there was more room to sing *De profundis**, than *Te Deum*. 1693

These numerous victories were productive of much glory, but few great advantages. The allies, though defeated at Fleurus, Steinkirk, and Nervinde, had never been completely beaten; king William always made fine retreats; and, in a fortnight's time after one battle, it was necessary to fight another with him to be master of the campaign. The cathedral of Paris was filled with colours taken from the enemy. The

* A hymn sung in the funeral-service in the Roman-catholic churches.

* This action the English distinguish by the name of the battle of Landen. King William made great efforts of courage and perseverance; but his original disposition was so erroneous, that as soon as Luxembourg saw it, he cried, "Now I believe Waldeck is really dead."

prince of Conti called marshal Luxembourg "the Upholsterer of Notre Dame." Nothing was talked of but victories, and yet Lewis XIV. had formerly conquered one half of Holland and Flanders, and all the Franche-Comté, without fighting a single battle; whereas now, after the greatest efforts and the most bloody victories, they could hardly force an entrance into the United Provinces; they could not even lay siege to Brussels.

Sept. 1 and 2, 1692
 Marshal de Lorges had likewise on his side gained a considerable advantage over the allies near Spirebach, and had even taken the old duke of Wirtemberg prisoner, and penetrated into his country; but, after having invaded it as a conqueror, he was obliged to quit it again. Monseigneur took and plundered the city of Heidelberg a second time, which the enemy had retaken, and after all was obliged to act upon the defensive against the Imperialists.

Marshal Catinat, notwithstanding his great victory at Stafarde, and having conquered Savoy, could not prevent the duke of that country from making an irruption into Dauphiné, nor, after his victory at Marseilles, could he save the important city of Casal.

In Spain the marshal de Noailles gained a
 May 27, 1694
 battle on the banks of the Ter; he took Gironne and some small places; but his army was weak, and he was obliged, after his victory, to retire from before Barcelona. The French, every where victorious, and weakened by their successes, had an hydra to engage in the allies, that was continually rising up afresh. France began to find
 it

it difficult to raise recruits, and still more so to procure money. The rigour of the season, by which the fruits of the earth were at that time wholly destroyed, brought on a famine. Numbers perished for want, while the whole kingdom resounded with *Te Deums* and rejoicings. The spirit of confidence and superiority, which had been the soul of the French troops, began visibly to diminish. Lewis XIV. no longer appeared at their head, Louvois was dead, and Barbesieux, his son, was generally disliked by them. To crown all, the death of marshal Luxembourg, under whom they thought themselves invincible, seemed to put an end to the rapid victories of the French.

The art of bombarding towns with ships now turned upon its inventors; not that the engine called *Infernal*, with which the English attempted to burn St. Malo, and that failed of success, was of French invention; machines of this kind had been for a long time of use in Europe. It was the art of throwing bombs with as much certainty from a moving vessel as from the solid ground, that the French invented; and it was by this art, that the English had from their ships bombarded the towns of Dieppe, Havre-de-grace, St. Malo, Dunkirk, and Calais; Dieppe, as being the most easy of access, was the place which suffered the most real damage. This town, which is now so delightful on account of the regularity of its buildings, and that seems to owe its beauty to its misfortunes, was almost reduced to ashes. There were not above twenty houses beaten down and burnt in Havre de Grace;

Grace ; but the fortifications of the place were entirely destroyed. In this sense it is that the medal struck by the Dutch is true, notwithstanding that so many French writers have inveighed against its falsity. In the exergue we find these words in Latin: *The harbour of Havre burnt and destroyed, &c.* this inscription does not tell us that the town was burnt ; that would have been false ; it only says that the harbour was burnt, which is true.

Soon afterwards the French lost Namur, which they had taken. The nation had lavished encomiums on Lewis XIV. for having conquered this place ; and the most indecent sallies had been thrown out against king William for not having succoured it with an army of eighty thousand men. William at length became master of it, by the same manner in which it had been lost. He attacked it in the face of an army much stronger than his own was at the time that Lewis XIV. laid siege to it. He now met with new fortifications of Vauban's raising. The French garrison which defended this town was an army of itself ; for while they were preparing matters to invest it, marshal Boufflers found means to throw himself into it with seven regiments of dragoons ; so that Namur was not only defended by sixteen thousand men, but was daily in expectation of being relieved by an army of an hundred thousand.

Marshal Boufflers had a great share of merit, was an active and diligent general, and a good citizen, who had nothing so much at heart as the welfare of the service, to promote which he valued neither his pains nor his life. The
marquis

marquis de Feuquieres, in his memoirs, accuses him of several faults in the defence of the town and citadel, and even blames his conduct in the defence of Lisle, by which he gained so much honour. Those who have written the history of Lewis XIV. have servilely copied the Marquis de Feuquieres in military matters, and the abbé de Choisi in private anecdotes. They could not know that Feuquieres, who was an excellent officer, and perfectly well versed both in the theory and practice of war, was of a disposition as morose as discerning, and sometimes the Aristarchus, sometimes the Zoilus of generals. He alters facts, to have the pleasure of censuring; he complains of every one, and every one of him; he was esteemed the bravest man in Europe, because he slept quietly in the midst of an hundred thousand of his enemies. His merit not having been rewarded with the staff of marshal of France, he employed his great parts too much against the servants of the state, which would have been extremely useful, had he been as mild and charitable as he was discerning, diligent, and bold.

He charged the marshal de Villeroy with a greater number of faults, and those more essential than even Boufflers. Villeroy, at the head of twenty thousand men, was to have relieved Namur; but even had the two marshals, Villeroy and Boufflers, done every thing, generally speaking, that they might have done, (which is very seldom the case) the situation of the ground was such, that Namur could not be relieved, and must be taken sooner or later. An army of observation posted along the banks of the Meuse had prevented king William from
bringing

bringing up his succours; the same thing now necessarily happened to marshal Villeroi.

Tho' marshal Boufflers, the count de Guiscard, governor of the town, the count de Laumont du Châtelet, commandant of the infantry, and all the officers and soldiers in the place, defended it with remarkable obstinacy and bravery, it retarded the capitulation only two days. When a town is besieged by a superior army, when the works are well carried on, and the season favourable, they can judge nearly within what time it will be taken, be the defence ever so vigorous. King William made himself master of the town and citadel at length, though not in so short a time as Lewis XIV.

The king, while he was thus losing Namur, bombarded Brussels; a poor revenge, which he took of the emperor for his towns which had been bombarded by the English; all this occasioned a war equally ruinous and fatal to both parties.

One of the effects of human industry and fury, for these two centuries past, has been that of not confining the havock of war to our own continent of Europe. We drain ourselves of men and money, to carry destruction against each other in the farther parts of Asia and America. The Indians, whom we have compelled by force or artifice to admit our settlements amongst them, and the Americans, from whom we have wrested their continent, after having dyed it with their blood, look upon us as the foes of human kind, who came from the farthest part of the globe to butcher them, and afterwards to destroy one another.

The

The French had no other colony in the East Indies but that of Pondicherry, which had been formed by Colbert with great pains, and at an immense expence, and from whence no considerable advantage could be drawn for several years; the Dutch easily made themselves masters of it, and thus destroyed the trade of the French in the East-Indies, almost in its infancy.

Our plantations in St. Domingo were destroyed by the English, and one of the Brest privateers laid waste theirs at Gambia, on the coast of Africa. The privateers of St. Malo carried fire and sword into the eastern part of Newfoundland, of which they were in possession; and our squadrons insulted their island of Jamaica, took and burnt their shipping there, and ravaged the coast.

Pointis, commander of a squadron of ships of war and some privateers off America, sailed as far as the line, and surprised the town of Carthagena, the magazine and staple for the Spanish treasures, which come from Mexico; the damage he did there was computed at twenty millions of our livres, and the booty he got at about half that sum. There is always some deduction to be made from such calculations, but little or none from the grievous calamities occasioned by these glorious expeditions.

The French privateers, and especially Dugué-trouin, were every day making prizes of the English and Dutch merchant-ships. This man was very extraordinary in his way, and wanted only a numerous fleet to have acquired as great reputation as Dragut or Barbarossa. The enemy made less rich prizes from the French, because

cause they had less to be taken. Our trade was greatly impaired by the death of Colbert and the war.

A general misery then was the result of these expeditions by sea and land. Those who delight more in humanity than politics, will readily observe, that in this war Lewis XIV. took up arms against his brother-in-law the king of Spain, against the elector of Bavaria, to whose sister he had married his son the dauphin, and against the elector-palatine, whose country he burnt, though his brother was married to the princess-palatine. King James likewise was driven from his throne by his son-in-law and his own daughter; and since that time we have seen the duke of Savoy in league against France, where he had one daughter a dauphiness, and against Spain, where another was queen. Most of the wars between Christian princes are, in some sort, civil wars.

The most criminal enterprise in all this war proved the only truly fortunate one; William was perfectly successful in England and Ireland; in other places the successes were more equal. When I call this a criminal undertaking, I do not examine whether the nation, after having shed the blood of the father, were right or wrong in banishing the son, and maintaining its religion and privileges; I only say, that if there is any justice on earth, the daughter and son-in-law of king James ought not to have driven him from his throne and kingdom.

C H A P. CLXXX.

Treaty with SAVOY. Marriage of the Duke of BURGUNDY. Peace of RYSWICK. State of FRANCE and EUROPE. Death and last will of CHARLES II. King of SPAIN.

FRANCE still maintained her superiority over all her enemies; some she had crushed, as the duke of Savoy and the elector-palatine, and she carried the war to the frontiers of the others, like a powerful and robust body, fatigued with a long resistance, and exhausted by its victories; a well directed blow would have made her stagger. Whoever has a number of enemies at once can at last find his safety only in their division, or in a peace. Lewis XIV. obtained both the one and the other.

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, was a prince of all others the most easily persuaded to break his engagements, when his interest was concerned; to him the court of France addressed itself. The count de Tessé, afterwards marshal of France, an amiable and able man, of a genius formed for pleasing, which is the first qualification of a negociator, had begun a private treaty at Turin; and marshal Catinat, who was equally capable of making peace and war, put the finishing hand to the affair. There did not want two such able men to determine the duke of Savoy to accept of what was to his advantage; they restored him his country, gave him a sum of money, and proposed a marriage between the young duke of Burgundy, son to Monseigneur, the heir to the crown of France,
and

and his daughter. Matters were soon agreed upon: the duke and Catinat concluded July, 1696 the treaty at Our Lady of Loretto, whither they went under pretence of a pilgrimage of devotion, which however imposed upon no one. The pope (who was then Innocent XIV.) entered heartily into this negociation. His view was to deliver Italy at once from the invasions of the French, and the taxes which the emperor was continually levying to pay his troops. It was thought necessary that the Imperialists should evacuate Italy, and leave it neuter; this the duke of Savoy engaged himself by the treaty to observe. The emperor gave a flat denial at first; for the court of Vienna rarely came to a determination, but at the last extremity. Upon the emperor's refusal, the duke joined his troops to the French army; and, from generalissimo to the emperor, became, in less than a month, generalissimo to Lewis XIV. His daughter, who was only eleven years of age, was carried into France to be married to the duke of Burgundy, who was thirteen. After the falling off of the duke of Savoy, it happened, as at the peace of Nimeguen, that each of the allies thought proper to treat. The emperor agreed to leave Italy neuter. The Dutch proposed the castle of Ryf-wick, near the Hague, as the place for holding the conferences for a general peace. Four armies, which the king had on foot, contributed not a little to bring matters to a speedy conclusion. There were eighty thousand men in Flanders under Villeroy; the marshal de Choiseul had forty thousand men on the banks of the Rhine; Catinat had another army in Pied-

Piedmont ; and the duke of Vendome, who had at length attained the rank of general, after having passed through all the degrees, from that of the king's guard, like a private soldier of fortune, commanded a body of troops in Catalonia, where he gained a battle, and took Barcelona. These new efforts and successes proved the most effectual mediation. The court of Rome offered its arbitration, which was refused, as at Nimeguen. Charles XI. king of Sweden was the mediator. At length the peace was concluded ; no longer with that haughty superiority and advantageous conditions, which had distinguished the greatness of Lewis XIV. but with a condescension and concession of rights on his side, that equally amazed the French and the allies. It was a long time believed that this peace had been concerted with the deepest policy.

Sept.

O&.

1697

It was pretended that the French king's grand design was, what it certainly ought to have been, to prevent the entire succession of the vast Spanish monarchy from devolving upon the other branch of the house of Austria. It is said he entertained hopes that the house of Bourbon might at least come in for a share in the dismemberment, and perhaps one day succeed to the whole. The formal renunciations made by his wife and mother seemed no other than trivial agreements, which ought to give way to new conjunctures. In this view, to aggrandize the house of France, it was necessary to shew some moderation towards Europe ; not to incense so many powers, who were still full of suspicions. The peace gave him time to form

new

new alliances, settle the finances, gain over those whom he had occasion for, and to form new bodies of militia in the kingdom. It was necessary to give up something, in hopes of obtaining much more.

These were thought to be the private motives of the peace of Ryfwick, which in the event actually procured the throne of Spain for the grandson of Lewis XIV. This notion, probable as it may appear, is not however true; neither Lewis XIV. nor his council had those views that they ought to have had in this affair. It is a strong example of the connection of the revolutions in this world, which govern men, by whom they seem to be conducted. The obvious interest of quickly possessing Spain, or at least a part of that monarchy, had not the least influence in the peace of Ryfwick; this is acknowledged by the marquis de Torci, in his manuscript memoirs. They made peace merely because they were weary of the war, and this war itself had been carried on without any particular object; at least on the side of the allies: it was only from the idle desire of humbling the greatness of Lewis; and in that monarch it was merely the consequence of that same greatness which would not hearken to concessions. King William had drawn over to his cause the emperor, the empire, Spain, the United Provinces, and Savoy; Lewis XIV. found himself too far engaged to recede. The finest part of Europe had been laid waste, because the French king made use of the advantages he gained by the peace of Nimeguen in too haughty a manner. The league was formed rather against his person than the kingdom of France; the king
thought

thought himself secure of the reputation he had gained by arms, and was now desirous of adding that of moderation: the weakness which began to be sensibly felt in the finances made him more ready to adopt such a conduct.

The political affairs were debated in the king's council, and the resolutions taken there: the marquis de Torci, then young, was only charged with the execution of them. The whole council was for peace, especially the duke of Beauvilliers, who set forth the miseries of the people with such energy, that madame de Maintenon was affected by it, and the king himself appeared not insensible; and it made the more impression, as they had fallen from that flourishing state to which the minister Colbert had raised the kingdom. The great establishments of all kinds had cost immense sums, and no oeconomy had been used to retrieve the confusion occasioned by these extraordinary expences. This inward calamity astonished every one, because it had never been felt since Lewis XIV. had governed alone: these were the true causes of the peace of Ryswick, though doubtless some virtuous sentiments had an influence in it. Those who think that kings and ministers incessantly, and without bounds, sacrifice every thing to their ambition, are no less mistaken, than he who thinks they continually sacrifice to worldly happiness.

The king then restored to the Spaniards all those places near the Pyrenees that he had taken from them, and likewise the conquests he had made in Flanders during the last war, as Luxembourg, Mons, Ath, and Courtrai.

He

He acknowledged William III: lawful king of England, whom he had till then treated as prince of Orange, a tyrant, and an usurper. He promised not to assist his enemies for the future; and king James, whose name was left out in the treaty, remained at St. Germain with the empty title of king, and a pension from Lewis XIV. Thus sacrificed by his protector to the necessity of the times, and already forgotten in Europe, he ceased to publish any new manifestos.

The sentences which the courts of Brisac and Metz had awarded against so many sovereigns, and the reunions made at Alsace, those monuments of a dangerous power and pride, were abolished, and the bailiwicks that had been seized upon by form of law were restored to their right masters.

Besides these concessions, Friburg, Brisac, Kheil, and Philipsburg, were restored to the empire; the king even submitted to destroy the fortrefs of Strasburg on the Rhine, Fort-Lewis, Traerbach, and Mount-Royal, works on which the great Vauban had exhausted his art, and the king his treasury. Europe was surpris'd, and the French displeas'd, to see Lewis XIV. make peace as if he had been conquered. Harlai, Creci, and Callieres, who signed this peace, durst not shew themselves either at court or in the city; they were loaded with reproaches and derision, as if they had taken a single step they had not been ordered by the ministry; they were reproach'd by the court with having betrayed the honour of the French nation, and afterwards they were applauded for having, by this treaty, prepared the way for the succession

to the Spanish monarchy: but in truth, they deserved neither censure nor praise.

It was by this peace, that France at length restored Lorraine to the family which had been in possession of it for above seven hundred years. Duke Charles V. the prop of the empire, and conqueror of the Turks, was dead; his son Leopold, at the peace of Ryfwick, took possession of his sovereignty, with the loss indeed of his real privileges, it not being allowed him to have ramparts to his capital; but they could not deprive him of a much more noble privilege, that of doing good to his subjects; a privilege which no prince ever made a better use of than himself.

It were to be wished, that latest posterity may be informed, that one of the least powerful sovereigns in Europe, was him who did the most good to his people. He found Lorraine a desert waste; he repeopled and enriched it, and preserved it in peace, while the rest of Europe was desolated by war. He had always the prudence to keep well with France, and to make himself beloved in the empire; happily preserving that just medium, which hardly any prince, without power, has ever been able to maintain between two great potentates. He procured his people plenty, to which they had been long strangers; his noblesse, reduced to the last degree of wretchedness, were raised to a state of opulence, solely by his benefactions. If he saw the family-seat of a gentleman in ruins, he rebuilt it at his own expence; he paid their debts, portioned out their daughters, and lavished presents with that art of giving, which raises them even above benefactions; bestowing

his gifts with the magnificence of a prince, and the politeness of a friend. The arts, which were held in the highest honour throughout his little province, produced a new circulation, which makes the riches of a state. His court was formed after the model of that of France, and the traveller hardly perceived a change of place in going to Luneville from Versailles. After the example of Lewis XIV. he advanced the belles lettres; he established a kind of university, without pedantry, at Luneville, where the young German nobility went to be formed. The true sciences were there taught in schools, where the theory of natural philosophy was demonstrated to the eye by the most curious apparatus. He sought out men of talents even in the shops and in the woods, brought them to light, and was himself their patron and rewarder. In a word, the whole business of his reign was to procure his nation tranquillity, riches, knowledge, and pleasure; "I would quit my sovereignty to-morrow, (said he) if I could no longer do good." Accordingly he tasted the satisfaction of being believed, and I myself saw, long after his death, his subjects shed tears in mentioning his name. When he died he left an example to be followed by the greatest kings; but he could not, during his life, be instrumental in preparing the way for his son to the throne of the empire.

At the time that Lewis XIV. was managing the affair of the peace of Ryswick, which was to give him the Spanish succession, the throne of Poland became vacant. This was the only regal crown, then elective, in the world; natives and foreigners had equally a right to pretend

pretend to it, but to retain it required either a merit sufficiently striking, and properly supported by intrigues, to engage the suffrages, (as was the case with John Sobieski the late king) or else, money enough to buy the kingdom, which is almost always put up at auction.

The abbé, afterwards cardinal Polignac, had at first the art to engage the suffrages in favour of the prince of Conti, known by the valiant actions he had performed at Steinkirk and Nervinde. He had never the command in chief, nor was he admitted into the king's councils. The duke of Bourbon had an equal reputation as a warrior, the duke of Vendome a still greater, and yet his fame surpassed that of all others, by the great art of pleasing, and making himself of consequence, which no one possessed in a more eminent degree than himself. Polignac, whose talent lay in persuasion, determined the minds of the people in his favour; and, by dint of eloquence and promises, counterbalanced the money which Augustus elector of Saxony, lavished among them. Lewis-Francis, prince of Conti, June 17, was elected king by the majority of the nation, and proclaimed by the 1697 primate of the kingdom. Augustus was elected two hours afterwards by another party, inferior in numbers; but he was a sovereign prince, and powerful, and had a body of troops in readiness on the frontiers of Poland. The prince of Conti was absent, destitute of money, men, and power, and had nothing on his side but his name, and cardinal de Polignac. It remained that Lewis XIV. should either prevent his accepting the crown, or furnish him with proper

assistance to get the better of his competitor. It was thought that the French ministry did too much in sending the prince of Conti over, and too little in furnishing him with only a small squadron of ships and a few bills of exchange, with which he arrived in the road of Dantzick: this was acting with that lukewarm policy, which begins an affair only to quit it again. They would not even receive the prince at Dantzick, and his bills of exchange were protested. The intrigues of the pope and the emperor, and the money and troops of Saxony, had already secured the crown on his rival's head; he returned then with the glory of having been chosen king, and France had the mortification of having made it appear, that she was not sufficiently powerful to make a king of Poland.

This disgrace, which befel the prince of Conti, did not interrupt the peace which subsisted between the Christian powers in the North. The South of Europe was soon afterwards restored to its tranquillity by the peace of Ryswick.

There was no longer any war but that which the Turks carried on against Germany, Poland, Venice, and Russia; and here the Christians, though under a bad administration, and divided among themselves, had the superiority. The
 1695 battle of Zanta, in which prince Eugene beat the grand seignior in person, and remarkable by the deaths of the grand vizir, seventeen bashaws, and upwards of twenty thousand Turks who fell there, humbled the Ottoman pride, and brought about the peace of Car-

Carlowitz, in which the Turks submitted
to the laws imposed by the conquerors. 1699

The Venetians had the Morea, the Muscovites
Asoph, the Poles Kaminiek, and the emperor
Transilvania. All Christendom was then happy
and tranquil, the sound of war was no longer
heard, either in Asia or Africa, and the whole
world was at peace during the two last years of
the seventeenth century, an epocha, alas! of
too short a duration.

The public calamities were soon awakened
again. The peace of the North was disturbed
in the year 1700, by two men the most extra-
ordinary the world ever produced: one was
czar Peter Alexowitz, emperor of Russia, the
other young Charles XII. king of Sweden.
Czar Peter, though born a barbarian, became a
great man, and by his genius and surprizing la-
bours, was the reformer, or rather founder of
his empire. Charles XII. more courageous than
the czar, and yet less serviceable to his subjects,
formed to command soldiers but not nations,
was the first hero of his age, but died with the
character of an imprudent king. The desola-
tion the North underwent during a war of eigh-
teen years, owed its rise to the ambitious poli-
tics of the czar and the kings of Denmark and
Poland, who wanted to take advantage of the
youth of Charles XII. to strip him of a part of
his dominions; but Charles, at the age
of sixteen, conquered all three. He 1700
was the terror of the world, and was already
esteemed a hero, at an age in which other
men have hardly finished their studies. He was
for nine years the most formidable monarch in

the world, and for nine years the most miserable.

The troubles of the South of Europe arose from another cause. The king of Spain lay at the point of death, and it was in dispute who should share the spoils he was to leave behind him. The powers, who already devoured in imagination this immense succession, did, on this occasion, what we frequently see practised during the illness of a rich old man who has no children; the wife, the relations, the priests of the sick king, and even the officers appointed to receive the last commands of those who are dying, beset him on all sides to get a favourable word from him. Some of the inheritors agree to divide the spoils, and others prepare to dispute them.

Lewis XIV. and the emperor Leopold were in the same degree of consanguinity; they were both grandsons to Philip III. and both had married daughters of Philip IV. therefore Monseigneur the dauphin, the king's son, and Joseph king of the Romans, son to the emperor, were doubly in the same degree. The right of eldership was in the house of France, the king and Monseigneur being sons of the elder daughters: but the Imperial house reckoned as rights, first the formal renunciation to the crown of Spain, made and ratified by Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. with the name of Austria; the blood of Maximilian, from whence Leopold and Charles II. were descended; the almost perpetual union which had subsisted between the two branches of the house of Austria; the still more constant hatred of those two branches against the Bourbons;

bens; the aversion which the Spanish nation had at that time to the French; and lastly, the secret springs of the policy which governed the Spanish council.

Nothing at that time seemed more natural than to perpetuate the throne of Spain in the house of Austria; all Europe expected this before the peace of Ryswick, but the weakness of Charles II. had disturbed this order of succession in the year 1696, and the Austrian house had been already sacrificed in secret. The king of Spain had a grand-nephew, son to Maximilian Mary, elector of Bavaria; the king's mother, who was still living, was great-grandmother to this young prince of Bavaria, who was then about four years old; and this princess, notwithstanding that she herself was of the house of Austria, being daughter of the emperor Ferdinand III. prevailed on her son to disinherit the Imperial family, in consequence of a pique she had entertained against the court of Vienna. She therefore cast her eyes on the prince of Bavaria, though hardly out of his cradle, and destined him to the Spanish monarchy, and that of the new world. Charles II. who was then entirely governed by her*, made a private will in the year 1696, in favour of the electoral prince of Bavaria; but having afterwards lost his mother, he was governed by his wife Mariana, of Bavaria Newbourg. This Bavarian princess, who was sister-in-law to the emperor Leopold, had as great an attachment to the house of Austria, as the Austrian queen-mother had to that

* See de Torcy's memoirs, Vol. I. page 15.

of Bavaria. Thus the natural course of things was all along inverted in this affair, which concerned the most extensive monarchy in the world. Mariana of Bavaria procured that will to be destroyed, by which the young prince of Bavaria was called to the succession, and obtained a promise from the king, that he would never have any other heir than a son of the emperor Leopold, and would not name the house of Austria. Matters were on this footing at the peace of Ryfwick. The kings of France and Austria were equally fearful and suspicious of each other, and had likewise Europe to fear. England and Holland, two powerful states, whose interest it was to maintain the balance of power between crowned heads, would never suffer, that the same head which wore the crown of Spain, should likewise wear that of France or the empire*.

It is not positively known who it was that first conceived the notion of making the premature, and unheard of partition of the Spanish monarchy, during the life-time of Charles II. Most probably it was the minister Torci, for it was him who first opened it to Bentinck earl of Portland, ambassador from William III. to Lewis XIV.

1698 King William entered with great alacrity into this new project; and, in concert with the count de Tallard at the Hague, disposed of the Spanish succession. To the young prince of Bavaria they gave Spain and the East-Indies, without knowing that

* The reigning emperor is the son of this Leopold.

Charles II. had before that bequeathed to him, all his dominions. The dauphin, son of Lewis XIV. was to have Naples, Sicily, and the province of Guipuscoa, together with some few towns. The archduke Charles, second son to the emperor Leopold, had only the dutchy of Milan given him, and nothing was allotted for the archduke Joseph, Leopold's eldest son, and heir to the empire.

The destiny of a part of Europe, and the half of America, thus settled, Lewis promised by this treaty of partition, to renounce the entire succession to the Spanish dominions; the dauphin promised and signed the same thing. France thought to make an addition to its territories; England and Holland had in view to settle the peace of a part of Europe; but all these politics were vain. The dying king being informed in what manner they were tearing his monarchy in pieces during his life-time, was filled with indignation. It was generally expected, that upon hearing this news, he would declare either the emperor or one of his sons his successor, as a reward for his not having intermeddled in this shameful partition; and that he would make such a will as the house of Austria should dictate to him. He did indeed make a will, but he, a second time, declared the prince of Bavaria sole heir to his dominions. The Spanish nation, who dreaded nothing so much as the dismembering of its monarchy, applauded the disposition the king had made, which seemed calculated to bring about a peace. This hope likewise proved as vain as the treaty of partition. The

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prince of Bavaria, the intended king, died at Bruffels*.

The house of Austria was unjustly charged with the sudden death of this prince, merely from the probability that those will be guilty of crimes, to whom crimes are useful; and new intrigues began to be revived again at the courts of Madrid, Vienna, Versailles, London, the Hague, and Rome.

Lewis XIV. king William, and the states-general, disposed once more of the Spanish March, monarchy in idea, and assigned to arch-duke Charles, the emperor's youngest son, that part which they had before given to the infant, lately dead.

They gave Milan to the duke of Lorraine, and Lorraine, so often invaded, and so often restored again by France, was to be annexed to it for ever. This treaty, which set the politics of all the princes at work, to thwart or support it, proved as useless as the first.

* The author of the history of Lewis XIV. had mentioned the most of these particulars, then new and very interesting, a long time before the memoirs of the marquis de Torcy made their appearance; and these memoirs have at length confirmed all the facts alledged in this history.

The scandalous reports which were propagated on the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, are no longer repeated by writers of any authority. In the pretended memoirs of Mad. de Maintenon, Tom V. pag. 6, we meet with these words; "The court of Vienna, which had always been tainted with Machiavelian maxims, and was suspected of employing poisoners to retrieve the mistakes of its ministers." It would seem by this expression, that the court of Vienna had always kept poisoners in a kind of office, the same as their huffars and dragoons. We think it our duty to take notice of such indecent expressions, and contradict such calumnies.

Europe was again deceived in its attempt, as almost always happens.

When this treaty of partition was offered to the emperor to sign, he refused, because he was in hopes of having the intire succession. The French king, who had strongly pressed the signing it, waited in uncertainty for the event.

The king of Spain, who saw himself at the point of death, in the flower of his age, was for bestowing all his dominions on the archduke Charles, his queen's nephew, and second son to the emperor Leopold: he did not dare to leave them to the eldest son, so prevalent was the system of a balance of power in all minds, and so certain was it, that the apprehension of seeing Spain, the Indies, the empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardy, in the same hands, was about to arm all Europe. Charles II. wanted the emperor Leopold to send his second son Charles to Madrid, at the head of ten thousand men; but neither France, England, the states-general, nor Italy, would have permitted such a step to be taken at that time; every one was for the partition. The emperor would not send his son alone, to be at the mercy of the Spanish council, and he could not transport ten thousand men thither: he only wanted to march troops into Italy, to secure that part of the Austrian-Spanish monarchy. There now happened in the most important of concerns between two great princes, what happens every day between private persons in the most trifling affairs: they disputed, they grew warm; the Castilian haughtiness was offended by the German pride. The countess of Perlitz, who governed the wife of the dying
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king,

king, alienated the minds of those in Madrid, whom she ought to have won over, and the court of Vienna disgusted them still more by its haughtiness.

The young archduke, who was afterwards the emperor Charles VI. used never to mention the Spaniards but with some opprobrious appellation. He then experienced how incumbent it is on princes to weigh all their words. The bishop of Lerida, who was ambassador from the court of Madrid to that of Vienna, on some occasion of dislike against the Germans, collected these expressions, and transmitted them with exaggerations to his court in his dispatches, and even treated the Austrian council more injuriously in his letters, than the archduke had done the Spaniards by his speeches. "Leopold's ministers, said he, have understandings like the horns of the goats in my country, small, hard, and crooked." This letter was made public. The bishop of Lerida was recalled, and at his return to Madrid he doubly increased the aversion which his countrymen had to the Germans.

While the Austrian party made itself thus hated by the court of Madrid, the marquis, after marshal duke of Harcourt, the French ambassador, gained all hearts by his prodigious magnificence, his dexterity, and perfect knowledge in the art of pleasing. He was the first who changed into benevolence that antipathy which the Spanish nation had nourished against the French, ever since the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, and by his prudent conduct laid the foundation for that period, when France and Spain renewed the ancient bonds by which they

they were united before the time of that Ferdinand. "Crown with crown, nation with nation, and man with man." He brought the Spanish court to have an affection for the house of France, its ministers to be no longer startled at the renunciations made by Maria Theresa, and Anne of Austria, and the king himself to waver between his own house and that of Bourbon. He was therefore the *primum mobile* of the greatest change in the administration, and the minds of the people in general. But this change was as yet at a considerable distance. The emperor employed entreaties and threats. The king of France represented his rights, but without venturing to ask the entire succession for his grandson.

The council of Madrid were as yet undetermined which side to take, and Charles II. who was every day drawing nearer to his grave, was in equal uncertainty. Leopold in a pique recalled his ambassador, the count de Harrach, from Madrid, but soon afterwards he sent him back again, and then the hopes in favour of the house of Austria were revived. The king of Spain wrote to the emperor that he would chuse the archduke for his successor. Then the French king threatened in his turn, assembled an army on the frontiers of Spain, and the marquis of Harcourt was recalled from his embassy, to command these forces, leaving only an officer of foot at the court of Madrid, who had served as secretary to the embassy, and now remained in quality of resident, as de Torci tells us. Thus the dying king, threatned alternately by those who pretended to the succession, and plainly perceiving that the hour of his

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his death would be that of a bloody war, and that his dominions were on the point of being torn in pieces, drew towards his end comfortless, irresolute, and involved in disquietudes.

In this violent crisis of affairs, cardinal Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo, the count of Monterey, and others of the Spanish grandees, determined to save their country, and joined together to prevent the dismembring of the monarchy. Their hatred to the Austrian government added a double weight to reasons of state in their breasts, and did the court of France the most essential service without her knowing it. They persuaded Charles II. to prefer the grandson of Lewis XIV. to a prince at so great a distance from them, and incapable of defending them. This was not an invalidation of the solemn renunciations of the Spanish crown made by the mother and wife of Lewis XIV. because these had been made only to prevent the elder sons of their descendants from uniting the two kingdoms under one rule; and here it was an elder son that was chosen. It was at the same time doing justice to the rights of blood, and preserving the Spanish monarchy from a partition. The scrupulous king caused all his divines to be consulted on this head, who were all of opinion with the council; and ill as he was, wrote a letter with his own hand, to pope Innocent XII. proposing the same case to him. The pope, who thought the liberty of Italy depended upon the weakening of the house of Austria, wrote back to the king, "That the laws of Spain, and the good of Christendom required of him to give the preference to the house of France." This letter
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of the pope's was dated July 16, 1700. He treated this case of conscience proposed by a sovereign, as an affair of state ; while the king of Spain made a case of conscience of an important affair of state.

Lewis XIV. was informed of these dispositions by cardinal de Janson, who then resided at Rome, and this was all the share that the court of Versailles had in this event. Six months had passed without there being any ambassador at the court of Madrid. This was perhaps a fault ; but perhaps also this very fault secured the Spanish monarchy in the house of France. The king of Spain then made his third will, that was for a long time thought to be the only one, and by which he bequeathed all his dominions to the duke of Anjou*.

It was generally thought in Europe that this will of Charles II. had been dictated at Versailles. The dying king consulted only the interest of his kingdom, and the wishes and even fears of his people ; for the French king had ordered his troops to advance to the frontiers, in order to secure to himself a part of the inheritance, at the time the dying king determined to leave him the whole. Nothing is more true than that the reputation of Lewis XIV. and the notion of his power, were the

* Some memoirs tell us that cardinal Portocarrero prevailed on the king to sign this will when he was dying, and give us a long speech which the prelate made to this monarch, to engage him to comply with his request. But it is easily perceived that every thing had been prepared and disposed for this in the month of July preceding. Besides, who could know what cardinal Portocarrero said to the king when they were in private together ?

only negotiations that completed this great revolution.

Charles of Austria, after having signed the ruin of his house, and the aggrandizement of that of France, languished about a month longer, when he ended, at the age of thirty-nine, the obscure life he had led while on the throne. It may perhaps not be altogether useless towards giving an insight into the human mind, to mention, that this monarch, a few months before his death, caused the tombs of his mother and his first wife, Maria-Louisa of Orleans, to the poisoning of whom he was suspected to have been privy*, to be opened, and kissed the remains of their dead bodies. In this he either followed the example of some of the ancient kings of Spain, or was willing to accustom himself to the horrors of death, or from a secret superstition thought that opening these tombs would retard the hour in which he was to be carried to his own.

This prince was from his birth as weak in mind as body; and this weakness had spread itself through his dominions. It is the fate of monarchies to have their prosperity depend upon the disposition of a single man. Charles II. had been brought up in such profound ignorance, that when the French were besieging Mons, he thought that place had belonged to the king of England. He neither knew whereabouts Flanders lay, nor what place belonged to him there †. This king left the duke of

* See the Chapter of anecdotes.

† See de Torci's Memoirs, Tom. I. page 12.

Anjou all his dominions, without knowing what he had given him.

His will was kept so secret that the count de Harrac, the emperor's ambassador, still flattered himself that the archduke would be acknowledged his successor. He waited a long time for the issue of the great council, which was held immediately upon the king's death; at length seeing the duke of Abrantes coming towards him with open arms, he made sure in that instant that the archduke was king, when the duke embracing him, accosted him thus: *Vengo ad expedir me de la casa de Austria.* "I am come to take my leave of the house of Austria."

Thus, after two hundred years of war and negociations, for some few frontier towns of the Spanish dominions, the house of France, by the single stroke of a pen, was put in possession of the whole monarchy, without treaties, without intrigues, and even without having entertained hopes of the succession. We thought ourselves obliged to bring to light the simple truth of a fact which has till now been obscured by so many statesmen and historians, led away by their own prejudices, and by appearances, that are almost always fallacious. What we find related in a number of books concerning the sums of money distributed by the marshal d'Harcourt, and the bribing of the Spanish ministers to get this will signed, may be ranked in the number of political lies and popular errors. But the king of Spain, in chusing for his successor the grand-son of a king who had so long been his enemy, had always in view the consequences that naturally follow from a notion of a general equilibrium of power. The duke
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of Anjou, Lewis XIV's grand-son, was called to the Spanish succession, only because he could never pretend to the crown of France; and in this very will, by which, in default of younger children of the blood of Lewis XIV. the arch-duke Charles, (afterwards the emperor Charles VI.) is called to the succession, it is expressly declared, that the empire and Spain shall never be united under one sovereign.

Lewis XIV. might still have abided by the treaty of partition, which was profitable for France, or he might have accepted the will, which was to the advantage of his family. This matter was actually in debate in an extraordinary council. The chancellor, Pontchartrain, and the duke of Beauvilliers, were of opinion to abide by the treaty, as foreseeing the danger of having a new war to support. Lewis saw nothing like this; but he was accustomed not to fear war. He therefore accepted the will, and as he was coming out of the council, meeting the princess of Conti, with madame the dutches; "Well, said he to them smiling, on which side are you?" and then without giving them time to reply, "Which soever side I take, added he, I am sure to be blamed*."

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* Notwithstanding the just contempt in which the pretended memoirs of madame de Maintenon are held throughout France, we think it necessary to acquaint strangers that every thing there said relating to this will, is entirely false. The author pretends, that when the Spanish ambassador presented the will of Charles II. to Lewis, that prince replied, "We shall consider of it." Certainly the king never made so extraordinary a reply, since by the mar-

The actions of kings, though often extravagantly flattered, are likewise liable to the severest strictures, insomuch that the king of England himself underwent the reproaches of his parliament, and his ministers were prosecuted for having been concerned in the treaty of partition. The English, who reason better than any other nation, but who frequently suffer the rage of party spirit to extinguish that reason, exclaimed unanimously both against William, who had made this treaty, and against Lewis, who had broke it.

Europe at first seemed lost in surprise, and unable to bestir itself when it saw the Spanish monarchy become subject to France, whose rival it had been for above three hundred years. Lewis XIV. seemed the most fortunate and powerful monarch in the world. He saw himself, at the age of sixty-two, surrounded with a numerous posterity, and one of his grand-sons going to rule, under his orders, the kingdom of Spain, America, one half of Italy, and the Low Countries. The emperor as yet could do nothing but complain.

King William, now fifty-two years of age, infirm and feeble, no longer appeared the formidable enemy he had been. He could not make war without the consent of his parlia-

marquis de Torci's confession, the Spanish ambassador had not his audience of Lewis XIV. till after the holding of the council in which the will was accepted.

The minister who then resided in Spain from the French court, was named Blécour, and not Belcour; and the Spanish ambassador's name was Castel dos Rios, and not Rius. The answer made by the king to this ambassador never had existence but in this idle romance.

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ment; and Lewis had taken care to send sums of money over to England, with a view to purchase several votes in that assembly. William, and the Dutch, not being strong enough to declare themselves, wrote to Philip V. as to the lawful king of Spain. Lewis XIV. was sure of the elector of Bavaria, father to the young prince, lately deceased, who had been appointed king. This elector, who governed the Netherlands in the name of the deceased king, Charles II. immediately secured the possession of Flanders to Philip V. and left a passage open for the French army through his electorate to the capital of Germany, in case the emperor should venture to declare war. The elector of Cologne, brother to the elector of Bavaria, was as intimately connected with France as his brother, and these two princes seemed to act with reason on their side. The party of the house of Bourbon was at that time without comparison the strongest. The duke of Savoy, already father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, was going to be the same to the king of Spain, and was to have the command of the French forces in Italy. It was hardly imagined then that the father of the dutchess of Burgundy and the queen of Spain, would ever make war upon his two sons-in-law.

The duke of Mantua, who had been sold to France by his minister, now sold himself, and received a French garrison into Mantua. The dutchy of Milan acknowledged Lewis's grandson without hesitation; and even Portugal, who was naturally the enemy of Spain, immediately joined with it. In a word, from Gibraltar to Antwerp, and from the Danube to Na-

Naples, all seemed to be at the devotion of the Bourbons. The king was so elated with his prosperity, that talking with the duke of Rochefoucault one day, on the subject of the proposals which the emperor made him at that time, he expressed himself thus: "You will find them still more insolent than you have been told*."

King William, who to the hour of his death continued an enemy to Lewis XIV. promised the emperor to arm England and Holland in his cause: he likewise engaged the court of Denmark in his interest: at length he signed at the Hague that league which had been already set on foot against the house of France. The king however was not much surpris'd at this, and depending upon the divisions he hoped to cause in the English parliament, by the money he had sent over, and still more on the united forces of France and Spain, seemed to despise his enemies.

At this time, king James died at St. Germain. Lewis might on this occasion have paid what appeared due to decency and good politics, in not too hastily acknowledging the prince of Wales for king of England, after having already acknowledged William's title by the peace of Ryswick. He was at first determined, from an emotion of pure generosity, to give the son of king James the consolation of a title and dignity which his unfortunate

* At least this is what we find related by Mr. Dangeau, in his manuscript memoirs, though they are not always strictly true.

had bore till the hour of his death, and which the treaty of Ryswick did not take from him. The principal ministers of the council however were all of a different opinion. The duke of Beauvilliers especially, set forth, in the most eloquent manner, the many scourges of war which were likely to be the consequence of so dangerous a magnanimity. This nobleman was governor to the duke of Burgundy, and in every thing thought like that prince's preceptor, the famous archbishop of Cambrai, so well known by his humane maxims of government, and the preference he gave to the interests of the people, over the grandeur of the monarch. The marquis de Torci enforced as a politician what the duke de Beauvilliers had advanced as a citizen. He represented how impolitic it was to incense the English nation by so rash a step. Lewis yielded to the opinion of his council, and resolved not to acknowledge the son of James II. as king. The same day Mary of Modena, widow to the deceased James, went to madame de Maintenon's apartments to speak with Lewis XIV. She found him there, and with a flood of tears conjured him not to treat her son, herself, and the memory of a king he had protected, with so much indignity as to refuse a title, the only remains of all their former greatness. She observed, that as her son had always received the honours of a prince of Wales, he ought to be treated as king after the death of his father; and that even William himself could not complain of this, provided he was left to enjoy his usurpation. To these arguments she added others, which concerned the interest and glory of Lewis XIV. She represented

fented to him that whether he acknowledged the son of James II. or not, the English would nevertheless declare against France; and that he would only feel the vexation of having sacrificed the most noble sentiments to a fruitless precaution. These representations and tears were powerfully seconded by madame de Maintenon. The king resumed his former sentiments, and the noble resolution of protecting distressed kings to the utmost of his power. In a word, James III. was acknowledged the same day that it had been determined in council not to acknowledge him.

The marquis de Torci has frequently owned this remarkable anecdote; he has not indeed inserted it in his memoirs, because (as he himself observes) he thought it was not to the honour of his master, to be prevailed upon by two women, to alter a resolution which had been taken in his council. Some English gentlemen* have told me, that had it not been for this step, their parliament might not perhaps have taken part against the houses of Bourbon and Austria; but that this acknowledging as

* Among others, my lord Bolingbroke, who in his memoirs has since justified all that the author of the Age of Lewis XIV. advances. See his letters, Vol. II. page 56. Mr. de Torci is of the same opinion in his memoirs: he says, Vol. I. page 164, "The king's resolution to acknowledge the prince of Wales for king of England, wrought a change in the dispositions which a great part of the nation shewed towards preserving the peace, &c." Lord Bolingbroke says, in his letters, that Lewis XIV. acknowledged the pretender "through female importunities." These are sufficient proofs how industriously the author of the Age of Lewis XIV. has sought after the truth, and with what candour he has related it.

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their king a person whom they had banished, appeared an insult offered to the nation, and an attempt towards exercising an absolute authority over Europe. The spirit of freedom which then prevailed among the English, and that was not a little encreased by the hatred they bore to Lewis, on account of his great power, made the nation contribute with cheerfulness to all the supplies which William demanded.

It appears more probable that the English would have declared war against Lewis XIV. even though he had refused the empty title of king to the son of James II. His grandson being in possession of the Spanish monarchy seemed alone sufficient to arm all the maritime powers against him. A few members of the house of commons bribed to favour his cause, could never have opposed the torrent of the nation. It remains to be decided, whether madam de Maintenon judged better than the French council, and whether Lewis XIV. was in the right to indulge the pride and sensibility of his soul?

The emperor Leopold first began this war in Italy, in the spring of the year 1701. Italy has always been the favourite object in all the concerns of the emperors. He knew his arms could more easily penetrate here through the Tirolese and the Venetian state; for Venice, though neuter in appearance, still inclined more to the house of Austria than to that of France, and being moreover obliged by treaties to allow a passage to the German troops, she found no great difficulty to accomplish these treaties.

The emperor, before he ventured to attack Lewis XIV. on the side of Germany, waited till the Germanic body began to stir in his fa-

vour.

vour. He had good intelligence in the Spanish court, and even a party there; but neither of these could prove of service without the presence of one of his sons, and he could not be transported thither but with the assistance of the English and Dutch fleets. King William hastened the necessary preparations; his soul more active than ever, in a feeble and almost lifeless body, set every thing in motion; not so much with a view to serve the house of Austria as to humble Lewis XIV.

He was to have headed the armies himself, at the beginning of the year 1702; but death prevented his design. A fall from his horse completed the disorder of his enfeebled organs, and a slight fever carried him off. He died without making any reply to what the English clergymen * who attended at his bed-side said to him in relation to their religion, and shewed no concern but for the affairs of Europe.

March 16,
1702

He left behind him the character of a great politician though he was never popular, and a formidable general though he had lost so many battles; always circumspect in his conduct, and spirited only in the day of battle; he reigned peaceably in England merely because he did not

* Our author is in this place mistaken. Instead of shewing any solicitude about the affairs of Europe, he paid little or no attention to the Earl of Albemarle, just arrived from Holland, when he explained to him in private the posture of affairs upon the continent: all the answer he made was, *Je tire vers ma fin*, "My life draws near a close." He conferred on spiritual matters with archbishop Tennyson and bishop Burnet, and received the sacrament with great devotion.

attempt to be absolute ; he was called the English stadtholder and the Dutch king ; he understood all the European languages, but spoke none of them well, as he had a much greater share of reflection than imagination ; he affected to hate flatterers and flattery, perhaps because Lewis XIV. seemed to take rather too much pleasure in them. His reputation was of a different kind from that of the French monarch ; those who admired most the advantage of having acquired a kingdom without any natural right, and of maintaining the rule over a people without being beloved by them ; of having governed Holland with all the authority of a sovereign, without enslaving it ; of having been the soul and head of one half of Europe, without possessing the talents of a general, or the courage of a soldier ; of never having persecuted any one on the score of religion ; of having a contempt for the superstitious prejudices of mankind ; of having been simple and moderate in his manners ; such I say will doubtless give the title of great to William, rather than to Lewis : while those who are more delighted with the pleasures of a brilliant court, with magnificence, with the protection given to the arts, with a zeal for the public good *, a thirst for glory, and a talent for reigning, who are more struck with

* In what shape Lewis XIV. could be said to be zealous for the public good, we cannot conceive ; he whose criminal ambition impoverished his kingdom, and reduced his subjects to misery. As to his talent for reigning we shall only observe, that, after Richelieu had reduced the power of the nobles, and Colbert had enriched the kingdom with commerce, as well as established the plan of internal government, it was a very easy matter to maintain authority and

with the lofty manner in which ministers and generals added whole provinces to France, only on an order from their king; who are more astonished to see a single state make head against so many powers; who have greater esteem for a king of France that procures the kingdom of Spain for his grandson, than for a son-in-law who dethrones his wife's father; in a word, those who admire more the protector than the persecutor of king James, such will give Lewis the preference.

To William III. succeeded the princess Anne, daughter to king James by the daughter of Lawyer Hyde, afterwards chancellor and one of the principal men of the kingdom. She was married to the prince of Denmark, who ranked only as the first subject in the kingdom. As soon as she came to the crown, she adopted all the measures of her predecessor king William, though she had been at open variance with him during his life. These measures were those of the nation. In other kingdoms, a prince obliges his people to enter blindly into all his views; but at London a king must enter into those of his people*.

The dispositions made by England and Holland for placing, if possible, the archduke Charles, son to the emperor Leopold, on the throne of Spain, or at least to oppose the establishment of the Bourbon family, were such as perhaps may be said to merit the attention of all ages.

and order in a nation of slaves, overawed by a standing army of above four hundred thousand ruffians, inured to blood and rapine.

* Witnesses this and the last war upon the continent.

The Dutch on their sides were to maintain an army of one hundred and two thousand men in pay, either in garrison or in the field. This was much more than the vast Spanish monarchy could furnish at that time: a province of merchants, who, thirty years before, had been almost totally subdued in the space of two months, could now do more than the masters of Spain, Naples, Flanders, Peru, and Mexico. England promised to furnish forty thousand men. It happens in most alliances, that, in the long run, the parties concerned fall short of their promised quotas; but England, on the contrary, furnished fifty thousand men the second year instead of forty, which she had promised; and, in the latter part of the war, she had in pay, on the frontiers of France, in Spain, Italy, Ireland, America, and on board her fleet, upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, soldiers and sailors, partly her own troops, partly those of her allies; an expence which appears almost incredible to those who reflect, that England, properly so called, is not a third so large as France, and has not one half the quantity of coin; but will appear probable in the eyes of those who know what trade and credit can do. The English always bore the greatest share of the burthen in this alliance, while the Dutch insensibly lessened theirs; for after all, the republic of the states-general is only an illustrious trading company, whereas England is a fruitful country abounding in merchants and soldiers.

The emperor was to furnish eighty thousand men, exclusive of the succours of the empire, and those allies whom he hoped to detach from
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the house of Bourbon; and yet the grandson of Lewis XIV. was already seated peaceably on his throne at Madrid, and Lewis, at the beginning of the century, was at the zenith of his power and glory: but those who penetrated into the resources of the several courts of Europe, and especially that of France, began to fear some reverse. Spain, that had been weakened under the last kings of the race of Charles V. was still more feeble during the early part of the reign of the Bourbons. The house of Austria had partisans in several provinces of this monarchy; Catalonia seemed ready to shake off the new yoke, and acknowledge the archduke Charles. It was impossible but that Portugal must sooner or later, side with the house of Austria. It was plainly its interest to encourage a civil war among the Spaniards, its natural enemies, that might turn to the advantage of Lisbon. The duke of Savoy, lately become father-in-law to the new king of Spain, and linked to the Bourbons by the ties of blood as well as treaties, seemed already displeas'd with his sons-in-law. Fifty thousand crowns per month, afterwards raised to two hundred thousand franks, did not appear a sufficiently valuable consideration to bind him to their interest; he wanted at least Montferrat, Mantua, and a part of the dutchy of Milan. The haughty behaviour he met with from the French generals, and from the ministry at Versailles, made him apprehensive, and not without reason, that he should soon be held for nothing by his two sons-in-law, who kept his dominions surrounded on every side. He had already quitted the emperor for France

without any ceremony; and it seemed more than probable, that, finding himself so little regarded by the latter, he would change sides the first opportunity.

As to the court of Lewis XIV. and his kingdom, nice spirits already perceived a change in them, which is only visible to the grosser ones when the decline is far advanced. The king, now upwards of sixty years of age, was grown more retired, and consequently knew less of mankind; he saw things at too great a distance, and with eyes less discerning, and dazzled with prosperity. Madame de Maintenon, with all the amiable qualities she was mistress of, had neither the strength, greatness, nor courage of mind, requisite for supporting the glory of a state: she was instrumental in procuring the management of the finances in 1698, and the department of war in 1701, for her creature Chamillard, who was more of the honest man than the minister, and had ingratiated himself with the king by his discreet conduct, when employed at St. Cyr; but, notwithstanding an outward appearance of modesty, he had the misfortune to think himself capable of bearing two burthens, which Colbert and Louvois had with difficulty supported separately. The king, depending upon his own experience, thought that he could successfully direct his ministers; and when Louvois died, he said to king James, "I have lost a good minister, but neither your affairs nor mine shall go the worse for it." When he made choice of Barbefieux to succeed Louvois as secretary of war, he said to him, "I formed your father, and will form you." He expressed himself much in the same manner to Chamillard.

millard. A king who had been so long engaged in public affairs, and with such great success, seemed to have a right to talk in this manner.

In regard to the generals whom he employed, they were frequently confined by the strict orders they received from him, like ambassadors who must not depart from their instructions. He and Chamillard directed the operations of the campaign in madame de Maintenon's closet. If a general was desirous of executing any great undertaking, he was frequently obliged to dispatch a courier to court for permission, who at his return found the opportunity lost, or the general beaten.

Military rewards and dignities were profusely lavished under Chamillard's administration; numbers of young persons, hardly out of their leading-strings, were allowed to purchase regiments, which, with the enemy, was the reward of twenty years service. This difference was very sensibly felt on many occasions, in which an experienced officer might have prevented a total rout. The crosses of the knights of St. Lewis, a reward invented by the king in 1693, and then the object of emulation among the officers, were exposed to sale in the beginning of Chamillard's ministry, and were to be bought for fifty crowns a-piece, at any of the war-offices. Military discipline, the soul of service, which had been so strictly kept up by Louvois had degenerated into a fatal remissness; the companies were not complete in their number of men, nor the regiments in their officers. Hence arose a defect, which, supposing an equality in other respects, must infallibly occasion the loss of all their battles; for, to have

an equal extent of front with that of the enemy, they were obliged to oppose weak battalions to strong and numerous ones. The magazines were no longer so well provided, nor at such convenient distances, nor were the arms so well tempered as formerly. Those therefore who perceived these defects in the administration, and knew what generals France had to deal with, trembled for her, even in the midst of those first advantages which seemed to promise her greater success than ever* †.

* The compiler of the memoirs of madam de Maintenon says, that, towards the end of the foregoing war, the marquis de Nangis, colonel of the king's regiment, told him, that he had no way to stop the desertion of his soldiers but by knocking the deserters on the head. It is worth while to remark, that this marquis de Nangis, afterwards a marshal, was not colonel of the king's regiment till the year 1711.

The same author abuses the regiment of guards, whom he calls Pierrots: he seems not to know how they distinguished themselves at Valcour, Steinkirk, Nervinde, and at almost every siege. History should not be a satire against any body of men, or private persons.

† All these circumstances imply, that the former prosperity of Lewis was not owing to his own personal talents, but entirely to the great abilities of his old ministers and generals, who were now no more.

C H A P. CLXXXI.

The War of 1701. Conduct of Prince EUGENE, Marshal VILLEROI, the Duke of VENDOME, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, and MARSHAL VILLARS; till the Year 1703.

THE first general who put a check to the superiority of the French arms was a Frenchman, for so we should call prince Eugene, tho' he was the grandson of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy: his father, the count de Soissons, had settled in France, where he was lieutenant-general of the king's armies, and governor of Champagne; and married Olimpia Mancini, one of the nieces of cardinal Mazarin. From this match, so unfortunate in other respects, was born at Paris this prince, who afterwards proved so dangerous an adversary to Lewis XIV. and was so little known to him in his youth. He was known at first in France by the name of the Chevalier de Carignan; he afterwards took the petit-collet, and was called the Abbot of Savoy. It is said that he asked the king for a regiment, which his majesty refused him, on account of his being too much connected with the princes of Conti, who were then in disgrace. Not being able to succeed with Lewis XIV. he went to serve the emperor against the Turks in Hungary, in 1684, together with the princes of Conti, who had already made a glorious campaign there. The king sent an order to the princes of Conti, and all those who had accompanied them in this expedition,

pedition, to return home. The abbot of Savoy was the only one who refused to comply with this mandate : he continued his journey, openly declaring that he renounced France for ever. The king when he was told of this, said to his courtiers *, “ Don’t you think I have had a great loss ?” and these gentlemen immediately gave it as their opinion, that the abbot of Savoy would always be a mad-headed fellow, and fit for nothing. They founded their judgments on certain follies of youth, by which we are never to judge of men. This prince, who was held in so much contempt at the court of France, was born with all the qualifications which form the hero in war, and the great man in peace ; he had a just and lofty mind, and the necessary courage both in the field and the cabinet ; he was guilty of faults, as all generals have been, but these were lost in

* See Dangeau’s memoirs.

There were at that time several young lords of the court, who wrote indecent letters to the princes of Conti, in which they were wanting in the respect they owed the king, and in complaisance to Mad. de Maintenon, who was then only a favourite. These letters were intercepted, and the young people in disgrace for some time.

The compiler of the memoirs of Maintenon is the only one who asserts that the duke de la Rochaugien, said to his brother, the marquis de Liencourt, “ Brother, you deserve death if your letters are intercepted.” In the first place, no one deserves death for having a faulty letter intercepted, but for having wrote it ; and in the next place, no one deserves death for writing a jest. It is evident that these young lords did not deserve death, because they were all taken into favour again ; all these suppositious speeches, which are so lightly repeated in the world, and afterwards collected and published by obscure and mercenary writers, are undeserving of our believe,

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the number of his great actions. He shook the greatness of Lewis XIV. and the Ottoman power: he governed the empire; and, in the course of his victories and ministry, shewed an equal contempt for vain-glory and riches. He cherished, and even protected learning, as much as could be done at the court of Vienna. At this time he was about thirty-seven years of age, and had the experience of his own victories over the Turks, and the faults which he had seen committed by the Imperialists in the late wars in which he served against France. He entered Italy by the country of Trent, in the territories of Venice, with thirty thousand men, and full liberty to make such use of them as he pleased. The court at first forbid marshal Catinat to oppose the passage of prince Eugene, either because they would not commit the first act of hostility, which was bad policy when the enemy had already taken up arms, or else because they would not disoblige the Venetians, who were however less to be feared than the German army. This first mistake in the court occasioned marshal Catinat to commit others. That person rarely succeeds who follows a plan that is not his own; besides, we well know how difficult a matter it is, in a country cut through with rivers and streams of water, to prevent a skilful enemy from passing them. Prince Eugene, to a great depth of scheming, added a lively promptitude of execution. From the nature of the ground likewise on the banks of the Adigi, the enemy's army was more compact, while that of the French was more extended. Catinat was for marching to meet the enemy; but the lieutenants-general

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started difficulties, and formed cabals against him. Instead of making them obey him, he gave way; the mildness of his disposition led him to commit this great error. Eugene began July 9, 1701, by forcing the post of Carpi, near the White Canal, which was defended by St. Fremont, who neglected the general's orders in some respects, and occasioned his own defeat. After this success, the German army had the command of all the country, between the Adigi and the Adda, and penetrated into the Bressan, while Catinat retreated behind the Oglio. Several good officers approved of this retreat, which, in their opinion, was a very prudent one; to which we may further add, that the failure of the provisions and ammunition promised by the ministry, rendered it absolutely necessary. The courtiers, and especially those who had hopes of succeeding Catinat in the command, represented his behaviour as a scandal to the French name. Marshal Villeroi persuaded them that he could retrieve the honour of the nation; the confidence with which he spoke, and the liking the king had to him, procured him the command in Italy; and marshal Catinat, notwithstanding his former victories of Staffarde and Marfailles, was obliged to serve under him.

The marshal duke de Villeroi was son to the king's governor, had been brought up with his royal master, and always enjoyed a principal share of his favour: he had been with him in all his campaigns, and made one in all his parties of pleasure: he was of an agreeable and engaging figure, extremely brave, a very worthy man, a good friend, sincere in his connections,

tions, and magnificent in all his actions*. But his enemies said he was more taken up, after he came to be general, with the honour and pleasure of commanding, than with the schemes of a great captain, and reproached him with being so much wedded to his own opinion, as to slight the advice of every one else.

He now repaired to Italy, to lord it over Catinat, and disgust the duke of Savoy. His behaviour shewed, that he thought a favourite of Lewis XIV. at the head of so powerful an army was infinitely superior to a prince. He never called the duke by any other name than *Monf. de Savoy*, and treated him like a common general in the pay of France, and not like a sovereign. In a word, the friendship of this prince was not regarded so much as was necessary, considering that he was master of the barriers which nature has placed between France and Italy. The court thought that fear was the surest knot to bind him; and that a French

* The author, who in his younger days had frequently the honour of seeing this nobleman, thinks himself authorised to declare that the above is his real character. *La Baumette*, who abuses both marshal *Villeroi* and marshal *Villars*, and many others, in his notes on the age of Lewis XIV. speaks thus of the late marshal duke of *Villeroi*, page 102, Vol. III. of the memoirs of *Mad. de Maintenon*, "Villeroi the vain-glorious, who used to amuse the women with so easy an air, and would ask his servants with so much arrogance, "Is there any money put into my pockets?" How can any person put into the mouth, I will not say of a great nobleman, but even of any well-bred man, words which were said to have been spoken by a financier? How can he pretend to talk of so many great men of the past age, as if he had seen them all? Or, how can any one have the assurance to commit to writing such false and scurrilous reflections?"

army, surrounding about six or seven thousand Piedmontese, was a sufficient pledge for his fidelity. Marshal Villeroi behaved to him as his equal in common correspondence, and his superior in the command. The duke of Savoy had the empty title of generalissimo, but marshal Villeroi was so in fact. He immediately gave orders for attacking prince Eugene in the post of Chiari, near the Oglio. The general officers were of opinion, that it was against all the rules of war to attack this post, for these essential reasons; that it was of no consequence; that the entrenchments were inaccessible; that nothing could be gained by forcing them, and that, if they failed, the reputation of the whole campaign would be lost. Villeroi however told the duke of Savoy that he must march, and sent an aid-de-camp to order marshal Catinat in his name to begin the attack. Catinat made the messenger repeat the order to him three different times; then turning towards the officers who were under his command, "Come on Sept. 11, then, gentlemen, we must obey." They marched directly up to the entrenchments, and the duke of Savoy fought like a person who had no subject of complaint against France. Catinat fought every where for death; he was wounded, but nevertheless, on seeing the king's troops repulsed, he made a retreat; after which he quitted the army, and returned to Versailles, to give an account of his conduct to the king, without complaining of any one.

1701
Prince Eugene always maintained his superiority over marshal Villeroi; at length, in the heart of the winter 1702, one day that the
marshal

marshal was sleeping in full security in Cremona, a pretty strong town, and provided with a very numerous garrison, he found himself awakened with the noise of a discharge of small arms; upon which he rose in haste, mounted his horse, and the first thing he met with was a squadron of the enemy. The marshal is immediately made prisoner and led out of the town, without knowing any thing that had passed there, and unable to conceive the cause of so extraordinary an event. Prince Eugene was already in the town of Cremona; a priest called Bozzoli, provost of St. Mary la Nova, had introduced the German troops through a common sewer. Four hundred men having been conveyed through this sewer into the priest's house, immediately killed the guard at the two gates, which were flung open, and prince Eugene enters the city with four thousand men. All this was done before the governor, who was a Spaniard, had the least suspicion, or marshal Villeroi was awake. The whole affair was conducted with the greatest secrecy, order, and diligence. The Spanish governor on the first alarm, appeared in the street with a few soldiers, but was presently shot dead with a musket; all the general officers were either killed or made prisoners, excepting lieutenant-general count de Revel, and the marquis du Prâlin. Chance however confounded the prudent measures of prince Eugene.

It happened that the chevalier d'Entragues was that day to review the regiment of marines, of which he was colonel; the soldiers were assembled by four o'clock in the morning, in one of the outparts of the city, exactly at the time

that prince Eugene entered at the other part: d'Entragues began to run through the streets with his soldiers; he makes head against those of the enemy that come in his way, and by this means gives the rest of the garrison time to repair thither. The streets and squares were now filled with officers and soldiers, confusedly mingled together, some with arms, some without, and others half naked, without any commander at their head. The fight is begun in the utmost confusion, and they entrench themselves from street to street, and from square to square. Two Irish regiments, that made part of the garrison, checked the efforts of the Imperialists. Never was greater prudence shewn in the surprize of a town, nor more valour in defending it. The garrison consisted of about five thousand men; prince Eugene had as yet introduced only four thousand; a large detachment of his army was to have joined them by the bridge over the Po; the measures were well concerted, but another stroke of chance rendered them all fruitless. This bridge, which was guarded only by an hundred French soldiers, was to have been seized upon by the German cuirassiers, who were ordered to go and make themselves masters of it, the instant prince Eugene entered the town. For this purpose, as they came in by the south gate, next to the common sewer, they were to go out into the country of Cremona at the north part of the city, thro' the Po-gate, and then immediately make the best of their way to the bridge. As they were going through the city, the guide who conducted them was killed by a musket-shot from a window; the cuirassiers mistake one
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street for another, and wander out of their way. During this small interval of time, the Irish assemble at the Po-gate, attack and repulse the cuirassiers; and the marquis du Prâlin, seizing this lucky moment, orders the bridge to be broken down; the succours which the enemy expected cannot arrive, and the town is saved.

Prince Eugene, after having fought the whole day, and constantly keeping possession of the gate by which he entered, at length retired, taking with him marshal Villeroi, and most of the general officers prisoners, but disappointed of taking Cremona, which his activity and prudence, together with the negligence of the generals, had once made him master of; and which chance, and the valour of the French and Irish troops, had snatched from him again.

Marshal Villeroi, who was extremely unhappy on this occasion, was condemned by the courtiers at Versailles, with all the severity and acrimony that his share of the royal favour, and the loftiness of his character, which was taken by them for vanity, could inspire. The king, who blamed but did not condemn him, was not a little displeased to find his choice so highly censured, and in the heat of his resentment suffered these words to escape him, "They take a pleasure in abusing him, because he is my favourite:" (see Dangeau's memoirs) a term that he never before in his life made use of in regard to any one. The duke of Vendôme was immediately appointed to go and take the command in Italy.

The duke of Vendôme was grandson to Henry IV. and, like him, intrepid, mild, beneficent, and humble; - a stranger to hatred, envy,
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and revenge: he shewed pride only among princes, and behaved with equality to every one else: he was the only general under whom the common men were not led to fight merely from principles of military duty, and that mechanical instinct which obeys the orders of an officer. They fought for the duke of Vendôme; and would have laid down their lives to extricate him out of a false step into which his fiery genius sometimes hurried him. He was thought not to equal prince Eugene in the coolness and depth of his designs, and the art of subsisting his troops; he was too apt to neglect little matters, and suffered military discipline to languish in his army; he gave too much time to sleep and the pleasures of the table, as well as his brother. This over-indulgence put him more than once in danger of being carried off: but in the day of battle he made amends for all these faults, by a presence of mind and discernment which seemed to grow from danger; these opportunities he was continually seeking, being not so well qualified for a defensive war as prince Eugene, but fully equal to him in the offensive.

The same disorder and negligence that he introduced into the army were visible to a surprising degree in his household, and even his own person. From his great aversion to show or ostentation he contracted a cynic slovenliness almost unparalleled; and disinterestedness, the most noble of all virtues, became in him a fault, by making him lose more by carelessness than he would have expended in acts of bounty. He has been often known to want even common necessaries. His brother, the grand prior, who
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commanded under him in Italy, had all his faults, which he carried to a still greater excess, and made amends for by the same valour. It is surprising to see two generals never rising from bed till four o'clock in the afternoon, and two princes, grandsons to Henry IV. neglecting their persons in a manner that the meanest soldier would have thought shameful.

What is still more surprising, is, that mixture of activity and indolence, with which Vendôme carried on so smart a war against Eugene; a war of artifice, surprises, marches, crossing of rivers, petty skirmishes, often as fruitless as bloody; and murderous battles, in which both sides claimed the victory; such as that of Luzara, for which *Te Deum* was sung both at Paris and Vienna. Vendôme always came off conqueror, when he had not to deal with prince Eugene in person; but as soon as that general appeared at the head of his troops, the French had no longer the advantage.

Aug. 15,

1701

In the midst of these battles, and the sieges of so many towns and cities, private intelligence was brought to Versailles, that the duke of Savoy, grandson to a sister of Lewis XIV. father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, and Philip V. was going to quit the Bourbon interest, and was actually in treaty with the emperor. Every one was astonished that he should, at once leave two sons-in-law, and give up what appeared to be his true interest: but the Emperor had promised him all that his sons-in-law had refused him Montferrat, Mantua, Alexandria, Valencia, and the countries between the Po and the

June 5,

1703

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the Tanero, with more money than he received from France. The money was to be furnished by England, for the emperor had hardly sufficient to pay his troops. England, the richest of all the allies, contributed more than any of them towards the common cause. Whether the duke of Savoy shewed any regard to the laws of nature and nations? is a question in morality which has very little to do with the conduct of sovereigns*. The event however proved in the end, that he was not at all wanting to the laws of policy in the treaty he made; but he was wanting in another very essential point of politics, in leaving his troops at the mercy of the French, while he was treating with the emperor. The duke of
 Aug. 10, Vendome ordered them to disarmed;
 1703 they were indeed no more than five thousand men, but this was no inconsiderable object to the duke of Savoy.

No sooner had the house of Bourbon lost this ally, when she heard that Portugal had likewise declared against her. Peter, king of Portugal, acknowledged the archduke Charles for king of Spain. The imperial council, in the name of this archduke, dismembered, in favour of Peter II. a monarchy, in which he was not as yet master of a single town; and, by one of those treaties which are never executed, ceded to him Vigo, Bayonne, Alcantara,

* The law of nations will justify any prince in renouncing an alliance, when he finds himself ill-treated by his ally. Our author owns that the duke of Savoy was treated with insolence by the generals of France; and that the advantage of his kingdom was better consulted in his engagements with the emperor.

Badajox, a part of Estramadura, all the countries lying to the west of the river la Plata in America; in a word, he made a partition of what he had not to give, in order to acquire what he might.

The king of Portugal, the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, minister to the archduke, and the admiral of Castile, his creature, implored the assistance of the king of Morocco. They not only entered into a treaty with these barbarians, supplying them with horses and corn, but they likewise asked for a body of troops. The emperor of Morocco, Muley Ismael, the most warlike and politic tyrant at that time in the Mahometan nation, would not send his troops but on such terms as were dangerous to Christendom, and shameful to the king of Portugal; he demanded a son of that king's as an hostage, together with a certain number of towns. The treaty did not take place; and the Christians contented themselves with tearing each other to pieces with their own hands, without calling in those of barbarians. The assistance of Africa would not have done the house of Austria so much service as that of England and Holland did.

Churchill, earl, and afterwards duke of Marlborough, was declared general of the confederate armies of England and Holland, in the year 1702. This man proved as fatal to the French greatness as any that had appeared for many ages. He was not one of those generals to whom a minister delivers the plan of the campaign in writing, and who, after having followed the order he has received from the cabinet, at the head of his army, returns home

to solicit the honour of being employed again. He at that time governed the queen of England; both by the occasion she had for his service, and by the authority his wife had over her affections. He had the command of the parliament by his powerful interest, and by that of the treasurer Godolphin, whose son married one of his daughters. Thus having the direction of the court, the parliament, the war, and the treasury, more a king than ever William had been, as great a politician, and a much greater general, he exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the allies. He possessed in a superior degree to any general of his time, that tranquil courage in the midst of tumult, and serenity of soul in danger, which the English call a cool head. It is perhaps to this qualification, the principal gift in nature for a commander, that the English are indebted for their victories over the French in the fields of Poitiers, Cressy, and Agincourt.

Marlborough, who was indefatigable as a warrior during the campaign, was no less active a negociator in the winter; he went to the Hague, and visited all the courts of Germany; he persuaded the Dutch to drain themselves to humble France; he roused the resentment of the elector-palatine; he flattered the pride of the elector of Brandenburg, who wanted to be king, by holding the napkin to him at table, by which he drew from him a supply of 8000 men. Prince Eugene, on his side, had no sooner finished one campaign, than he went to Vienna to make preparations for another. We may easily judge, whether an army is better supplied, where the general is at the same time the prime minister.

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These two great men, who had sometimes the command jointly, sometimes separately, always understood each other. They had frequent conferences at the Hague, with the grand pensionary Heinsius and the secretary Fagel, who governed the United-Provinces with equal abilities, and better success than the Barneveldts and de Witts. They, in concert, continually set the springs of one half of Europe in play against the house of Bourbon; and the French ministry was at that time much too weak to oppose for any length of time those combined forces. The plan of operations for the campaign was always kept an inviolable secret. They settled their designs amongst themselves, and did not entrust them even to those who were to second them, but at the instant of execution. Chamillard, on the contrary, being neither a politician, a warrior, nor even acquainted with the management of the revenue, and who yet acted as prime-minister, was unable to plan any designs of his own; and was therefore obliged to be beholden to inferior people for their assistance. His secret was almost always divulged, even before he himself knew exactly what was to be done. Of this the marquis de Feuquieres accuses him with great justice; and Mad. de Maintenon acknowledges, in her letters, that she had made choice of a man who was not fit for the ministry. This was one of the principal causes of the misfortunes which befel France.

Marlborough, as soon as he came to the command of the allied army in Flanders, shewed that he had learnt the art of war of the great Turenne, under whom he had
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in his younger days made his first campaigns as a volunteer. He was then known in the army only by the name of the handsome Englishman: but Turenne soon perceived that this handsome Englishman would one day be a great man. He began his command by raising several subaltern officers in whom he had discovered merit, and who were till then unknown, without confining himself to the order of military rank, which we in France call the order of the *Tableau*. He was sensible, that when preferment is only the consequence of seniority, all emulation must perish; and that an officer is not always the most serviceable for being the most ancient. He presently formed men. He gained ground upon the French without hazarding a battle. Ginkel, earl of Athlone, the Dutch general, disputed the command with him the first month, and, before six weeks were at an end, was obliged to yield to him in every respect. The king of France sent his grandson, the duke of Burgundy against him, a wise and upright prince, born to make a people happy. The marshal de Boufflers, a man of indefatigable courage, commanded the army under the young prince. But the duke of Burgundy, after having seen several places taken before his face, and being obliged to retreat by the skilful marches of the English, returned to Versailles before the campaign was half over, leaving Boufflers to be a witness to Marlborough's successes, who took Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege, and continued advancing without losing the superiority one instant.

When Marlborough returned to London at the close of this campaign, he received all
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the honours that could be bestowed in a monarchy and a republic. He was created duke by the queen; and, what was still more flattering, he received the thanks of the two houses of parliament, who sent deputies to compliment him at his own house.

But now there arose a person who seemed likely to restore the drooping fortunes of France. This was the marshal duke de Villars, then lieutenant-general, and whom we have since seen at the age of eighty-two, commander in chief of the armies of France, Spain, and Sardinia: this man had a great share of boldness and confidence, and had himself been the architect of his own fortune, by his unwearied perseverance in the discharge of his duty. He sometimes offended Lewis XIV. and what was still more dangerous, his minister Louvois, by speaking to them with the same boldness with which he served. He was accused of not having a modesty becoming his courage. But at length it was seen that he had a genius formed for war, and to command Frenchmen. He had been greatly advanced within a few years, after having been left a long time unnoticed.

Never was there a man whose preferment created more jealousy, and with less reason. He was marshal of France, duke, and peer, and governor of Provence: but then he had saved the state; and others who had ruined it, or had no other claim but that of being courtiers, had met with as great rewards. He was even upbraided with the riches which he acquired by contributions in the enemy's country, a just and reasonable reward for his valour and conduct; while those who had amassed fortunes of

ten times the value, by the most scandalous methods, continued to enjoy them with the approbation of the public. He did not begin to taste the sweets of the reputation he had acquired till he was near eighty; and he must have outlived the whole court to have enjoyed it undisturbed.

It may not be amiss to acquaint the world with the reason of this injustice in mankind. It was owing to the want of art in marshal Villars: he had not enough to make himself friends, with integrity and understanding; nor to set a proper value upon himself, by speaking that of himself which he deserved that others should say of him.

One day that he was taking leave of the king, he said to him before the whole court, "Sire, I am going to fight against your majesty's enemies, and leave you in the midst of mine." He said to the courtiers of the duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom, who were all grown rich by that subversion of the state called system, "For my part I never got any thing but by the enemies of my country." These speeches, which were accompanied with the same courage as his actions, were too humbling to those who were already sufficiently incensed at his good fortune.

At the beginning of the war he was one of the lieutenant-generals who had the command of the detachments in Alsace. His army was at that time in the mountains of Brisgaw, which border upon the Black Forest; and this immense forest separated the elector of Bavaria's army from the French. Catinat, who commanded in Strasburg, had too much circumspection in

his conduct to think of attacking the prince of Baden at such a disadvantage ; as in case of a repulse the French army must infallibly be lost, and Alsace laid open. Villars, who had resolved to be marshal of France, or to die in the attempt, hazarded what Catinat did not dare to undertake. He wrote to court for permission ; and then marched towards the Imperialists at Friedlengen, with an inferior army, and fought the battle of that name.

The horse engaged in the plain, the foot climbed up to the top of the hill, and attacked the German infantry, which was entrenched in the woods. I have more than once heard marshal Villars him-
 Oct. 14,
 1702
 self say, that after the battle was won, and as he was marching at the head of his infantry, a voice was heard crying out, " We are cut off ;" upon which the whole body immediately took flight. He directly ran up to them, crying out, " What is the matter, friends ? we have gained the victory, God bless the king." The soldiers, all pale and trembling, repeated, " God bless the king," and began to fly as before. He declared that he never met with more difficulty than in rallying the conquerors, and that if only two of the enemy's regiments had shewed themselves at that instant of general panic, the French would have been beaten : so frequently does the fate of battles depend upon mere chance.

The prince of Baden, though he lost three thousand men, with all his cannon, was driven out of the field of battle, and pursued for two leagues, through woods and defiles, while as a proof of his defeat, the fort of Friedlengen

capitulated. Nevertheless, he wrote to the court of Vienna that he had gained the victory, and ordered *Te Deum* to be sung, which was more shameful to him than even the loss of the battle.

The French, recovered from their panic, proclaimed Villars marshal of France on the field of battle; and the king a fortnight afterwards confirmed the title which the soldiers had conferred on him.

Marshal Villars, having afterwards joined the elector of Bavaria with his victorious army, found him likewise a conqueror, gaining ground of the enemy, and in possession of the imperial city of Ratisbon, where the assembly of the empire had lately vowed his destruction.

Villars was better qualified to serve his country, when acting only according to his own genius, than in concert with another. He carried, or rather dragged, the elector across the Danube; but no sooner had they passed that river, than the elector began to repent of what he had done, perceiving, that upon the least check, he should be obliged to leave his dominions at the enemy's mercy. The count of Styrum, at the head of near twenty thousand men, was in march to join the grand army under the prince of Baden, near Donawert. The marshal told the elector that this must be prevented, by marching directly and attacking Styrum. The elector willing to temporize, replied, that he must consult his ministers and generals upon that head. "Am not I your minister and general, answered Villars? do you want any other council but me when you are to give battle?" The prince,
ful

full of the danger which threatened his dominions, still kept back, and even grew angry with the general. "Well then, said Villars, if your electoral highness will not embrace this opportunity with your Bavarians, I will begin the battle with the French;" and immediately gave orders for the attack. The prince was incensed*, and looked upon Villars as a madman, but was obliged to fight against his will. This was in the plains of Hochstet near Donawert.

After the first charge there appeared another instance of the effect of chance ^{Sept. 20,} in battles. The enemy's army and ¹⁷⁰³ that of the French were both seized at the same time with a panic, and fled; and marshal Villars saw himself left alone for some minutes on the field of battle: however, he rallied his troops, led them back to the charge, and gained the victory. Three thousand of the Imperialists were left dead on the field, and four thousand taken prisoners, with their cannon and baggage. The elector made himself master of Augsburg. The road to Vienna was open, and it was even debated in the emperor's council whether he should quit his capital.

The emperor was excusable for his apprehensions; he was beaten every where. The duke of Burgundy, with the marshals Tallard and Vauban under him, had just taken Old Bri-

* All this may be found in the memoirs of the marshal de Villars in manuscript, where I myself have seen every circumstance. The first volume of these memoirs in print are really his, the two others are by another hand, and somewhat different.

fac; and Tallard had not only taken Landau, but had also defeated the prince of Hesse, afterwards king of Sweden, near Spire, as he was attempting to relieve the town. If we believe the marquis de Feuquieres, (a most excellent officer and complete judge in the military art, though rather too severe in his decisions,) marshal Tallard won the battle by a fault and a mistake. However, he wrote thus to the king from the field of battle: "Sire, your majesty's army has taken more standards and colours than it has lost private men."

In this action there was more execution done by the bayonet than in any other during the war. The French have a singular advantage in the use of this weapon, on account of their natural impetuosity; but it is now become more menacing than fatal: the quick and close firing has prevailed in its stead. The English and Germans were accustomed to fire in divisions with greater order and readiness than the French. The Prussians were the first who loaded with iron rammers. The second king of Prussia taught his troops such an exercise, that they could fire six times in a minute, with great ease. Three ranks discharging their fire at once, and then advancing briskly up, decide the fate of the battle now-a-days. The field-pieces likewise produce a no less formidable effect. The battalions who are staggered with the fire, do not wait to be attacked with the bayonet, and are completely defeated by the cavalry: so that the bayonet frightens more than it slays, and the sword is become absolutely useless to the infantry. Strength of body, skill, and courage, are no longer of any service to a
com-

combatant. The battalions are great machines, and those which are best formed naturally bear down all that stand in their way. This was the very thing which gave prince Eugene the victory over the Turks in those famous battles of Temiswar and Belgrade; while the latter would in all probability have had the advantage from their superiority of numbers, had these battles been what we called mixed fights. Thus the art of destroying each other is not only entirely different from what it was before the invention of gun-powder, but even from what it was a century ago.

As the French arms maintained their reputation with such success at first in Germany, it was presumed that marshal Villars would carry it still farther by an impetuosity which would disconcert the German phlegm: but the same qualification which made him a formidable chief, rendered it impossible for him to act in concert with the elector of Bavaria. The king would not suffer his generals to shew haughtiness to any but his enemies; and the elector of Bavaria unhappily wrote for another marshal of France.

Villars then, whose presence was so necessary in Germany, where he had gained two battles, and might possibly have crushed the empire, was recalled, and sent into the Cevennes, to make peace with the rebellious peasants. We shall speak of these fanatics in the chapter of religion. Lewis XIV. had at this time enemies that were more terrible, successful, and irreconcilable, than the inhabitants of the Cevennes.

CHAP. CLXXXII.

Loss of the Battle of HOCHSTET, or BLENHEIM.

THE duke of Marlborough was returned from the Low Countries in the beginning of 1703, with the same conduct and the same success. He had taken Bonn, the residence of the elector of Cologne. From thence he marched and retook Hui and Limburg, and made himself master of all the Lower Rhine. Marshal Villeroy, now returned from his confinement, commanded in Flanders, where he had no better success against Marlborough than he had had against prince Eugene. Marshal Boufflers, with a detachment of his army, had indeed gained a small advantage in the fight of Eckeren, over the Dutch general, Opdam; but an advantage which has no consequences is no advantage at all.

And now the house of Austria was undone, without the English general marched to the assistance of the emperor. The elector of Bavaria was master of Passau. Thirty thousand French, under the command of marshal Marsin, who had succeeded Villars, overspread the countries of the other side the Danube. There were several flying parties in Austria. Vienna itself was threatened on one side by the French and Bavarians, and on the other by prince Ragotski, at the head of the Hungarians, fighting for their liberty, and supplied with money from the French and the Turks. In this situation of affairs, prince Eugene hastens from Italy to take
the

the command of the armies in Germany: he has an interview with the duke of Marlborough at Heelbron. The English general, whose hands were at full liberty, being left to act as he pleased by his queen and her allies the Dutch, marches with succours into the heart of the empire, taking with him for the present, ten thousand English foot, and twenty-three squadrons of horse. He makes forced marches, and arrives on the banks of the Danube, near Donawert, opposite to the elector of Bavaria's lines, where about eight thousand French, and as many Bavarians lay entrenched, to guard the country they had conquered. After an engagement of two hours, Marlborough forces the lines, at the head of three battalions of English, and routs the Bavarians and French. It is said that he killed six thousand of the enemy, and lost as many himself: A general concerns himself little about the number of slain, provided he succeeds in his enterprize. He then took Donawert, repassed the Danube, and laid Bavaria under contribution.

July 2,
1704

Marshal Villeroy, who attempted to follow him in his first marches, lost sight of him on a sudden, and knew not where he was, till he heard the news of his victory at Donawert.

Marshal Tallard, who with a corps of thirty thousand men, had marched by another route to oppose Marlborough, came and joined the elector. At the same time prince Eugene arrives, and joins Marlborough.

At length the two armies met within a small distance of Donawert, and nearly in the same plains where marshal Villars had gained a vic-

tory the year before. I know that the marshal, who was then in the Cevennes, having received a letter from Tallard's army, wrote the night before the battle, acquainting him with the disposition of the two armies, and the manner in which marshal Tallard intended to engage, wrote to his brother-in-law, the president de Maisons, telling him that if marshal Tallard gave the enemy battle in that position, he must infallibly be beaten. This letter was shewn to Lewis XIV. and afterwards became public.

The French army, including the Bavarians, consisted of eighty-two battalions, and one hundred and sixty squadrons, which made in all near sixty thousand men, the corps being then not quite complete. The enemy had sixty-four battalions, and one hundred and fifty-two squadrons, in all not above fifty-two thousand men; for armies are always made more numerous than they really are. This battle, that proved so bloody and decisive, deserves a particular attention. The French generals were accused of a number of errors; the chief was, the having brought themselves under a necessity of accepting a battle, instead of letting the enemies army waste itself for want of forage, and giving time to marshal Villeroy, either to fall upon the Netherlands, then in a defenceless state, or to penetrate farther into Germany. But it should be considered in reply to this accusation, that the French army being somewhat stronger than that of the allies, might hope for the victory, which indeed would have infallibly dethroned the emperor. The marquis de Feuquieres reckons up no less than twelve capital faults committed by the Elector, Marfin, and Tallard, before and
after

after the battle. One of the most considerable was, the not having placed a large body of foot in their centre, and having separated the two bodies of the army. I have often heard marshal Villars say, that this disposition was unpardonable.

Marshal Tallard was at the head of the right wing, and the Elector, with Marfin, at the left. Tallard had all the impetuous and sprightly courage of a Frenchman, an active and penetrating understanding, and a genius fruitful in expedients and resources. It was he who had made the partition treaties. He was allied to glory and fortune by all the ways of a man of genius and courage. The battle of Spire had gained him great honour, notwithstanding the animadversions of Feuquieres; for a victorious general never appears culpable in the eyes of the public, while he who is beaten is always in the wrong, however just or prudent his conduct may have been.

But marshal Tallard laboured under a malady of very dangerous consequences to a general; his sight was so weak, that he could not distinguish objects at the distance of twenty paces from him. Those who were well acquainted with him have told me moreover, that his impetuous courage, quite the reverse of the duke of Marlborough's, growing still warmer in the heat of the action, deprived him sometimes of the necessary presence of mind. This defect was owing to a dry and inflammatory state of the blood. It is well known that the qualifications of the mind are chiefly influenced by the constitution of the body.

This was the first time that marshal Marfin had commanded in chief. With a great deal of wit and a good understanding, he is said to have had rather the experience of a good officer than of a general.

As to the elector of Bavaria, he was looked upon not less as a great general than as a valiant and amiable prince, the darling of his subjects, and who had more magnanimity than application.

At length the battle began, between twelve and one o'clock in the afternoon. Marlborough, with his English, having passed a small rivulet, began the attack upon Tallard's cavalry. That general, a little before, had rode towards the left wing to observe its disposition. It was no small disadvantage to Tallard's corps from the beginning to be obliged to fight without its general at its head. The corps commanded by the Elector and Marfin, had not yet been attacked by prince Eugene. Marlborough began upon our right near an hour before Eugene could have come up to the Elector at our left.

As soon as marshal Tallard heard that Marlborough had attacked his wing, he immediately posted thither, where he found a furious action begun; the French cavalry rallied three times, and was as often repulsed. He then went to the village of Blenheim, where he had posted twenty-seven battalions, and twelve squadrons. This was a little detached army that kept a continual fire on Marlborough, during the whole time he was engaged with Tallard's wing. After giving his orders in this village, he hastens back to the place, where the duke, with
a body

a body of horse and battalions of foot between the squadrons, was driving the French cavalry before him.

Mr. de Feuquieres is certainly mistaken in saying that marshal Tallard was not present at this time, but was taken prisoner as he was returning from Marfin's wing to his own. All accounts agree, and it was but too true for him, that he was actually present. He received a hurt in the action, and his son was mortally wounded by his side. His cavalry was routed before his face. The victorious Marlborough forced his way between the two bodies of the French army on one side, while on the other his general officers got between the village of Blenheim and Tallard's division, which was also separated from the little army in that village.

In this cruel situation, marshal Tallard flew to rally some of the broken squadrons; but the badness of his fight made him mistake a squadron of the enemy for one of his own, and he was taken prisoner by the Hessian troops that were in the English pay. At the very instant that the general was taken, prince Eugene, after having been three times repulsed, at length gained the advantage. The rout now became total in Tallard's division; every one fled with the utmost precipitation; and so great was the terror and confusion throughout that whole wing, that officers and soldiers ran headlong into the Danube, without knowing whither they were going. There was no general officer to give orders for a retreat; no one thought of saving those twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons of the best troops of France, that
were

were so unfortunately shut up in Blenheim, or of bringing them into action. At last marshal Marsin ordered a retreat. The count du Bourg, afterwards marshal of France, saved a small part of the infantry, by retreating over the marshes of Hochstet; but neither him, Marsin, nor any one else, thought of this little army, which still remained in Blenheim, waiting for orders, which were never sent them. It consisted of eleven thousand effective men, from the oldest corps. There are many examples of less armies that have beaten others of fifty thousand men, or at least made a glorious retreat; but the nature of the post determines every thing. It was impossible for them to get out of the narrow streets of a village, and range themselves in order of battle, in the face of a victorious army, that would have overwhelmed them at once with a superior front, and even with their own artillery, which was all fallen into the victors hands.

The general officer who commanded here was the marquis of Clerembaut, son to the marshal of that name: he was hastening to find out marshal Tallard, to receive orders from him, when he was told that he was taken prisoner; and seeing nothing but people running on all sides, he fled with them, and in flying was drowned in the Danube.

Brigadier Sivieres, who was posted in this village, ventured upon a bold stroke: he called aloud to the officers of the regiments of Artois and Provence, to follow him: several officers even of other regiments obeyed the summons, and rushing out of the village, like those who make a sally from a town that is besieged,
fell

fell upon the enemy ; but after this fally they were to return back again. One of these officers, named Des-Nonvilles, returned some few moments afterwards on horseback, with the earl of Orkney. As soon as he entered the village, the rest of the officers flocked round him, enquiring if it was an English prisoner that he had brought in ? “ No gentlemen, replied he, I am a prisoner myself, and am come to tell you, that you have nothing left but to surrender yourselves prisoners of war. Here is the earl of Orkney, who is come to offer you terms.” At hearing this, all these old bands shuddered with horror : the regiment of Navarre tore its colours, and buried them. But at length they were obliged to yield to necessity ; and this whole army laid down its arms without having struck a blow. My lord Orkney has told me that it was impossible for them to do otherwise in their confined situation. Europe was struck with astonishment, that the best troops in France should have suffered such disgrace. Their misfortune was at first imputed to cowardice ; but a few years afterwards the same thing happening to fourteen thousand Swedes, who surrendered at discretion to the Muscovites, in the open field, fully justified the French.

Such was this famous action, which in France was known by the name of ^{Aug. 13,} the battle of Hochstet, and by the ¹⁷⁰⁴ English and Germans was called the battle of Blenheim. The victors had near five thousand killed and eight thousand wounded ; the greatest part of which loss fell on the side of prince Eugene. The French army was almost entirely

tirely cut to pieces. Of sixty thousand men, who had been so long victorious, not above twenty thousand could be gathered together after the battle.

This fatal day was distinguished by the loss of twenty thousand men killed, fourteen thousand made prisoners, all the cannon, a prodigious number of standards, colours, tents, and equipages, with the general of the army, and twelve hundred officers of note in the hands of the conquerors. The runaways dispersed themselves on all sides; and upwards of an hundred leagues of country were lost in less than a month. The whole electorate of Bavaria, now fallen under the yoke of the emperor, experienced all the severity of Austrian resentment, and all the cruelties of a rapacious soldiery. The elector in his way to Brussels, whither he was flying for refuge, met with his brother the elector of Cologne, who like him was driven out of his dominions: they embraced each other with a flood of tears. The court of Versailles, accustomed to continual successes, was struck with astonishment and confusion at this reverse. The news of the defeat arrived in the midst of the rejoicings made on account of the birth of a great grand-son of Lewis XIV. No one would venture to acquaint the king with this cruel truth. At length madame de Maintenon took upon her to let him know that he was no longer invincible. It has been affirmed both by word of mouth and in writing, and the same has been repeated in above twenty different histories, that the emperor ordered a monument of this defeat to be erected in the plains
of

of Blenheim, with an inscription greatly to the dishonour of the French king; but no such monument ever existed*.

The English alone erected one to the honour of their duke of Marlborough. The queen and the parliament built an immense palace for him on one of his principal estates, to which they gave the name of Blenheim, where this battle is represented in most curious paintings and tapestry. The thanks of the two houses of parliament, and of the cities and boroughs, and the general acclamation of the people, were the first fruits he received from his victory. But the poem written by the famous Addison, a monument more durable than the palace of Blenheim, is reckoned by this warlike and learned nation, among the most honourable rewards bestowed on the duke of Marlborough. The emperor created him a prince of the empire, bestowed on him the principality of Mindelheim, which was afterwards exchanged for another; but he was never known by that title; the name of Marlborough being now the most noble he could bear.

By the dispersion of the French army an open passage was left to the allies from the Danube to the Rhine. They passed the latter of these rivers, and entered Alsace. Prince Lewis of Baden, a general famous for his encampments and marches, invested Landau. Joseph king

* Reboulet assures us, that the emperor Leopold actually caused such a pyramid to be erected; and it was firmly believed in France, till marshal Villars in 1707 sent fifty masons thither to demolish it, who could find no such thing.

of the Romans, eldest son of the emperor Leo-
 Nov. 13 and pold, came to be present at this
 23, 1704 siege; Landau was taken, and af-
 terwards Traerbach.

Notwithstanding the loss of an hundred leagues
 of country, the French extended their frontiers.
 Lewis XIV. supported his grandson in Spain,
 and his arms were victorious in Italy. It re-
 quired great efforts to make head against the
 victorious Marlborough in Germany, which
 however he did; the scattered remains of the
 army were gathered together, the garrisons were
 ordered to furnish men, and the militia were
 ordered to take the field. The ministry bor-
 rowed money every where. At length an army
 was got together; and marshal Villars was re-
 called from the heart of the Cevennes to take
 the command upon him. He came and joined
 the army at Triers, where he found himself in
 presence of the English general with an infe-
 rior army. Both sides were desirous of giving
 battle; but the prince of Baden not coming up
 soon enough to join his troops to those of the
 English, Villars had the honour of oblig-
 May, ing Marlborough to decamp. This was
 1705 doing a great deal at that time. The
 duke of Marlborough, who had a sufficient
 esteem for marshal Villars to wish to be esteem-
 ed by him again, wrote him the following billet
 while he was decamping: "Do me the justice,
 Sir, to believe, that my retreat is entirely the
 prince of Baden's fault, and that I esteem you
 even more than I am angry with him."

The French had still some barriers in Ger-
 many. The enemy had not yet done any thing
 in Flanders, where marshal Villeroy, now at
 liberty,

liberty, had the command. In Spain king Philip V. and the archduke Charles, were both in expectation of the crown, the former from the powerful assistance of his grandfather, and the good-will of the greater part of the Spaniards; the latter from the assistance of the English, and the partisans he had in Catalonia and Arragon. This archduke, afterwards emperor, and at that time second son to the emperor Leopold, went, towards the latter part of 1703, without any retinue, to London, to implore the assistance of queen Anne.

Now the English power appeared in all its glory. This nation, which had in fact so little to do with this quarrel, furnished the Austrian prince with two hundred transport-ships, thirty ships of war, joined to ten sail of the Dutch, nine thousand men, and a sum of money, to go and conquer a kingdom for himself. But notwithstanding the superiority which power and benefits confer, the emperor, in his letter to queen Anne, which the archduke presented, would not give this princess, his benefactress, the title of majesty, but only that of serenity*, agreeable to the stile of the court of Vienna, which custom alone could justify, and which reason has since changed, when pride has been obliged to stoop to necessity.

* Reboulét says that the German chancery gave the title of Dilection to kings, but this is the title given to electors.

C H A P. CLXXXIII.

Losses in SPAIN. Loss of the Battles of RAMILLIES and TURIN, and their Consequences.

ONE of the first exploits performed by these English troops was the taking of Gibraltar, a place justly deemed impregnable. A long chain of steep rocks forbid all approach to it by land; it had no harbour, but only a long bay, very wild and unsafe, where ships lay exposed to storms, and the artillery of the fortress and mole: the inhabitants of the town were alone sufficient to defend it against a fleet of a thousand ships and an hundred thousand men. - But this very strength was the cause of its being taken; there were only an hundred men in garrison, but these were more than sufficient, had they not neglected a duty which they looked upon as useless. The prince of Hesse had landed with eighteen hundred soldiers on the northernmost neck of land, behind the town; but the steepness of the rock made an attack upon the place impracticable on that side. The fleet in vain fired upwards of fifteen thousand shot; at length a body of sailors, in one of their merry-makings, happened to row close under the mole in their boats, the cannon of which must infallibly have sunk them all, but not a gun was fired; upon this they mount the mole, Aug. 4, make themselves masters of it, and
1704 fresh troops flocking in on all sides, this impregnable town was at length obliged to surrender. It is still in possession of the English;

lish; and Spain, now again become a formidable power under the administration of the princess of Parma*, second wife to Philip V. and lately victorious in Africa and Italy, beholds with an impotent grief, Gibraltar in the hands of a northern nation, that had hardly a single ship in the Mediterranean two centuries ago.

Immediately after the taking of Gibraltar, the English fleet, now mistress of the sea, attacked the count de Toulouse, admiral of France, in view of the castle of Malaga. This battle, tho' not a decisive one, was Aug. 26, the last epocha of the maritime power of Lewis XIV. His natural son the 1704 count de Toulouse, admiral of the kingdom, had fifty ships of the line and twenty-four galleys under his command. He made a glorious retreat, with very little loss. But the king having afterwards sent thirteen ships to attack Gibraltar, while marshal de Tessé laid siege to it by land; this double rashness proved the ruin of both army and fleet. Some of the ships were destroyed by a storm, others were March boarded and taken by the English after 1705 a most noble resistance, and another part of them burnt on the coast of Spain. From that day the French had no longer any large fleets either in the Western Ocean or the Mediterranean. The marine returned nearly to the same state from whence Lewis XIV. had drawn it, as well as many other glorious things which rose and set under his reign.

* This was written in the year 1740.

The English, who had taken Gibraltar for themselves, in less than six weeks conquered the kingdom of Valentia and Catalonia for the archduke Charles. They took Barcelona by an event of chance, which was owing to the rashness of the besiegers.

The English were at that time commanded by one of the most extraordinary men ever produced by that country, so fruitful in proud, valiant, and whimsical minds. This was the earl of Peterborough, a man who, in every respect, resembled those heroes with whose exploits the imagination of the Spaniards has filled so many books. At fifteen years of age he left London, to go and make war against the Moors in Africa; at twenty he was the first who set on foot the revolution in England, and went over to the prince of Orange; but, lest the true reason of his voyage should be suspected, he took shipping for America, and then went over to the Hague in a Dutch vessel. He parted with all his fortune more than once. He was now carrying on the war in Spain almost at his own expence, and maintained the archduke and all his household. It was this extraordinary man, who, with the prince of Hesse Darmstadt*, was laying siege to Barcelona. He proposed to the prince to make a sudden attack on the entrenchments which covered Fort Montjoui and the town. These entrenchments were carried sword in hand; the prince of Darmstadt fell in the attack. A bomb falling upon a magazine of pow-

* Réboulet, in his history, calls this prince the head of the rebels, as if he had been a Spaniard, who had rebelled against Philip V.

der in the fort, blew it up. The fort was taken, and the town thereupon capitulated. The viceroy came to one of the gates of the town to confer with lord Peterborough; but the articles were not yet signed, when their ears were suddenly struck with loud cries and shrieks. "You have betrayed us, my lord, said the vice-roy to Peterborough; we made a fair capitulation, and there are your English have entered the city over the ramparts, and are killing, robbing, and plundering every one." "You are mistaken, replied lord Peterborough, it must certainly be the prince of Darmstadt's troops. There is no other way left to save your town, but to let me enter immediately with my English. I will make every thing quiet, and return again to the gate to sign the capitulation." He spoke this with an air of truth and grandeur that, added to the present danger, entirely persuaded the governor, who immediately let him enter. He flew through the streets with his officers, where he presently found the Germans and Catalans busy in plundering the houses of the principal citizens; he drove them off, and made them quit their booty. After this he meets with the dutchess of Popoli in the hands of some soldiers, who were going to dishonour her; he takes her from them, and delivers her to her husband. At length, having made every thing quiet, he returns to the gate according to his promise, and signs the capitulation. The Spaniards were confounded to find such magnanimity in the English, whom the populace had always been taught to look upon as merciless barbarians, because they were heretics.

T o

To the loss of Barcelona succeeded the mortification of a fruitless attempt to retake it. Philip V. though he had the greater part of Spain in his interest, had neither generals, engineers, or hardly soldiers. The count of Toulouse returned to block up the harbour with twenty-five ships of war, the whole remains of the French navy; marshal Tessé formed the siege by land with thirty-one squadrons of horse, and thirty-seven battalions of foot; but the English fleet appearing, that of France was obliged to retire, and Tessé raised the siege May 2, with precipitation, leaving an immense quantity of provisions behind 1706 him in his camp, and one thousand five hundred wounded to the mercy of lord Peterborough. These were heavy losses; and it could hardly be said whether it had cost France more to conquer Spain, than it now did to assist it. Nevertheless, the grandson of Lewis XIV. still kept his ground, through the affection of the Castilians, whose greatest pride is their fidelity, and who, on this occasion, continued firm to the choice they had made.

In Italy affairs wore a better aspect; Lewis was revenged of the duke of Savoy; the duke of Vendome had, in the beginning, Aug. 16, repulsed prince Eugene with some 1706 glory, in the battle of Cassano, near the Adda; this proved a bloody day, and one of those drawn battles for which both sides sing *Te Deum*, and that only serve to destroy men without advancing the affairs of either party.

party. After the battle of Cassano he gained a complete victory at Cassinato *, in the absence of prince Eugene; and that prince, arriving next day, saw another detachment of his army intirely routed: in short, the allies were obliged to give ground every where before the duke of Vendome. Turin alone remained to be taken; they were already in march to invest it, and there appeared no possibility of relieving it. Marshal Villars pushed the prince of Baden in Germany. Villeroy, with an army of eighty thousand men in Germany, was in hopes to indemnify himself on Marlborough for the ill success he had met with against prince Eugene. His too great confidence in his own abilities proved now more fatal than ever to France.

April 19,
1706

Marshal Villeroy's army was encamped near the river Mehaigne, by the heads of the little Ghetto; his center was at Ramillies, a village since as famous as that of Blenheim. It was in his power to have avoided a battle: he was advised to do so by his general officers; but a blind passion for glory prevailed over every other consideration. It is said that the disposition he made for the battle was such, that every one of the least experience foresaw the fatal consequence. His center was composed of new raised troops, neither complete nor acquainted

* It was the count de Reventlau, a native of Denmark, who commanded at the battle of Cassinato, but the troops were all Imperialists.

La Baumette observes on this occasion, in his notes on the Age of Lewis XIV. "That the Danes are as little worth abroad as at home." It is very extraordinary to see a writer thus abusing every nation.

with military discipline. He left the baggage between the lines, and posted his left wing behind a morass, as if he intended to prevent it from coming near the enemy*.

May 23, 1706 Marlborough, who observed all these mistakes with a careful eye, drew up his army in such a manner as to take advantage of them; he perceived that the left wing of the French army could not come up to attack his right; he therefore made draughts from that part of his army, in order to fall upon the enemy's center, at Ramillies, with a superior force. Monsieur de Gassion, the lieutenant-general, observing these motions, cried out to the marshal, "You are undone, Sir, if you do not instantly change the order of battle. Make a draught from your left wing, that you may have an equal force to oppose to the enemy. Close your lines more. If you lose a minute, you are irrecoverably lost." This salutary advice was backed by several of the other officers; but the marshal would not believe them. When Marlborough began the attack, he found the army drawn up in the very manner in which he himself would have posted it for a defeat. This was publicly declared through all France, and history is partly a relation of the opinions of men; but may it not be alledged that the troops of the confederates were better disciplined, and that the confidence they had in their generals, and their past successes, inspired them with superior boldness? Were there not some of the French regiments who did not do their duty? And do we not

* See Feuquieres's memoirs.

know that those battalions who can best stand fire, decide the destiny of states? The French army did not maintain its ground for half an hour; at Hochstet the fight lasted for eight hours, and the French killed the victors upwards of eight thousand men; but, at the battle of Ramillies, they killed them only two thousand five hundred. The defeat was general; the French lost twenty thousand men, together with the honour of their nation, and every hope of recovering the advantage. Bavaria and Cologne had been lost by the battle of Blenheim, and all Spanish Flanders was now lost by this of Ramillies; Marlborough entered victorious into Antwerp and Bruffels, took Ostend, and Menin surrendered to him.

Marshal Villeroy, in despair, did not dare to acquaint the king with this defeat; he continued five days without dispatching a courier. At length he wrote a confirmation of this news, which had already filled the court of France with consternation; and when he returned to Versailles to present himself to the king, that monarch, instead of reproaching him, only said, " Monsieur le marechal, people at our time of life are not fortunate."

The king immediately sent for the duke of Vendôme out of Italy, where he thought his presence not necessary, in order to replace Villeroy in Flanders, and repair, if possible, his disgrace. He still entertained hopes, and with just reason, that the taking of Turin would make him amends for all these losses. Prince Eugene was at too great a distance to come to its relief; he was on the other side the Adigi, and a long chain of intrenchments that lined

the river on this side, seemed to make a passage impracticable. Forty-six squadrons and an hundred battalions formed the siege of this great city.

The duke de Feuillade, who commanded this army, was the gayest and most amiable man in the kingdom; and, though son-in-law to the minister, he was the darling of the people; he was son to that marshal de la Feuillade who erected the statue of Lewis XIV. in the square des Victoires. He appeared to have as much courage as his father; the same ambition; the same magnificence; and more understanding. He expected the staff of marshal of France as a reward for his taking Turin. Chamillard, his father-in-law, who loved him tenderly, had left nothing undone to secure him success. The imagination stands appalled at the detail of the preparations made for this siege. Those readers who have it not in their power to inform themselves of these matters, may perhaps not be displeased to meet here with an account of this immense and fruitless apparatus.

There were an hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and it is to be observed, that each large cannon, mounted on its carriage, costs about two thousand crowns; one hundred and ten thousand balls, one hundred and six thousand cartridges of one form, and three hundred thousand of another; twenty-one thousand bomb-shells, twenty-seven thousand seven hundred hand-grenades, fifteen thousand sand-bags, thirty thousand pioneering-tools, and twelve hundred thousand pounds weight of powder, besides lead, iron, tin, cordage, with every thing proper for the miners, sulphur, salt-petre, and im-

implements of all kinds. It is certain, that the expence of all these preparations for destruction, was more than sufficient to have founded a numerous colony, and put it into a flourishing condition. Every siege of a great town requires the same prodigious expence, and yet when a little village is to be repaired at home, it is neglected.

The duke de la Feuillade, full of ardour and activity, inferior to no one in undertakings where courage alone was required, but incapable of conducting those that called for art, reflection, and time, hurried the siege against all rules. Marshal Vauban, the only general perhaps who loved his country better than himself, had proposed to the duke de la Feuillade to come and direct the siege as an engineer, and to serve in his army as a volunteer; but the pride of la Feuillade made him take this offer for insolence, concealed beneath the appearance of modesty, and was piqued that the best engineer in France should presume to give him advice. He wrote back to him, in a letter which I have seen, "I hope to take Turin by Cohorn." This Cohorn was the Vauban of the allies, an excellent engineer, and a good general, who had taken several places that had been fortified by Vauban. After such a letter there was a necessity to take Turin; but having begun the attack by the citadel, which was the strongest part, and the city not being completely surrounded, an opening was left for men or provisions to be thrown in, or for the duke of Savoy to sally out. In short, the greater impetuosity the duke de la Feuillade shewed in his repeated

and fruitless attacks, the more tedious was the siege*.

The duke of Savoy came out of the town with some squadrons of horse, in order to amuse the duke de la Feuillade. The latter immediately quitted the direction of the siege to run after the prince, who, being better acquainted with the ground, baffled his pursuit. Thus la Feuillade missed the duke, and the business of the siege suffered by it.

All our historians, almost to a man, assert, that the duke de la Feuillade had no intention to take Turin, and pretend that he had sworn to the dutchess of Burgundy to respect her father's capital; they likewise tell us that this princess prevailed upon madame de Maintenon, to cause such measures to be taken as would

* During this siege, which continued from May to September, a simple corporal sacrificed his own life for the good of his country, with a spirit equal to that of a Curtius or a Scævola. The French had actually made a lodgement in one of the subterraneous galleries of the citadel, from whence they could have penetrated into the body of the place. A corporal of miners, whose name was Mica, being at work under the gallery, in finishing a mine which was not yet primed, and foreseeing that the enemy could not fail to have possession of the citadel, unless they were immediately destroyed, devoted his life to the safety of his fellow-citizens. He forthwith primed the mine, and desired one of his companions to tell the king he implored his majesty's protection for his wife and children; then he ordered his pioneers to retire, and make a signal of their being in a place of safety, by firing a musket, which he no sooner heard, than he set fire to the mine, and perished with two hundred grenadiers, who had taken possession of the gallery. The king expressed his sense of this action, by making a very ample provision for Mica's wife and children, and settling an annual pension of six hundred livres for ever on his descendants.

save the town. It is certain, that almost all the officers in this army were for a long time persuaded of the truth of this ; but it was only one of those popular rumours which are the disgrace of the novelist, and the dishonour of the historian ; besides, how contradictory was it, that the same general who would not take Turin, should endeavour to seize on the person of the duke of Savoy ?

From the 13th of May to the 20th of June the duke of Vendôme had been posted on the banks of the Adigi, to cover this siege, and thought himself certain, with seventy battalions and sixty squadrons, to stop all the passages against prince Eugene.

The imperial general was in want of men and money. The mercers company of London lent him about six millions of our livres * ; he then sent for a supply of men from the circles of the empire. The slowness of these succours might have proved the ruin of Italy ; but the slowness of the siege of Turin was still greater.

Vendôme was already appointed to go and repair the losses in Flanders ; but, before he left Italy, he suffered prince Eugene to cross the Adigi, to pass the White Canal, and even the Po itself, a river larger, and in some places more difficult of passage than the Rhine ; and before he himself left the banks of the Po, he saw prince Eugene in a condition to advance even to Turin. Thus he left affairs in the most ticklish crisis in Italy, while in Flanders, Germany, and Spain, they appeared desperate.

* Or nearly 263300 l. Sterling, at $10\frac{1}{2}$ to the livre.

The duke of Vendôme then went to Mons to assemble Villeroy's scattered forces; and the duke of Orleans, nephew of Lewis XIV. was sent to command his army on the banks of the Po. He found these troops in as much disorder as if they had suffered a defeat. Eugene had passed the Po in sight of Vendôme; he now crossed the Tanaro in view of the duke of Orleans, took Carpi, Corregio, and Reggio; stole a march upon the French, and at length joined the duke of Savoy near Asti. All that the duke of Orleans could do was to march and join la Feuillade in his camp before Turin. Prince Eugene followed with the utmost diligence. The duke of Orleans had now two measures in his choice, either to wait for prince Eugene in the lines of circumvallation, or to march and meet him while he was yet on the other side of Veillane. He called a council of war, at which were present marshal Marsin, the same who had lost the battle of Blenheim, the duke de la Feuillade, Albergoti, St. Fremont, and other lieutenant-generals, to whom he thus addressed himself; "Gentlemen, if we remain in our lines we lose the battle. The lines of circumvallation are above five leagues in length: it will be impossible for us to line all these entrenchments. On one hand here is the regiment of marines, that is not above two men deep; and, on the other hand, there are many places left entirely naked. The Doire, which runs through our camp, will prevent our men from marching readily to the assistance of one another; besides, when the French know they are attacked, they lose one of their principal advantages, that impetuosity and instantaneous ardour,

dour, which so frequently decide the fate of battles. Believe me, it is our interest to march directly to the enemy." The lieutenant-generals immediately cried out, one and all, "Let us march." Then marshal Marfin drew the king's order out of his pocket, which left every thing to his decision in case of an action, and it was his opinion to remain in the lines.

The duke of Orleans was not a little incensed to find, that he was sent to the army only as a prince of the blood, and not as a general; however, he was obliged to follow Marfin's advice, and made the necessary preparations for this disadvantageous action.

The enemy seemed at first to intend to make several attacks at once; and the variety of their movements threw the French camp into confusion. The duke of Orleans proposed one thing, Marfin and la Feuillade another; they disputed, and concluded upon nothing; till at length they suffered the enemy to pass the Doire, who advanced towards them in eight columns, of twenty-five men deep each. There was an immediate necessity of opposing them with battalions of equal thickness.

Albergoti, who was posted at a distance from the main army, on the Capucins hill, had twenty thousand men with him, and only a body of the enemy's militia to oppose, who did not dare to attack. They sent from the camp for a detachment of twelve thousand men; but he returned for answer, that he could not weaken his division, and gave some specious reasons. Time was lost in these altercations. Prince Eugene attacks the intrenchments, and in two

L 5.



Sept. 7, 1706 hours time forces them. The duke of Orleans was wounded, and had retired to be dressed; but he was scarce got to the surgeon's tent, when word was brought him that all was lost, that the enemy was master of the camp, and that the defeat was become general. Nothing remained but immediate flight; the trenches were abandoned, and the whole army dispersed. All the baggage, provision, and ammunition, together with the military chest, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Marshal Marsin himself was wounded in the thigh, and made prisoner. One of the duke of Savoy's surgeons cut off his thigh, and he died a few minutes after the operation. Sir Paul Methuen, ambassador from England to the court of Turin, the most generous and brave man that his country had ever employed in her embassies, fought by the duke of Savoy's side during the whole action. He was present when marshal Marsin was taken prisoner, and was near him in his last moments; and he told me, that the marshal, when he was dying, spoke to him in these very terms: "Be persuaded, Sir, that it was contrary to my opinion that we waited for you in our lines." These words seem positively to contradict what passed at the council of war, and may nevertheless be true; for Marsin, when he took leave of the king at Versailles, represented to his majesty that it would be proper to march and attack the enemy, in case they should appear to relieve Turin; but Chamillard, intimidated by so many former defeats, had afterwards prevailed that the army should wait in the lines, and not offer

offer battle: and this order given at Versailles occasioned the dispersion of sixty thousand men.

The French had not above two thousand men killed in this engagement; but we have already seen, that a panic does more than even slaughter. The impossibility of finding subsistence, which would make an army retire after a victory, brought back the troops to Dauphiny, after their defeat. Every thing was in such disorder, that the count of Medavy-Grancei, who was at that time in the Mantuan with a body of troops, and beat the Imperialists at Castiglione, under the command of the prince of Hesse, afterwards king of Sweden, gained only a fruitless victory, though it was complete*. In a word, the dutchy of Milan, Mantua, Piedmont, and lastly the kingdom of Naples, were all lost within a very little time of one another.

Sep. 9,
1706

* This officer surpris'd the prince of Hesse in the neighbourhood of Castiglione, and oblig'd him to retreat to the Adigi, with the loss of two thousand men; but this action was attended with no other consequence.

C H A P. CLXXXIV.

The Losses of the FRENCH and SPANIARDS continued. LEWIS XIV. humbled ; his Perseverance and Resources. Battle of MALPLAQUET.

THE battle of Hochstet, or Blenheim, cost Lewis XIV. a fine army, and the whole country from the Danube to the Rhine ; and the elector of Bavaria all his dominions. All Flanders was lost to the very gates of Lisle, by the fatal day of Ramillies ; and the defeat at Turin drove the French out of Italy, which had always happened to them in every war since the time of Charlemagne. They had still some troops left in the dutchy of Milan, and the little victorious army under the count of Medavy. They were also still in possession of some strong places. They offered to give up all these to the emperor, provided he would permit these troops, which amounted to about fifteen thousand men, to retire unmolested. The emperor accepted of the proposition, and the duke of Savoy gave his assent. Thus the emperor, with a dash of his pen, became peaceable possessor of Italy. The kingdom of Naples and Sicily was guarantied to him, and every thing that had formerly been feudal was now treated as subject to a supreme power. He imposed a tax of one hundred and fifty thousand pistoles upon Tuscany ; forty thousand upon the dutchy of Mantua ; and Parma, Modena, Lucca, and Genoa, notwithstanding they were free states, were included in these impositions.

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The emperor, who had all these advantages on his side, was not that Leopold, the antient rival of Lewis XIV. who, under a shew of moderation, had secretly cherished the most ambitious views. It was the fiery, sprightly, and passionate Joseph, his eldest son, who was not so good a soldier as his father. If ever there was an emperor who seemed formed to enslave Germany, it was this Joseph: his dominions stretched beyond the Alps, he laid the pope under contribution, and, by his sole authority, in 1706, had the electors of Bavaria and Cologne put under the ban of the empire, and then stript them of their dominions. He kept Bavaria's children in prison, and took away from them even their name. Their father had nothing left but to retire to France and the Low Countries, afterwards, in 1712; Philip V. ceded to them all Spanish Flanders*. If he could have kept this province, it would have been a better settlement for him than even Bavaria, and have freed him from his subjection to the house of Austria; but he could get possession only of the cities of Luxemburg, Namur, and Charleroi, the rest being in the hands of the victors. Every thing now seemed to threaten Lewis XIV. who had so lately been the terror of all Europe. There was nothing to oppose the duke of Savoy's entering France. England and Scotland were lately become one kingdom, by the union: or, rather, Scotland, now become a province of England, encreased the power of its

* It is said in Reboulét's history, that he had this sovereignty as early as 1700; but at that time it was governed only by a viceroy.

ancient rival. In the years 1706 and 1707 all the enemies of France seemed to have acquired new strength, and that kingdom to be on the verge of ruin. She was pushed on all sides, both by sea and land. Of the formidable fleets which Lewis XIV. had raised, scarcely five and twenty ships were left remaining. Strasburg still continued to be the barrier town towards Germany; but by the loss of Landau, all Alsace lay exposed. Provence was threatened with an invasion by sea and land, and the losses already sustained in Flanders, made us tremble for what was left; and yet, notwithstanding all these disasters, the body of the kingdom had not yet been attacked; and, unsuccessful as the war had been, we only lost what we had before conquered.

Lewis XIV. still opposed his enemies; and though beaten almost every where, he continued to resist, protect, and even attack on all sides. But affairs were as unsuccessful in Spain as in Italy, Germany, and Flanders. It is said that the siege of Barcelona was still worse conducted than that of Turin.

The count of Toulouse* had hardly made his appearance with his fleet, when he was ob-

* In the beginning of April 1706, king Philip at the head of a numerous army, undertook the siege of Barcelona, which was defended by his rival Charles, in person. It was at the same time blocked up by sea, by the Count de Toulouse, and in all probability must have surrendered, had it not been relieved by the English fleet. Sir John Leak sailed from Lisbon with thirty ships of the line, and on the eighth day of May arrived in sight of Barcelona. The French admiral at his approach made the best of his way to Toulon; and in three days after his departure, Philip retired in great disorder, leaving his tents behind, together with his sick and wounded.

liged to sail back again. Barcelona was relieved, the siege raised, and the French, after having lost half their army, were forced, for want of provisions, to march back into Navarre, a little kingdom that they kept for the Spaniards, and of which our kings take the title by a custom that seems beneath their dignity.

To these disasters was added yet another, which seemed to be the finishing stroke. The Portuguese, together with a body of English, under the command of lord Galloway, a Frenchman, formerly count de Ruvigni, lately created a peer of Ireland, took every place they presented themselves before, and were advanced even into the province of Estramadura; while the duke of Berwick, an Englishman, who commanded the troops of France and Spain, in vain attempted to stop their progress.

Philip V. uncertain of his fate, was in Pampelona; while his competitor, Charles, was increasing his party, and augmenting his forces in Catalonia.

He was master of Arragon, the province of Valentia, Carthagená, and part of the province of Granada. The English took Gibraltar for themselves, and gave him Minorca, Ivica, and Alicant: besides, the road of Madrid was open to him; and lord Galloway entered that city without any resistance, and proclaimed the archduke Charles king: a single detachment sent from the army pro- June 26,
1706

claimed him in Toledo. In short, Philip's affairs seemed so desperate that marshal Vauban, the first of engineers, and the best of citizens, a man continually engaged in schemes, some useful, others impracticable, and all

all of them singular, actually proposed to the French court to send Philip over to America to reign there. In this case all the Spaniards in Philip's interest would have quitted their country to follow him. Spain would have been left a prey to civil factions. The French would have had the whole trade of Peru and Mexico, and France would have been aggrandized even by the misfortunes of Lewis XIV's family. This project was actually in consideration at Versailles; but the perseverance of the Castilians, and the oversights of the enemy, preserved the crown upon Philip's head. The people loved him as the king of their choice; and his queen, the duke of Savoy's daughter, had gained their affections by the pains she took to please them; by an intrepidity above her sex, and an active perseverance under misfortunes. She went in person from city to city, animating the minds of her subjects, rousing their zeal, and receiving the donations which they brought in on all sides; so that in three weeks time she remitted her husband upwards of two hundred thousand crowns. Not one of the grandees who had taken the oath of fidelity proved false. When Lord Galloway proclaimed the archduke in Madrid, the people cried out, "Long live king Philip;" and at Toledo they mutinied, and put to flight the officers who were going to proclaim Charles.

The Spaniards had till then made very few efforts in support of their king; but when they saw him thus distressed, they exerted themselves in a surprising manner; and on this occasion shewed an example of a courage quite the reverse of that of other nations, who generally
set

set out in a vigorous manner, but shrink back at last. It is very difficult to impose a king upon a nation against its will. The Portuguese, English, and Austrians, that were in Spain, were miserably harrassed wherever they came, suffered much for want of provisions, and were guilty of errors almost unavoidable in a strange country; so that they were beaten piece-meal. In short, Philip V. three months after his leaving Madrid like a fugitive, entered it again in triumph, and was received with as much joy and acclamations as his rival had met with coldness and aversion.

Lewis XIV. redoubled his efforts when he saw the Spaniards bestir themselves; and while he was obliged to provide for the safety of the sea-coasts of the western ocean and the Mediterranean, by stationing militia all along shore; though he had one army in Flanders, another at Strasburg, a body of troops in Navarre, and one in Rouffillon, he sent a fresh reinforcement to marshal Berwick at Castile.

It was with these troops, seconded by the Spaniards, that Berwick gained the important battle of Almanza*, in which he beat Galloway. Neither Philip nor the archduke were present at this action, on which the famous earl of Peterborough, who was singular in every thing, observed,

April 25,
1707

* This was fought on the fourteenth day of April 1707, and was altogether a decisive action. The allies were totally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men taken prisoners, with all their colours and artillery. The defeat was in a great measure owing to the cowardice of the Portuguese troops on the right, who fled on the first onset.

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“ That it was excellent, indeed, to fight against one another for them.” The duke of Orleans, who was to have the command in Spain, and who was very desirous of being present, did not arrive till the day after the battle : however, he made all possible advantage of the victory, by taking several places, and among others Lerida, the rock on which the great Condé had split.

On the other hand, marshal Villars, now replaced at the head of the armies in Germany, because the government could not do without him, made amends for the fatal defeat at Hochstet. He forced the enemy's lines at Stollhoffen, on the other side the Rhine, dispersed their whole body, levied contributions for fifty leagues round, and advanced as far as the Danube. This momentary success gave a better face to affairs on the frontiers of Germany ; but in Italy all was lost. The kingdom of Naples, entirely defenceless, and accustomed to a change of masters, was under the yoke of the conquerors ; and the pope, unable to refuse a passage to the German troops through his dominions, saw, without daring to murmur, the emperor make himself his vassal against his will. It is a strong instance of the force of received opinions, and the power of custom, that Naples may always be seized upon without consulting the pope, and yet that the possessor is always obliged to do him homage for it.

While the grand-son of Lewis XIV. was thus deprived of Naples, the grand-father was on the point of losing Provence and Dauphiny. The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene had already entered those provinces by the narrow pass of Tende ; and Lewis XIV. had the mortifi-

tification to see that very duke of Savoy, who a twelvemonth before had hardly any thing left but his capital, and prince Eugene, who had been brought up at his court, on the point of stripping him of Toulon and Marfeilles.

Toulon was besieged, and in danger of being taken; the English fleet lay before the harbour, and bombarded the town. A little more diligence, precaution, and unanimity, would have carried Toulon. Marfeilles, then left defenceless, could have made no resistance, and France seemed likely to lose two provinces; but what is probable seldom happens. There was time to send succours; a detachment had been made from marshal Villars's army, as soon as these provinces were threatened; and the advantages in Germany were made to give way to the safety of a part of France. That part of the country by which the enemy entered was dry, barren, and hilly; provisions were scarce, and a retreat difficult. A sickness, which made great havock in the enemy's army, proved no unfavourable circumstance to Lewis XIV. The siege of Toulon was raised*, and soon afterwards the enemy evacuated Provence, and Dauphiny was out of danger; so seldom does an invasion prove successful, unless there is an intelligence with the people of the country. Charles V. failed in the same design, and of

* This attempt upon Toulon might have succeeded, if the emperor, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the maritime powers, had not divided his army in Italy, by detaching a considerable army towards Naples; and detained ten thousand recruits in Germany, from an apprehension of the king of Sweden, who was then in Saxony, and on very indifferent terms with the court of Vienna.

late days the queen of Hungary's troops have been likewise disappointed in their attempts upon this country.

However, this invasion, which cost the allies so dear, proved of no small disservice to the French. The country had been spoiled, and our forces divided.

Europe little expected that, while the French nation thus exhausted, thought itself happy in having escaped an invasion, Lewis XIV. was sufficiently great and fruitful in expedients, to attempt himself an invasion in Great Britain, in despite of the weak state of his maritime forces and the powerful fleets of the English that covered the seas. This expedition was proposed by some of the Scotch, in the interest of James III. The success was doubtful; but Lewis thought the very attempt sufficiently glorious; and actually declared afterwards, that he was determined as much by this motive as his political interest.

To carry the war into Great-Britain at that time, when we could with difficulty support the burthen of it in so many other places, and to endeavour to replace the son of James II. on the throne of Scotland, at least while we could hardly support Philip V. on that of Spain, was a noble idea, and after all, not quite destitute of probability.

Those of the Scotch who had not sold themselves to the court of London, were grieved to see themselves reduced to a state of dependence on the English, and privately with one accord called upon the offspring of their ancient kings, who in his infancy had been driven from the throne.

throne of three kingdoms, and whose very birth had been contested by his enemies. They promised to join him with thirty thousand men in arms to fight his cause, if he would only land at Edinburgh with some few succours from France.

Lewis XIV. who in his past time of prosperity, had made such efforts in behalf of the father, now did the same for the son, though his fortunes were in the decline. Eight ships of war and seventy transports were got ready at Dunkirk, and six thousand men put on board. The count de Gacé, March,
1708
 afterwards marshal Matignon, had the command of the troops, and the chevalier de Forbin Janfon, one of the best sailors of his time, that of the fleet. Every thing seemed favourable for their design: there were but three thousand regular troops in Scotland, England was left defenceless, its soldiers being all engaged in Flanders, under the duke of Marlborough. The difficulty was to get thither; for the English had a fleet of fifty ships of war cruising at sea. This expedition was exactly like the late one in 1744, in favour of the grand-son of James II. It was discovered by the government, and impeded by several unlucky accidents; insomuch that the English ministry had time to send for twelve battalions out of Flanders. Several of the most suspected persons were seized in Edinburgh. At length, the pretender having shewed himself upon the Scotch coast, and not seeing the signals which had been agreed upon, nothing was left but to return back again. The chevalier Forbin landed
him

him safe at Dunkirk *, and by his prudent retreat saved the French fleet ; but the expedition was entirely frustrated. Matignon was the only one who gained any thing on this occasion : having opened his orders after he came out to sea, he there found a patent for marshal of France, a reward for what he meant to do, but could not perform.

There cannot be a more absurd notion than that of some historians, who pretend that queen Anne had a correspondence with her brother in this affair. It is absolute folly to suppose that she would invite her competitor in the crown to come and dethrone her. They have confounded the time, and imagined that she favoured him because she afterwards looked upon him in private as her successor : but what prince would chuse to be driven from the throne by his successor ?

While the French affairs were every day growing worse and worse, the king thought, that by sending the duke of Burgundy, his grand-son, to head the army in Flanders, the presence of the heir presumptive to the crown would excite the emulation of the troops,

* Lewis XIV. is said to have had other aims than those our author mentions. His chief design was to make a diversion from the Netherlands, and excite a revolt in Great Britain, which might hamper the English ministry, and hinder queen Anne from exerting herself against France on the continent. The scheme was defeated by the vigilance of sir George Byng, commander of the English squadron, who reached the Frith of Edinburgh time enough to prevent the Pretender's landing. He gave chase to the French squadron, one of the ships of which he took, and Fourbin escaped with great difficulty.

which

which began to droop. This prince was of a resolute and intrepid disposition, pious, just, and learned. He was formed to command wise men: he loved mankind, and endeavoured to make them happy. Though well versed in the art of war, he considered that art rather as the scourge of human kind, and an unhappy necessity, than the source of real glory. This philosophical prince was the person sent to oppose the duke of Marlborough, and they gave him the duke of Vendôme for an assistant. It now happened, as it too frequently does: the experienced officer was not sufficiently listened to, and the prince's council frequently carried it over the general's reasons. Hence arose two parties; whereas, in the enemy's army, there was but one, that of the public good. Prince Eugene was at that time on the Rhine; but when he and Marlborough were together, they never had but one opinion.

The duke of Burgundy had the superiority in numbers: France, which Europe looked upon as exhausted, had furnished him with an army of one hundred thousand men; and the allies at that time had not quite eighty thousand. He had moreover the advantage of intelligence on his side, in a country which had been so long under the Spanish dominion, was tired out with Dutch garrisons, and where a great part of the inhabitants were inclined to favour Philip V. By his correspondence in Ghent and Ypres, he became master of these two places; but the schemes of the soldier soon rendered fruitless those of the politician. The disagreement in the council of war, already began to distract their operations; so that now they

they began to march towards the Dendre, and two hours afterwards turned back again towards the Scheld, to go to Oudenard. In this manner did they lose time, while the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene were making the best of theirs, and acted in concert with each other. The

French were routed near Oudenarde. July 11, 1708 This was not a great battle*; but it proved a fatal retreat. Error was added to terror. The regiments were suffered to wander at random without receiving any orders, and upwards of four thousand men were made prisoners on the road, by the enemy's army, a few miles distant only from the field of battle.

The army in despondency retreated without any order, part under Ghent, part under Tournay, and part under Ypres, and quietly suffered prince Eugene, now returned from the Rhine, to lay siege to Lisle with an inferior army.

To sit down before so large and well fortified a town as Lisle without being master of Ghent, obliged to send for provisions and ammunition as far as Ostend, and these to be brought over a narrow causeway, at the hazard of being every moment surpris'd, was what Europe called a rash action; but which the misunderstanding and irresolution that prevailed in the French army rendered very excuseable, and was justified in the end by the success. The grand convoys which might have been intercepted, arrived safe. The troops that escorted them, and which

* If the night had not interposed, the whole French army would have been ruined.

ought to have been defeated by a superior number, proved victorious †. The duke of Burgundy's army, that might have attacked that of the enemy before it was complete, remained inactive; and Lisle was taken, to the astonishment of all Europe, who thought the duke of Burgundy rather in a condition to besiege Marlborough and Eugene, than those generals to besiege Lisle. Marshal Boufflers defended the place near four months.

The inhabitants became so familiar with the noise of cannon, and all the horror that attended a siege, that public diversions were carried on as frequent as in time of peace; and though a bomb one day fell very near the play-house, it did not interrupt the entertainment.

Marshal Boufflers had made such judicious dispositions, that the inhabitants of this great city remained perfectly secure in his vigilance. The defence he made gained him the esteem even of his enemies, the hearts of the inhabitants, and a reward from the king. Those Dutch historians, or rather writers, who affect to blame him, should remember, that to contradict the public voice, a person must have been a witness, and an intelligent one, or prove what he advances ‡.

† Alluding to the battle of Wynendale, in which major general Webb, with six thousand of the allies, defeated two and twenty thousand French, commanded by the count de la Motte.

‡ Of this nature is a history which a bookseller called Vanduren, pretends to have been written by the Jesuit La Motte, when concealed in Holland, under the name of La Hode, and continued by Martiniere; the whole founded only on the pretended memoirs of a count de - - -, secretary of state.

In the mean time, the army that had looked on while Lisle was taken, began to diminish by little and little, and suffered Ghent to be taken next, and then Bruges, and all the posts one after another. Few campaigns have proved more fatal than this. The officers in the duke of Vendôme's interest laid all these faults to the duke of Burgundy's council, who retorted them back upon the duke of Vendôme. All minds were soured with misfortune. One of the duke of Burgundy's courtiers said one day to the duke de Vendôme, "Thus it is, never to go to mass; you see how misfortunes follow us." "Do you think then, replied the duke de Vendôme, that Marlborough goes there oftner than we?" The emperor Joseph was puffed up with the rapid successes of the allied army; he saw himself absolute in the empire, master of Landau,* and the road to Paris in a manner open, by the taking of Lisle. A party of Dutch soldiers had the boldness to advance as far as Versailles, from Courtrai, and carried off the king's first equerry from under the castle windows, thinking it had been the dauphin, the duke of Burgundy's father. Paris was filled with terror; and the emperor entertained as strong hopes of settling his brother Charles on the throne of Spain, as Lewis XIV. had to keep his grandson in possession of it.

This succession, which the Spaniards wanted to have rendered indivisible, was already split into three parts. The emperor had taken Lombardy and the kingdom of Naples to himself. His brother Charles was still in possession of Catalonia, and a part of Arragon. The emperor at that time obliged pope Clement XI.

to acknowledge the archduke for king of Spain. This pope, who was said to resemble St. Peter, because he owned, denied, repented, and wept; had, after the example of his predecessor, acknowledged Philip V. and was attached to the house of Bourbon. The emperor, to punish him, declared several fiefs, which at that time were held from the popes, subject to the empire, particularly Parma and Placentia; laid waste several lands belonging to the holy see, and seized on the town of Commacchio. In former times, a pope would have excommunicated any emperor who had attempted to dispute with him the most trifling privileges; and that excommunication would have driven the emperor from his throne: but the power of this see was now reduced within its proper bounds. Clement XI. at the instigation of France had ventured to unsheath the sword for some short time; but he had no sooner taken up arms than he repented of it. He perceived that the Romans were incapable of wielding the sword under a sacerdotal government. He therefore laid down his arms, left Commacchio in the emperor's hands as a pledge of his future peaceable conduct, and consented to write to the archduke with the stile of "Our dearest son, the catholic king in Spain." A fleet of English ships in the Mediterranean, and a German army in his dominions, soon made him glad to write, "To our dearest son Charles king of Spain." It was thought that this suffrage of the popes, though of no service in the German empire, might have some effect on the Spanish populace, who had been made to believe that the archduke was unworthy

to reign, because he was protected by heretics, who had taken Gibraltar.

There yet remained to the Spanish monarchy beyond the continent, the two islands of Sardinia and Sicily: an English fleet had taken Sardinia, and given it to the emperor; for the English were not willing that the archduke should have any thing more than Spain. At that time they made treaties of partition with their arms. The conquest of Sicily they reserved for another time, chusing rather to employ their ships at sea in cruising for the Spanish galleons, some of whom they took, than in conquering new territories for the emperor.

France was now as much humbled as Rome, and more in danger; resources began to fail, credit was at a stand, and the people, who had idolized their monarch in his prosperity, began to murmur against him when unfortunate.

A set of men to whom the ministry had sold the nation for a little ready money to supply the immediate call, grew fat on the public calamity, and insulted the sufferings of the people by their luxurious manner of living. The money they had advanced was spent; and had it not been for the bold industry of certain traders, particularly those of St. Malo, who made a voyage to Peru, and brought home thirty millions, half of which they lent to the government, Lewis XIV. would not have had money to pay his troops. The war had ruined the kingdom, and the merchants saved it: this was the case in Spain. The galleons, which had escaped being taken by the English, helped to support Philip V. but this resource, which was only of a few months duration, did not facili-

tate the raising of recruits. Chamillard, who had been made treasurer and secretary at war, resigned the latter post into the hands of M. Voisin, afterwards chancellor, who had formerly been an intendant on the frontiers. The armies were full as badly supplied as before, nor did merit meet with more encouragement. This same Chamillard afterwards resigned the management of the treasury likewise; but Desmarets, who succeeded him in that post*, was not able to restore a ruined credit. The severe winter of 1709 completed the despair of the nation. The olive trees, which bring in a great deal of money in the south of France, were all destroyed; almost all the fruit trees were killed with the frost; there were no hopes of an harvest; and there was very little corn in the granaries; and what could be brought at a very great distance from the sea-port towns of the Levant, and the coast of Barbary, was liable to be taken by the enemies fleets, to whom we had hardly any ships of war to oppose. The scourge of this dreadful winter was general all over Europe; but the enemies had more resources, especially the Dutch, who had been so long the factors for other nations, had magazines sufficiently stored to supply the strongest armies the allies could bring into the field, in a plentiful manner, while the French troops, di-

* The history of the jesuit de la Motte, digested by La Martiniere says, that monsieur de Chamillard was removed from the treasury in 1703, and that marshal Harcourt was called by the public voice to succeed him. The blunders of this writer are out of number.

minished and disheartened, seemed ready to perish for want.

Lewis XIV. who had already made some advances towards a peace, determined under these fatal circumstances to send his chief minister, the marquis Torci Colbert, to the Hague, assisted by the president Rouillé. This was an humbling step. They first met at Antwerp, with two burgo-masters from Amsterdam, named Buis and Vanderhussen, who talked in the stile of conquerors, and returned upon the ministers of the proudest of all princes all the arrogance with which they themselves had been treated in 1672.

The states-general had chosen no stadtholder since the death of king William; and the Dutch magistrates, who already began to call their families, "The patrician families," were so many petty kings. The four Dutch commissaries, who attended the army, behaved with the utmost insolence to above thirty German princes, whom they maintained in their pay. "Send Holstein hither, said they; tell Hesse to come and speak to us." In this manner did a set of merchants express themselves, who, all plain in their garb, and abstemious in their way of living, took a pleasure in trampling upon German haughtiness in their pay, and mortifying the pride of a king who had formerly been their conqueror. They were not contented with shewing the world by these external marks of superiority, that power is the only real greatness. They likewise insisted upon having ten towns in Flanders given them up in sovereignty, and among others Lisle, which was already in their hands; and Tournai,

nai, which was not yet taken. Thus the Dutch wanted to reap all the fruits of the war, not only at the expence of France, but at that of the house of Austria likewise, whose cause they had been fighting, in the same manner as the republic of Venice had formerly augmented its territories with those of its neighbours. The republican spirit is in the main full as ambitious as the monarchical.

This plainly appeared a few months afterwards ; for when this shadow of a negotiation was vanished, and the allied army had gained some fresh advantages, the duke of Marlborough, at that time more absolute in England than his royal mistress, having been gained over by the Dutch, concluded a treaty with the States-general in 1709, by which they were to keep possession of all the frontier towns which should be taken from the French ; were to have garrisons in twenty fortresses in Flanders, to be maintained at the expence of the country, and to have Upper Guelders in perpetual sovereignty. By this treaty they would have become actual sovereigns of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, and have had the supreme rule in Liege and Cologne. In this manner did they want to aggrandize themselves by the ruin even of their allies. They were full of these lofty projects when the chief minister of France came to them to ask for peace ; we must not therefore be surpris'd at the disdainful reception he met with.

After these first steps of humiliation, Lewis's minister went to the Hague, where he received in his master's name the last degree of insult. He there saw prince Eugene, the duke of

Marlborough, and the pensionary Heinfius, who all three were for continuing the war. The prince, because it at once gratified his glory and his revenge; Marlborough, because he gained both reputation and immense riches, of which he was equally fond; the third, who was guided by the other two, looked upon himself as a Spartan humbling the pride of a Persian monarch. They proposed instead of peace a truce, and during that truce a full satisfaction for all their allies, without taking any notice of the king's, conditionally that the king should assist in driving his grand-son from the throne of Spain, within two months; and that as a surety for his performance of the treaty, he should begin by ceding to the states general for ever, ten towns in Flanders, restore Strasburg and Brisac, and renounce the sovereignty of Alsace. Lewis little expected, some years before, when he refused a company of horse to Prince Eugene, when Churchill was only a colonel in the English army, and the name of Heinfius was hardly known, that one day these three men should impose such laws upon him. The marquis de Torcy took his leave without negotiating, and returned to carry the king the orders of his enemies. Lewis XIV. now did what he had never before done towards his subjects. He justified his conduct in a circular letter, which he addressed to them, in which, after acquainting his people with the farther burthens he was obliged to lay upon them, he endeavoured to rouse their indignation, honour, and even pity. The politicians said that Torcy went to the Hague in that suppliant manner, only to throw the whole blame upon

upon the enemy, to justify Lewis XIV. in the eyes of Europe, and animate the French to a just resentment; but the fact is, that he went there purely to demand peace. The president Rouillé was left some few days at the Hague, to endeavour to get more favourable conditions; but all the answer he received to his remonstrances was an order from the states-general to depart Holland in twenty-four hours*.

Lewis XIV. when he heard the rigorous terms imposed upon him, said to Rouillé, "Well then, since I must make war, I would rather it should be against my enemies than my children." He then made preparations to try his fortune once more in Flanders; the famine, which had laid waste the countries round, proved a resource for the war; those who wanted bread enlisted for soldiers. Many lands lay untilled; but we had an army. Marshal Villars, who had been sent the preceding year into Savoy, to command a few troops whose ardour was revived by his presence, and who had met with some little successes, was recalled into Flanders, as the person in whom his country placed all her hopes.

Marlborough had already taken Tournai; and with prince Eugene, who had covered the siege, marched to invest Mons. Marshal Villars advanced to prevent them, having with him marshal Boufflers, a senior officer, but who had desired to serve under him. Boufflers had a true affection for his king and country; he

* Torci had actually agreed to preliminaries which Lewis rejected; and it was in consequence of this rejection that Rouillé was ordered to quit Holland in four and twenty hours.

proved, on this occasion, (notwithstanding what has been said by a very sensible man) that there are virtues in a monarchical state, especially under a good master. There are doubtless as many as in a republic, with less enthusiasm perhaps, but with more of what is called honour.

As soon as the French advanced to oppose the investing of Mons, the allies, on their side advanced to attack them near the wood of Blan-gies and the village of Malplaquet.

The two armies consisted of about eighty thousand men each; but the allies had forty-two battalions more. The French brought eighty pieces of cannon into the field, the allies one hundred and forty. The duke of Marlborough commanded the right wing, composed of the English and German troops in English pay; prince Eugene was in the center; Tilli and the count of Nassau at the left, with the Dutch.

Sep. 11
1709 Marshal Villars took the command of the left wing of this army, and left the right to marshal Boufflers; he had entrenched his army in haste *, a method perhaps most suitable to his troops, that were inferior in numbers, and had been a long time unsuccessful, and consisted of one half recruits; it was most suitable likewise to our condition at that time; as an entire defeat would have intirely ruined the nation. Some historians have found fault with the disposition made by

* Their camp was fortified with triple intrenchments; and they were so fortified with lines, intrenchments, cannon and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible.

the marshal: "He ought, (say they) to have passed a large hollow, instead of having it in his front." Is it not being rather too discerning to judge thus from our closet of what passes in a field of battle?

All that I know is, the marshal himself said, that the soldiers who had had no bread for a whole day, and had just their allowance distributed among them, threw half of it away, to make the greater haste to come to action. There has not been for many ages a longer or more obstinate battle; none more bloody. I shall say nothing touching this action but what has been universally acknowledged. The enemies left wing, where the Dutch fought, was almost entirely cut to pieces; and we pursued them with the bayonets at the end of the piece. Marlborough at the right made and withstood surprising efforts. Marshal Villars had occasion to thin his center to oppose Marlborough; at that very instant the center was attacked, the entrenchments which covered it were carried, the regiment of guards who defended them making no resistance. The marshal, in riding from his left wing to his center, was wounded, and the day was lost; the field of battle was covered with the bodies of thirty thousand men, killed and dying.

The loss of the French in this battle did not amount to more than eight thousand men; the enemy left near twenty-one thousand killed and wounded, but the center being forced, and the two wings cut off, those who had made the greatest slaughter lost the day.

Marshal Boufflers* made a retreat in good order, with the assistance of the prince of Tingri-Montmorenci, afterwards marshal Luxembourg, inheritor of the valour of his ancestors. The army retired between Quesnoi and Valenciennes, carrying with them several standards and colours they had taken from the enemy †. Lewis XIV. comforted himself with these spoils, and it was esteemed a victory to have disputed the day so long, and to have lost only the field of battle. Marshal Villars, at his return to court, assured the king, that if he had not been wounded, he should have gained the victory. I know the general himself was persuaded of this, but I know very few people besides who believe it.

It may seem surprising, that an army, which had killed the enemy near two thirds more men than it lost itself, should not endeavour to prevent those who had gained no other advantage but that of lying in the midst of their dead, from going to lay siege to Mons. The Dutch were fearful for the success of this enterprize, and hesitated for some time; but the conquered are frequently imposed upon, and disheartened, by the name of having lost the battle. Men never do all that they might do, and the soldier who is told he is beaten, fears to be beaten again. Thus Mons was besieged and taken,

* In a book, intitled, *Memoirs of marshal Berwick*, it is said, that marshal Berwick made this retreat. In this manner are a number of memoirs written.

† The allies took above forty colours and standards, sixteen pieces of cannon, and a considerable number of prisoners.

and

and all for the Dutch, who kept possession of this town, as they had done of Lisle and Tournai. Oct. 11,
1709



C H A P. CLXXXV.

LEWIS XIV. continues to sollicit peace, and to defend himself. The Duke of VENDOME secures the King of SPAIN on his throne.

THE enemy not only continued thus advancing by degrees, and levelled all the barriers of France on this side, but they pretended, with the assistance of the duke of Savoy, to surprize Franche-Compté, and penetrate at once by both ends to the heart of the kingdom. General Merci, who was charged with facilitating this enterprize, by entering into Upper Alsace by the city of Basil, was happily stopt near the isle of Newburg on the Rhine, by the count, afterwards marshal Dubourg. Aug. 26,
1709 By an unaccountable fatality, all those of the name of Merci have been as unsuccessful as esteemed. This was defeated in the completest manner. Nothing was undertaken on the side of Savoy, but much was apprehended in regard to Flanders; the domestic affairs of the kingdom were in so languid a state, that the king once more sollicit peace like a suppliant; he offered to acknowledge the archduke for king of Spain; to withdraw all assistance from his grandson, and leave him to his fate; to deliver up four places as securities; to restore

restore Strasbourg and Brisac; to resign the sovereignty of Alsace, reserving only the prefecture; to demolish all the fortified places between Basil and Philipsbourg; to fill up the long formidable harbour of Dunkirk, and demolish its fortifications; and to leave Lisle, Tournai, Ypres, Menin, Furnes, Condé, and Maubeuge, in the hands of the states-general. These were in part the articles proposed, to serve as a basis for the peace which he solicited.

The allies, determined to have the triumph of discussing the submissive proposals of Lewis XIV. permitted his plenipotentiaries to come to the little town of Gertruydenberg, in the beginning of the year 1710, to present their master's supplications. Lewis made choice of marshal d'Uxelles, a man of great coolness and taciturnity, and of a disposition rather prudent than elevated or bold; with him was joined the abbé, afterwards cardinal Polignac, one of the brightest wits, and most eloquent orators of his age, and of a most engaging person and address; but wit, prudence, and eloquence, are of no service in a minister, when the master is unsuccessful. It is conquest that makes treaties. The ambassadors of Lewis XIV. were rather confined in Gertruydenberg than received there. The deputies came to hear their proposals, which they transmitted to the Hague to prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and count Zinzendorf, ambassador from the emperor. These proposals were almost always received with contempt. The plenipotentiaries were insulted by the most abusive libels, the work of French refugees, who were become more inveterate enemies to the glory of
Lewis

Lewis XIV. than even prince Eugene or the duke of Marlborough*.

Though the French plenipotentiaries carried their submission so far as to promise for the king, that he should furnish money to dethrone Philip V. they were not listened to. It was insisted upon as a preliminary, that Lewis XIV. should engage alone to drive his grandson out of Spain by force of arms. This absurd piece of inhumanity arose from fresh successes.

While the allies were thus treating Lewis XIV. like masters irritated against his pride and greatness, the city of Douay fell into their hands; and soon afterwards Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant; and lord Stair proposed to send parties to the gates of Paris.

Almost at the same time the archduke's army, commanded by Guy Staremberg, the nearest in military reputation to prince Eugene of all the German generals, ^{Aug. 20,} gained a complete victory near Saragossa †, ¹⁷¹⁰ over that army in which Philip and his adherents had placed their hopes, and that was commanded by the marquis de Bay, an unfortunate general. Here again it was observed, that the two rival kings, though within reach of their armies, were not present at this battle. Of all the princes for whom Europe was then up in arms, the duke of Savoy was the only one

* And they had more reason so to be.

† The whole cavalry of Philip were defeated at Almenara, by the allied horse commanded by general Stanhope, who, with his own hand, slew general Amessaga, commander of the Spanish guards. General Staremberg followed Philip's army to Saragossa, where they gave him battle, on the ninth day of August, and were totally defeated.

who

who fought his own battles. It was a melancholly consideration, that he could acquire his glory only by fighting against his two daughters, one of whom he endeavoured to dethrone, in order to gain a small spot of ground in Lombardy, about which the emperor Joseph already began to make some difficulties, and that he would have have been stript of the very first opportunity.

This emperor, who was successful every where, shewed no moderation in his good fortune. By his own pure authority he dismembered Bavaria, and bestowed the fiefs thereof on his relations and creatures. He despoiled the young duke of Mirandola of his dominions in Italy, and the princes of the empire maintained an army for him on the Rhine, without thinking that they were labouring to cement a power of which they stood in dread; so much did the old reigning hatred to the name of Lewis XIV. occupy every mind, as if their chief interest had been concerned therein. Joseph had likewise the good fortune to suppress the rebellious Hungarians. The court of France had set up prince Ragotski against him, who came armed with his own pretensions and those of his countrymen. Ragotski was beaten, his town taken, and his party ruined. Thus Lewis XIV. was equally unfortunate abroad and at home, by sea and by land, in his public negociations and his private intrigues.

It was believed by all Europe at that time, that the archduke Charles, brother to the fortunate Joseph, would reign without a competitor in Spain. Europe was threatened with a power more formidable than that of Charles V. and the
the

the English, so long the declared foes of the Austrian-Spanish branch, and the Dutch, its revolted slaves, were those who exerted themselves to establish it. Philip V. who had taken refuge in Madrid, quitted it again, and retired to Valladolid, while the archduke Charles made his entry as a conqueror.

The French king could no longer supply his grandson with succours; he had been obliged to do that partly through necessity which the allies had exacted of him at Gertruydenberg, to abandon the cause of Philip, by sending for those troops that were yet in Spain for his own defence, being hardly able to make head against the powerful efforts of the enemy in Savoy, on the Rhine, and in Flanders, where the stress of the war chiefly lay.

Spain was in a still more deplorable situation than France. Almost all its provinces had been laid waste by its enemies and friends. It was attacked by Portugal. Its trade was destroyed. There was a general dearth throughout the kingdom; but this indeed was more severely felt by the victors than by the vanquished, because the common people throughout this great country gave all in their power to Philip, for whom they had an affection, and refused every thing to the Austrians. Philip had no longer a general or troops from France; the duke of Orleans, by whom his drooping fortune had been a little raised, instead of commanding his army, was become his enemy. It is certain, that notwithstanding the affection the inhabitants of Madrid had for Philip, and the fidelity of the grandees and all Castile, he had still a powerful party against him in Spain. The Catalonians;
a war-

a warlike and headstrong nation, were, to a man, obstinately attached to his rival. One half of Arragon had likewise been gained over. One party of the people waited the event of affairs, and the other hated the archduke more than they loved Philip. The duke of Orleans, the namesake of Philip, disgusted with the Spanish ministry, and still more displeased with the princess Ursini, who governed affairs, began to think that he might secure for himself the country which he was sent to defend; and when Lewis XIV. himself proposed to give up his grandson, and that an abdication was already talked of in Spain, the duke of Orleans thought himself worthy of filling the throne which Philip V. would be obliged to resign. He had some pretensions to that place which had been left unnoticed in the king of Spain's will, and which his father had supported by a protest.

By means of his agents he made an agreement with some of the grandees, who engaged to place him on the throne, in case Philip V. should quit it. In this case, he would have found many of the Spaniards ready to lift under the standard of a prince who was so complete a warrior. This scheme, had it succeeded, could not have displeased the maritime powers, as there would have been less apprehension of seeing the kingdoms of France and Spain united in one person, and fewer obstacles to the peace. The project was discovered at Madrid about the beginning of 1709, while the duke of Orleans was at Versailles, and his agents in Spain were imprisoned. Philip V. never forgave his cousin for thinking him capable of abdicating, and endeavouring to succeed him. In France the whole

whole kingdom cried out against the duke of Orleans. The dauphin, father to Philip V. proposed in council to bring the offender to justice; but the king chose rather to pass in silence this abortive and pardonable scheme, than to punish a nephew, at the time that a grandson was on the verge of ruin.

In fine, about the time of the battle of Saragossa, the Spanish council and most of the grandees, finding they had no leader to oppose to Staremberg, whom they looked upon as a second Eugene, wrote in a body to Lewis XIV. requesting him to send them the duke de Vendôme. This prince, who had retired to Anet, set out immediately, and his presence was as good as an army. The Spaniards were struck with the great reputation he had gained in Italy, which the unfortunate campaign of Lisse had not been able to impair. His affability, openness, and liberality, which latter qualification he carried to a degree of profusion, and his love for his soldiers, won him all hearts; the moment he set his foot in Spain there happened to him what had formerly happened to Bertrand du Guesclin; his name alone drew a croud of volunteers. He wanted money; the corporations of the towns and villages, and the religious communities, supplied him. The nation was seized with a spirit of enthusiasm. The scattered troops left after the battle of Sa-
ragossa assembled together under him August,
at Valladolid. Every place exerted 1710
itself in furnishing recruits. The duke de Vendôme, without allowing time for this fresh ardour to cool, goes in pursuit of the conquerors, brings the king back to Madrid, obliges the
enemy

enemy to retire towards the frontiers of Portugal, follows them thither, makes his army swim over the Tagus, takes general Stanhope prisoner in Brihuega with five thousand English, comes up with general Staremberg at Villa Viciosa, and gives him battle the next day. Philip V. who had not accompanied any of his former generals to the fight, animated with the duke of Vendôme's spirit, put himself at the head of the right wing, while that general took the left. A complete victory was gained over the enemy*; and, in less than four months time, this great general, who had been called in when things were at the last extremity, retrieved all, and secured the crown for ever on the head of Philip V.

While the allies remained confounded at this surprising revolution, one of a more secret kind, though equally important, was preparing in England.

Sarah Jennings, dutchess of Marlborough, governed queen Anne, and the duke, her husband, governed the state. He had the treasury

* Stanhope was surprised, surrounded, and, after a very obstinate resistance, obliged to surrender himself and all his forces, amounting to two thousand men, including three lieutenant-generals, one major-general, and one brigadier. At Villa Viciosa, Staremberg fought against double his number. His left wing was utterly defeated: but with the remainder of his troops he maintained his ground till night, when the enemy retired in disorder, leaving him master of the field and all their artillery, after having lost above six thousand men, who were killed on the spot. Staremberg had suffered so much in the battle, that he could not pretend to maintain his ground any longer; he therefore ordered their cannon to be nailed up, and retired to Catalonia.

at his command, through the means of the lord high treasurer Godolphin, whose son had married one of his daughters. His son-in-law, Sunderland, who was secretary of state, submitted every thing in the cabinet to him, and the queen's household, where his wife had an unlimited authority, was at his devotion. He was master of the army, while he had the disposal of all posts.

England was at that time divided between two parties, the whigs and the tories. The whigs, at whose head he was, did every thing that could contribute to his greatness; and the tories had been forced to admire him in silence. It is not unworthy of history to add, that the duke and dutches were the two handsomest persons of their time; and that this advantage contributes not a little to impose upon the multitude, when accompanied with dignities and honour.

The duke had more interest at the Hague than the pensionary; and had great influence in Germany, had always been successful as a negociator and general, and enjoyed a more extensive share of power and reputation, than had ever been the lot of any one private man. He could likewise strengthen his power by the immense riches he had acquired during his having the command. I have heard his widow say, that, after he had given fortunes to his four children, he had remaining, independent of any gifts from the crown, seventy thousand pounds *per ann.* clear money, which makes about one million five hundred thousand of our livres. Had not his frugality been equal to his greatness, he might have formed a party in the king-

kingdom that queen Anne could not easily have overthrown; and had his wife been a little more complaisant, the queen would never have broke her chains. But the duke could never get the better of his thirst for riches, nor the dutchess of her capricious temper. The queen loved her with a tenderness that went even to submission, and a giving up of all will. In attachments of this nature, we generally find that dislike begins first on the side of the monarch: caprice, pride, and an abuse of superiority, are the things which first make the yoke felt, and all these the dutchess of Marlborough heaped upon her mistress with a heavy hand. The queen, who could not want a favourite, turned her eyes upon lady Masham, one of the ladies of her bed-chamber. The dutchess could not conceal her jealousy; it broke out on a thousand occasions. A pair of gloves of a particular fashion which she refused the queen, and a jar of water that she let fall in her presence upon lady Masham's gown, by an affected mistake, changed the face of affairs in Europe. Matters grew warm between the two parties. The new favourite's brother asked the duke for a regiment; the duke refused it, upon which the queen gave it him herself. The tories laid hold of this conjuncture to free the queen from her domestic slavery, humble the power of the duke, change the ministry, make peace, and if possible replace the Stewart family on the throne of England*. If the disposition of the dutchess would

* We can affirm, on the very best authority, that the tories never harboured any such design. There might indeed be some Jacobites among them, who secretly entertained

would have allowed her to make some concessions, she might still have retained her power. The queen and she had been used to write to each other every day, under borrowed names: this mysterious familiarity always left the way open for a reconciliation; but the dutchess made use of this resource only to make things worse. She wrote to the queen in the most insolent terms; and, among other expressions made use of the following; "Do me justice, and make me no answer." She soon repented of what she had done, and went to ask pardon of the queen with tears in her eyes; but her majesty made her only this reply; "You have ordered me not to answer you, and I shall not answer you." After this the breach was irreparable; the dutchess appeared no more at court, and some time afterwards Sunderland, the duke's son-in-law, was removed from the ministry, as the first step towards turning out Godolphin, and then the duke himself. In other kingdoms this is called a disgrace; in England it is only a change of affairs; but this was a change very difficult to be brought about. The tories, tho' masters of the queen, were not of the kingdom; they found themselves obliged to have recourse to religion. At present there is little more religion in Great Britain than what is just sufficient to distinguish factions. The whigs inclined to presbyterianism. This was the faction that had de-

tained notions of that kind; but these they carefully concealed from the party with which they associated. Some too were driven into jacobitism by hard usage: but the tories in general had no intention to alter that succession which they themselves established.

throned

throned James II. persecuted Charles II. and brought Charles I. to the block. The Tories were in the episcopal interest, that favoured the house of Stewart, and wanted to introduce the doctrine of passive obedience to kings, because the bishops hoped, by that means, to have more obedience paid to themselves. A clergyman was procured to preach up this doctrine in St. Paul's cathedral, and to set forth, in the most odious light, the administration of the duke of Marlborough, and the measures of the party who had given the crown to king William; but notwithstanding the queen secretly favoured this preacher, she could not prevent his being silenced for three years by the two houses, assembled in Westminster-hall, who ordered his sermon to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. She felt her want of power still more sensibly, in not daring to indulge the calls of blood in opening a way for her brother to that throne which the Whigs had barred against him. Those writers who say that Marlborough and his party fell the instant the queen ceased to support them with her favour, know nothing of the affairs of England. The queen, though now desirous of peace, did not dare to remove Marlborough from the command of her armies; and, in the spring of 1711, he was still pursuing his conquests over France, though in disgrace at his own court. A private agent from France was sent to London, to propose conditions of peace under-hand; but the queen's new ministry did not dare to accept them as yet.

A new event, as unforeseen as the others, completed this great work. The emperor Joseph

Joseph died, and left the dominions of the house of Austria, and the German empire, together with the pretensions to Spain and America, to his brother Charles, who was elected emperor some months afterwards.

April 17,
1711

On the first news of his death, the prejudices which had put arms into the hands of so many nations, began to be dissipated in England by the care of the new ministry. The war, said they, was begun to prevent Lewis XIV. from governing Spain, America, Lombardy, and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, in the name of his grandson; why then should we endeavour to unite all these kingdoms in the family of Charles VI? Why must the English nation exhaust its treasures? We have paid more to the war than Germany and Holland together. The expences of this year alone amounts to seven millions sterling; and is the nation to ruin itself for a cause it has no concern with, and to procure a part of Flanders for the Dutch, our rivals in trade? All these arguments emboldened the queen, and opened the eyes of a great part of the nation, and a new parliament being called, the queen was at liberty to prepare matters for the peace of Europe.

But though she might do this privately, she could not as yet publicly break with her allies; so that while they were negotiating in the cabinet, Marlborough was carrying on the service in the field. He still continued advancing in Flanders, where he forced the lines that

Sept. 1711 marshal Villars had drawn from Montreuil to Valenciennes, took Bouchain, advanced as far as Quesnoi, and from thence was proceeding towards Paris, which had not a single rampart to oppose him.

It was at this unfortunate period that the famous Dugué-trouin, who had not as yet any rank in the sea service, and owed every thing to himself, by his own courage, and the assistance of some merchants who furnished him with money, fitted out a small fleet, and sailed to the Brasils, where he took one of the principal cities called St. Sebastian de Rio Janeiro. He and his crew returned home loaded with riches, and the Portuguese lost even more than he had gained; but the mischief that he had done in the Brasils did not alleviate the miseries of France.

CHAP. CLXXXVI.

Victory gained by Marshal VILLARS at DENAIN. The Affairs of FRANCE retrieved. The general Peace.

THE negotiations which were now openly set on foot in London, proved more salutary. The queen sent the earl of Strafford ambassador to Holland, to communicate to the states the proposals made by Lewis XIV. Marlborough's leave was no longer asked. The earl of Strafford obliged the Dutch to name plenipotentiaries, and to receive those of France.

Three private persons still continued to oppose the peace; these were Marlborough, prince Eugene, and Heinsius, who persisted in their intention of crushing Lewis XIV. but when the English general returned to London, at the close of the campaign in 1711, he was deprived of all his employments; he found a new house of commons, and had no longer the majority in the house of lords. The queen, by creating a number of new peers, had weakened the duke's party, and strengthened the crown interest. He was now accused, like Scipio, of malversation; and, like that hero, extricated himself by his reputation and by retiring. He was still powerful, though in disgrace. Prince Eugene himself came over to London, on purpose to strengthen his party. This prince met with the reception due to his birth and reputation, but his proposals were rejected. The court-interest prevailed, prince Eugene returned

to end the war alone, with the fresh incentive of a prospect of victory, without a companion to divide the honour.

While the congress was assembling at Utrecht, and the French plenipotentiaries, who had been so ill used at Gertruydenberg, now returned to treat upon more equal terms, marshal Villars lay behind his lines to cover Arras and Cambray. Prince Eugene took the town of Quesnoy, and overspread the country with an army of an hundred thousand men. The Dutch had exerted themselves; and though they had never before furnished their whole quota towards the necessary expences of the war, they had this year exceeded their contingent. Queen Anne could not as yet openly disengage herself from them; she had sent the duke of Ormond to join prince Eugene's army with twelve thousand English, and still kept in pay a number of German troops. Prince Eugene, after burning the suburbs of Arras, advanced towards the French army, and proposed to the duke of Ormond to give them battle; but the English general had been sent with orders not to fight. The private negociations between England and France drew towards a conclusion: a suspension of arms was proclaimed between the two crowns. Lewis XIV. put Dunkirk into the hands of the English, as a security for the performance of his engagements. The duke of Ormond then retired towards Ghent: he endeavoured to take with him the troops that were in the queen's pay; but none would follow him except four squadrons of the regiment of Holstein, and one regiment of Liege. The troops of Brandenburg, Saxony, Hesse, and Denmark, remained with

prince Eugene, and were paid by the Dutch. The elector of Hanover himself, who was to succeed queen Anne on the throne of England, notwithstanding her remonstrances, continued his troops in the pay of the allies, which plainly shewed, that the pretensions of his family to the crown of England did not depend upon queen Anne's favour.

Prince Eugene, though deprived of the assistance of the English, was still superior by twenty thousand men to the French army; he was likewise superior by his position, by the great plenty of magazines, and by nine years of continued victories.

Marshal Villars could not prevent him from laying siege to Landrecy. France, exhausted of men and money, was in consternation, and people placed no great dependence on the conferences at Utrecht, which might be all overturned by the successes of prince Eugene. Several considerable detachments had already entered Champagne and ravaged the country, and advanced as far as the gates of Rheims.

The alarm was now as great at Versailles as in the rest of the kingdom. The death of the king's only son, which fell out this year, the duke of Burgundy, the dutchess his wife, and their eldest son, all carried to their graves the same day, and the only remaining child at the point of death; all these domestic misfortunes, added to those from without, and the sufferings of the people, made the close of Lewis XIV's reign considered as a time pointed out for calamities, and every one expected to see more disasters than they had formerly seen greatness and glory.

Precisely at this period, the duke de Vendôme died in Spain. The general dispiritedness which seized upon the French nation on this occasion, of which I remember to have been myself a witness, filled them with apprehensions, lest Spain, which had been supported by the duke de Vendôme, should fall with him.

As Landrecy could not hold out long, it was debated at Versailles, whether the king should retire to Chambord. On this occasion he told the marshal d'Harcourt, that, in case of any fresh misfortune, he would assemble the nobility of his kingdom, lead them in person against the enemy, notwithstanding he was now upwards of seventy, and die fighting at their head.

A fault committed by prince Eugene delivered the king and kingdom from these dreadful inquietudes. It is said, that his lines were too much extended; that his magazines at Marchiennes were at too great a distance; and that general Albemarle, who was posted between Denain and the prince's camp, was not within reach of assisting him soon enough, in case he was attacked. I have been assured, that a beautiful Italian lady, whom I saw sometime afterwards at the Hague, and whom prince Eugene then kept, lived in Marchiennes; and that it was on her account that this was made a place for magazines. It is doing injustice to prince Eugene, to suppose that a woman could have any share in his military arrangements; but when we know that a curate, and a counsellor of Douay, named le Fevre d'Orval walking together in those quarters, first conceived the idea that Denain and Marchiennes might easily
be

be attacked ; this will better serve to prove, by what secret and weak springs the great affairs of this world are often directed. Le Fevre communicated his notion to the intendant of the province, and he to marshal Montesquiou, who commanded under marshal Villars ; the general approved of the scheme, and put it into execution. To this action, in fact, France owed her safety more than to the peace she made with England. Marshal Villars put a deceit upon prince Eugene ; a body of dragoons was ordered to advance in sight of the enemy's camp, as if going to attack it ; and while these dragoons retired towards Guise, the marshal marched towards Denain with his army drawn up in five columns, ^{July 24,} ¹⁷¹² forced general Albemarle's intrenchments, defended by seventeen battalions, who were all killed or made prisoners. The general himself surrendered prisoner of war, with two princes of the house of Nassau, the prince of Holstein, the prince of Anhalt, and all the officers of the detachment. Prince Eugene marched in haste to their assistance, but did not come up till the action was over ; and, in endeavouring to get possession of a bridge that led to Denain, he lost a number of his men, and was obliged to return to his camp, after having been witness of this defeat.

All the posts along the Scarpe, as far as Marchiennes, were carried, one after another, with the utmost rapidity ; the army then pushed directly for Marchiennes, which was defended by four thousand men ; the siege was carried on with the greatest vigour, and in three days time the garrison were made prisoners of war ;

July 30, all the ammunition and provisions that
 1712 the enemy had laid up for the whole
 campaign, fell into our hands. The
 superiority was now wholly on the side of mar-
 shal Villars; the enemy discouraged, raised the
 Sept. and siege of Landrecy, and soon after-
 Oct. 1712 wards saw Douay, Quesnoi, and
 Bouchain, retaken by our troops.
 The frontiers were now in safety. Prince Eu-
 gene drew off his army, after having lost near
 fifty battalions, forty of whom were made priso-
 ners between the fight of Denain and the end of
 the campaign. The most signal victory could
 not have produced greater advantages.

Had marshal Villars been possessed of the same
 share of popular favour with some other gene-
 rals, he would have been publicly called the re-
 storer of France, instead of which they hardly
 acknowledged the obligations they had to him,
 and envy prevailed over the public joy for this
 unexpected success.

Every step of marshal de Villars hastened the
 peace of Utrecht; queen Anne's ministry, as an-
 swerable to their country and to Europe for their
 actions, neglected nothing that concerned the
 interest of England and its allies, and the safety
 of the public weal. In the first place, they in-
 sisted that Philip V. now settled on the throne
 of Spain, should renounce his right to the
 crown of France, which he had hitherto con-
 stantly maintained; and that the duke of Berry,
 his brother, presumptive heir to that crown,
 after the only remaining great grandson of
 Lewis XIV. then at the point of death, should
 likewise renounce all pretensions to the crown
 of

of Spain, in case he should come to be king of France. They likewise exacted the same on the part of the duke of Orleans. The late twelve years war had shewn how little men are to be bound by such acts; there is no one known law that obliges the descendants of a prince to give up their right to a throne because their father may have renounced it. These renunciations are of no effect, except when the common interest is in concert with them; but however they served to calm, for the present, a twelve years storm; and it is probable, that one day, several nations may join to support these renunciations that are now the basis of the balance of power, and the tranquility of Europe.

By this treaty the island of Sicily was given to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king, and on the continent the towns of Fenestrelles, Exilles, with the valley of Pragilas: so that they took from the house of Bourbon, to aggrandize him.

The Dutch had a considerable barrier given them, which they had always been aiming at; and if the house of Bourbon was despoiled of some territories in favour of the duke of Savoy, the house of Austria was, on the other hand, stript to satisfy the Dutch, who were become at its expence the guarantees and masters of the strongest cities of Flanders. Due regard was paid to the interest of the Dutch with respect to trade; and there was an article stipulated likewise in favour of the Portuguese.

The sovereignty of the ten provinces of the Spanish Netherlands was reserved for the emperor, together with the advantageous lordship of

the barrier towns. They likewise guaranteed to him the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with all his possessions in Lombardy, and the four ports on the coast of Tuscany. But the court of Vienna would not subscribe to these conditions, as thinking she had not sufficient justice done her.

As to England, her glory and interest were sufficiently secured. She had obtained the demolition of the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk, which had been the object of so much jealousy. She was left in possession of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca by Spain. France ceded to her Hudson's bay, the island of Newfoundland, and Acadia; and she procured greater privileges for her American trade than had been granted even to the French, who placed Philip V. on the throne. We must likewise reckon among the glorious acts of the English ministry its having engaged Lewis XIV. to consent to set at liberty those of his subjects who were confined in prison on account of their religion; this was dictating laws, but laws of a very respectable nature.

Lastly, queen Anne, sacrificing the rights of blood, and the secret inclinations of her heart, to the desires of her country, secured the succession to the crown of Great Britain to the house of Hanover.

As to the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, the former was to keep the dutchy of Luxembourg and the county of Namur till his brother and himself should be restored to their electorates; for Spain had ceded those two sovereignties to the elector of Bavaria, as a consideration
for

for his losses, and the allies had taken neither of them during the war.

For France, who demolished Dunkirk, and gave up so many places in Flanders that her arms had formerly conquered, and that had been secured to her by the treaties of Nimeguen and Ryswick, she got back Lisle, Aire, Bethune, and Saint-Venant.

Thus did the English ministry to all appearance do justice to every one; but this was denied them by the whigs; and one half of the nation reviled the memory of queen Anne, for having done the greatest good that a sovereign possibly could do, in giving peace to so many nations. She was reproached with not having dismembered France, when it was in her power to do it.

All these treaties were signed, one after another, in the course of the year 1713; but whether it was owing to the obstinacy of prince Eugene, or to the bad politics of the emperor's council, that monarch did not enter into any of these negociations. He would certainly have had Landau, and perhaps Strasbourg, had he at first fallen in with the views of queen Anne and her ministry; but he was bent upon continuing the war, and so got nothing.

Marshal Villars having secured the rest of French Flanders, marched towards the Rhine, and, after making himself master of Spires, Worms, and all the circum-
jacent country, he took Landau,
which the emperor might have had by acceding
to the peace, forced the lines that
prince Eugene had ordered to be

Aug. 20,
1713

Sept. 20

drawn

drawn from Brisgau, defeated marshal Vau-
 bonne, who defended those lines ; and lastly,
 Oct. 30th besieged and took Friburg, the capital
 of Upper Austria.

The council of Vienna pressed the circles of
 the empire to send the succours they had pro-
 mised, but no succours came. They now be-
 gan to be sensible that the emperor, without
 the assistance of England and Holland, could
 never prevail against France, and resolved upon
 peace when it was too late.

Marshal Villars, after having thus put an
 end to the war, had the additional honour of
 concluding the peace with prince Eugene, at
 Rastad. This was perhaps the first time that
 two generals of opposite parties had been known
 to meet together at the close of a campaign, to
 treat in the names of their masters. They
 both brought with them that openness of cha-
 racter for which they were distinguished. I have
 heard marshal Villars relate, that one of the
 first things he said to prince Eugene was this :
 “ Sir, we do not meet as enemies ; your ene-
 mies are at Vienna, and mine at Versailles.”
 And in fact both of them had always cabals to
 combat at their respective courts.

There was no notice taken in this treaty of
 the pretensions which the emperor still main-
 tained to the Spanish monarchy, nor of the
 empty title of Catholic King, that he con-
 tinued to bear after Philip V. was in quiet pos-
 session of the kingdom. Lewis XIV. kept
 Strasbourg and Landau, which he had before
 offered to give up, Huninguen, and new Bri-
 sac, which he had proposed to demolish, and the
 sovereignty of Alsace, which he had offered to

renounce. But what was still more honourable for him, he procured the electors of Cologne and Bavaria to be reinstated in their ranks and dominions.

It is a very remarkable circumstance that France in all her treaties with the emperors, has constantly protected the rights of the princes and states of the empire. She laid the foundation of the Germanic liberties by the peace of Munster ; and caused an eighth electorate to be erected in favour of this very house of Bavaria. The treaty of Westphalia was confirmed by that of Nimeguen. By the treaty of Ryswick she procured all the estate of cardinal Furstemberg to be restored to him. Lastly, by this peace of Utrecht, she obtained the re-establishment of the two electors. It must be acknowledged, that throughout the whole negociation, which put an end to this long quarrel, France received laws from England, and imposed them on the empire.

The historical memoirs of those times, from which so many histories of Lewis XIV. have been compiled, say that prince Eugene, when he had finished the conferences, desired the duke de Villars to embrace the knees of Lewis XIV. for him, and to present that monarch, in his name, with assurances of the most profound respect of “ A subject towards his sovereign.” In the first place, it is not true, that a prince, the grand-son of a sovereign, can be the subject of another prince, because he was born in his dominions ; and in the second place, it is still less so that prince Eugene, vicar-general of the empire, could call himself the subject of the king of France.

And

And now each state took possession of its new rights. The duke of Savoy got himself acknowledged in Sicily, without consulting the emperor, who complained of it in vain. Lewis XIV. procured entrance for his troops into Lisle, the Dutch seized on their barrier towns, and the states of the country gave them one million two hundred and fifty thousand florins per ann. to continue masters in Flanders. Lewis XIV. filled up the harbour of Dunkirk, raised the citadel, and demolished the fortifications towards the sea, in presence of the English commissary. The inhabitants, who saw their whole trade ruined thereby, sent a deputation over to London to implore the clemency of queen Anne. It was a mortifying circumstance to Lewis XIV. that his subjects should go to ask favours of a queen of England; but it was still more melancholy for these poor people to meet with a refusal from the queen.

The king, sometime afterwards, enlarged the canal of Mardyke, and by means of sluices formed an harbour there, which was thought already to equal that of Dunkirk. The earl of Stair, ambassador from England, complained of this in warm terms to the king. It is said in one of the best books we have, that Lewis XIV. made him this reply: "My Lord, I have always been master in my own kingdom, sometimes in those of others: do not put me in remembrance of it." I know of my own certain knowledge, that Lewis XIV. never made so improper a reply; he was far from ever having been master in England: he was indeed master in his own kingdom; but the point in question was, whether he was master of eluding a treaty

to which he owed his repose, and perhaps the greatest part of his kingdom. This however is true, that he put a stop to the works of Mardyck, and thus yielded to the remonstrances of the ambassador, instead of braving them. The works of the canal of Mardyke were demolished soon afterwards, during the regency, and the treaty accomplished in every point.

Notwithstanding the peace of Utrecht and Rastad, Philip V. was not yet in possession of all Spain: he had still Catalonia to conquer, and the islands of Majorca and Ivica.

It is necessary to know, that the emperor Charles having left his wife at Barcelona, and finding himself unable to carry on a war in Spain, and yet unwilling to give up his claim, or accept of the peace of Utrecht, had nevertheless made an agreement with queen Anne for a squadron of English ships to bring away the empress and the troops, now useless in Catalonia. In fact, Catalonia had been already evacuated; and Starembeg, when he quitted that province, had resigned his title of viceroy; but he left behind him all the seeds of a civil war, with the hopes of a speedy succour on the part of the emperor and the queen of England. Those who had the most credit in that province, imagined that they might be able to form a republic under a foreign protection; and that the king of Spain would not be strong enough to subdue them. On this occasion, they displayed that character which Tacitus gave them so long since, who calls them, "An intrepid people, that count their lives for nothing when not employed in fighting."

If

If they had made half the efforts for Philip V. their king, as they then did against him, the archduke would never have disputed Spain. By the obstinate resistance they made, they proved that Philip, though delivered from his competitor, was not able to reduce them by his own power. Lewis XIV. who during the latter part of the war, had not been able to assist his grand-son with either ships or soldiers, against his rival, Charles, now sent him succours against his rebellious subjects. A fleet of French ships blocked up the harbour of Barcelona, and marshal Berwick laid siege to it by land.

The queen of England, faithful to her treaty, would not assist this city. The emperor made a vain promise of succours. The besieged defended themselves with a courage that was fortified by fanaticism. The priests and monks ran to arms, and mounted the trenches, as if it had been a religious war. A phantom of liberty rendered them deaf to all the advances made to them by their master. Upwards of five hundred ecclesiastics died during this siege with their arms in their hands: we may judge whether by their speeches and examples they helped to animate the people.

They hung out a black ensign upon the breach, and stood several assaults; at length the besiegers having made their way into the town, the besieged disputed street after street; and having retreated into the new town, after the old one was taken, they offered to capitulate on condition of being allowed all their privileges; but they only obtained their lives and estates. Most part of their privileges were taken from them.

them. Sixty monks were condemned to the galleys, and this was the only vengeance taken by the conquerors. Philip V. had, during the war, treated the little town of Xativa much more severely, by ordering it to be razed from the foundation as an example; but though he might do this to a town of no importance, he would not destroy a large city that had a fine sea-port, and was of use to the state.

This fury of the Catalans, that had not exerted itself while Charles VI. was among them, and which transported them to such extremes when they were left without assistance, was the last spark of that flame which had been lighted up by the will of Charles II. king of Spain, and had so long laid waste the most beautiful part of Europe.

END of the SEVENTH VOLUME.



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